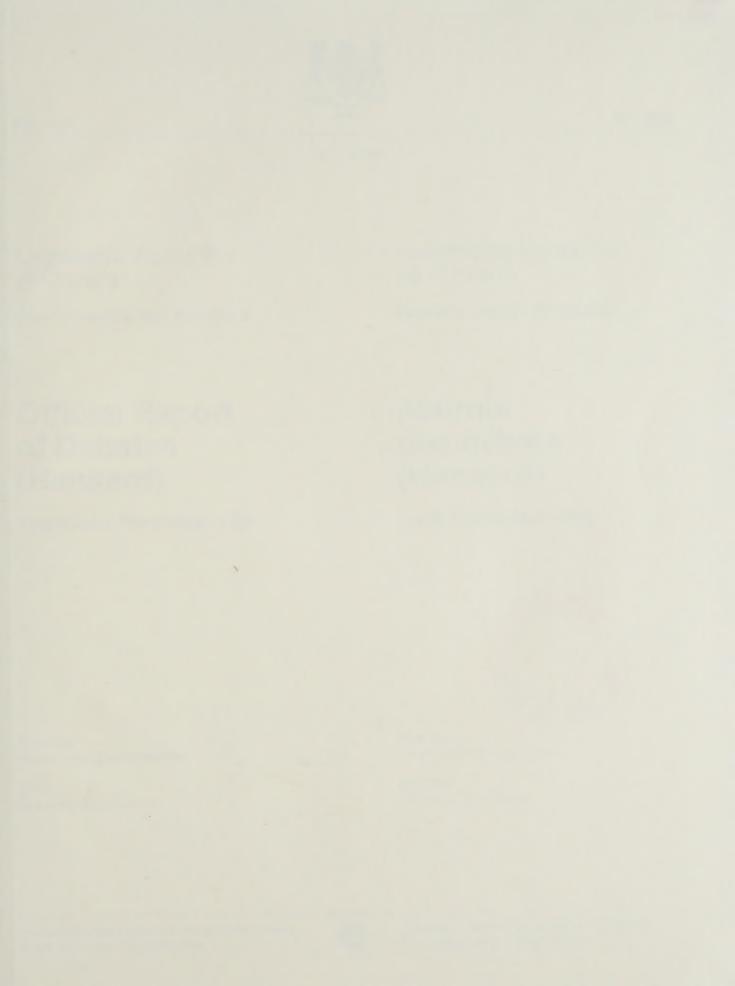
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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 3 December 1992

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 3 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Thursday 3 December 1992

The House met at 1001. Prayers.

#### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

#### FOREST INDUSTRY

Mr Conway moved resolution number 34:

That, in the opinion of this House, recognizing that the forest industry of the Ottawa Valley is in serious difficulty, that this difficulty arises from many factors including a marked deterioration in the availability of good standing timber on both public and private lands, that this difficulty has resulted in hundreds of workers losing their jobs in communities like Pembroke, Eganville and Barry's Bay where this industry is vital, the government and the Legislature of Ontario should

- (a) recognize the economic importance of the forest industry to areas like Renfrew county;
- (b) take immediate steps to stabilize and support the forest industry, including taking sensible and timely action to implement the recommendations of the Central Ontario Wood Study, which was completed by the Ministry of Natural Resources this past year.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 96(c)(i), the honourable member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I want to simply take a few moments this morning to bring to the attention of this Legislature one of the most serious economic pressures in my part of eastern Ontario, and that has to do with the very serious state in which the oldest of our industries, namely the forest industry, now finds itself. It is not overstating the case to suggest that the forest industry in Renfrew county and in the upper Ottawa Valley is currently on the critical list. Hundreds of jobs have been lost in communities throughout the Ottawa Valley, as they have been lost in other parts of eastern and northern Ontario over the past number of months.

Last night I had the opportunity to attend a briefing from the Ontario Forest Industries Association, at which briefing the group provided a copy of a recent analysis of the forest industry in Ontario by Price Waterhouse. I'm sure members of other caucuses will have the opportunity, if they have not already had the opportunity, to see this submission. It's quite clear that in the past number of years we have been losing the battle in this sector. I hope it is but a cyclical downturn, though there are very clear indicators that in fact there is a fundamental restructuring occurring.

In the brief time that I have available to me this morning I want to indicate that this issue is, as I indicated earlier, of priority concern to my constituents. I mentioned three communities in the resolution: the city of Pembroke and the villages of Eganville and Barry's Bay. They are only three; I could add to that list several others. I see in

the chamber this morning my colleague the member for Victoria-Haliburton. He knows only too well what his area has experienced, particularly in the last couple of years with mill shutdowns.

I'm not here this morning to say that there are any easy answers, because in fact there are not. What we face today is a problem that has been developing over the past number of years and over the past number of decades. The solutions are not easy, but it is my contention that if government, business and other stakeholders in this debate do not turn their minds, and turn their minds quickly, to some of the difficult choices and painful decisions that have to be made, we are going to be presiding shortly over an Atlantic fishery debacle. That is not something I would want to see happen in my part of the province, particularly in this industry, which is the lifeblood of so many of these communities and quite frankly has been the reason for settlement in that part of the province for the past 150 years.

At the present time all three sectors of our local forest industry are in trouble. The sawmill sector is a mess and getting worse, not better. Wood chips are piling up in the mill yards from Pembroke up to Huntsville because that market, as my friend from Muskoka knows, is very soft. The veneer sector is perhaps in even more trouble. We've got four mills operating now in the area from Pembroke up to Sault Ste Marie. Really only three of those mills—Canada Veneers in Pembroke, Columbia Forest Products in Rutherglen and Birchland at Thessalon—are now operating. The Lajambe mill at Sault Ste Marie is down. We've lost hundreds of jobs in the veneer sector over the last couple of years, and I'm afraid more jobs are going to be lost if we don't take some corrective action very soon.

I mentioned in the resolution something called the Central Ontario Wood Study. This is a study that has been completed in recent months by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. I think it does provide a good focus for some of the decision-making I believe has got to be undertaken. Let me say, in a critical way, that I believe one of the most serious aspects of this difficulty has to do with an attitude in the Ministry of Natural Resources, which for the past number of years has, for probably the best of reasons, sought to overcommit a declining supply.

The Ministry of Natural Resources admits in this study that it does not have a very good handle on what is in the bush. The evidence strongly suggests that in the past number of years decisions have been made by governments, on the basis of MNR advice, that have overextended or overcommitted the natural resource base, which cannot sustain the capacity that's out there. As a first step, I think it is very important that we all take a very realistic, and quite frankly a more conservative, assessment of the standing timber that is on both crown and public lands. We've gotten ourselves, in my view, into the current difficulty because we have imagined that there was more material available than there actually was. Politicians of all

stripes in all governments have been pressured into some bad decisions because they didn't understand that there simply was not the material there to sustain the capacity that was either being installed or being expanded.

The veneer sector is a classic example of that. We have some tough, painful decisions to make if we're going to keep the 250 jobs in Pembroke, the 200 jobs in Mattawa at Rutherglen and however many jobs are in the Sault Ste Marie area. There is no easy answer. In my view, the key to that sector is a much more hardheaded, realistic assessment of how much veneer material there is in my part of the province and reaching up to Sault Ste Marie and trying to reapportion that allocation on the basis of the existing capacity, with probably the painful realization that everyone's capacity is going to have to come down.

We have in the past taken the view that somehow we could find all that was needed to keep these operations going on an established or expanded basis, and that overestimate of what was available from crown and private lands has bedevilled this debate for a long time. It must end. The Central Ontario Wood Study essentially states that.

#### 1010

There is a plan currently before the Minister of Natural Resources that is going to have a very considerable effect on Algonquin Park. I know my friends on all sides do not necessarily agree with me that multiple use should continue to be the operative principle in Algonquin Park. As the general manager of the Algonquin Forestry Authority said the other day, 40% of the feedstock for all of the sawmills through Renfrew and north Hastings and south Nipissing and north Haliburton derives from Algonquin Park.

If we intend—as the minister is now being pressured to, and in fact has indicated he wants to do—to expand a very substantial wilderness zone on the east side of Algonquin Park, honourable members have to know that that is going to substantially reduce the available materials for these area sawmills.

If that decision is made, somebody from government in this Legislature ought to go to these communities, from Huntsville to Bancroft to Pembroke to Barry's Bay and Whitney, with padlocks because it's going to shut down even more of this capacity and throw even more people out of work in places like Palmer Rapids and Madawaska and Stonecliffe and Harcourt and other places where this is the only game in town. Harcourt is an inappropriate example. I should retract that because that's one of the big mills already down.

We have to understand that if we want to reduce even further the availability of supply, it is going to have a very real effect on jobs in these communities.

The government is also going to have to understand that as we proceed with the very sensitive negotiations around the Algonquin land claim, that too will have an effect on the wood industry in our part of the province. I am hopeful that those negotiations are going to continue in a way that is going to resolve the concerns of the Algonquin community but is also going to understand and respect that this forest industry is the lifeblood of these communities. It is in dire straits at the present time.

A number of the recommendations contained in this study—let me just quickly touch upon some of these: that we do not increase the commitment for quality-graded material from crown land and that we examine, in my view, fundamentally the way in which we allocate timber resources from crown lands. I am personally of a view now that the timber allocation methodologies we have are no longer appropriate to the contemporary reality. It's an enormously sensitive and complicated question, but I think it has to be examined.

Finally, as my time runs out, I agree with the Central Ontario Wood Study, which suggests that the time has come for a much better, much more specific, much more comprehensive system of inventory of what's out there so we can make more informed decisions on these key supply questions.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I am pleased to have the opportunity to comment briefly on this important resolution from the member for Renfrew North.

The member's resolution points out that the forest industry of the Ottawa Valley is in serious difficulty, caused by deterioration in the availability of good standing timber in both public and private lands, which has resulted in hundreds of workers losing their jobs in communities like Pembroke, Eganville and Barry's Bay.

This resolution calls on the government to recognize the economic importance of the forest industry to areas like Renfrew county and take immediate steps to stabilize and support the forest industry, including taking sensible and timely action to implement the recommendations of the Central Ontario Wood Study, which was completed by the Ministry of Natural Resources this past year. That is important. The recommendations that have been made by that Central Ontario Wood Study should be looked at more seriously than I believe is happening now within this ministry.

While I congratulate the member for Renfrew North for bringing this situation in the Ottawa Valley to our attention today, I think it should be pointed out that it applies to the forest industry in the entire province of Ontario. Clearly, it is not restricted to only one area.

The Minister of Natural Resources, in accordance with his government's attempt to cut spending, has applied major cuts to Ontario's tree-planting program and seedling nursery operations. These measures seriously threaten forest regeneration and the future of this province's forest production industry.

On February 12, the Minister of Natural Resources announced Operation Tree Plant, a stunning retreat in terms of his government's commitment to tree planting. This program's fancy and somewhat misleading name is an attempt at covering up the fact that the minister is actually planting 35 million fewer trees this year. Unacceptable. Clearly, this is not responsible or professional forest management.

Then, on March 24, the minister announced that he is closing four of Ontario's 10 tree nurseries: the Chapleau and Gogama facilities this year and the Midhurst and Thunder Bay sites in 1993. Again, this decision was not

made on the basis of any long-term forest management considerations; it was based purely on fiscal desperation.

By any objective measure, there isn't any question that the minister's misguided policies and actions seriously threaten forest regeneration, the future of the forest products industry and jobs. The very essence of this member's resolution this morning is jobs and forest industry protection.

The minister's current budget allocation of approximately \$230 million to forestry over the next three years: He plans to cut that budget by \$100 million, and \$40 million is to be slashed in the first year alone. Obviously, the minister's commitment to Ontario's forests is dead, and he's killing off jobs at the same time.

The Ontario Silviculture Association estimates that 2,000 to 3,000 jobs, mostly for students, were eliminated in the industry this year. The ministry itself estimates that the closing of the four tree nurseries will cost 50 permanent jobs and 180 temporary positions. In the Thunder Bay region alone, the minister's cutbacks are costing an estimated 770 jobs.

Thunder Bay city council, as I've mentioned before, has endorsed a report from the local tree seedling growers association, which calls on the NDP government to ensure that 165 million trees are planted annually—falling on deaf ears, I may say.

I support the member for Renfrew North in his effort in bringing this deteriorating situation in the Ottawa Valley to the attention of the Minister of Natural Resources and his government, but I would expect and demand that the minister make a new and comprehensive commitment to our forests throughout all of Ontario, one that's bolstered by a long-term, comprehensive plan and sound professional management.

I would like to urge the minister to form a partnership with such organizations as the Ontario Tree Seedling Growers Association. It should be a partnership dedicated to maintaining and enhancing the public's forest ecosystem for all environmental, social and economic uses.

Just this week the Ontario seedling growers association has been in touch with me again, wanting to know what has happened with regard to the ministry, with regard to its programs, with regard to its commitment for these seedling trees that it wants to sell, as it has over the past years.

Tree planting should be a commitment utmost in the mind of the minister and his parliamentary assistant from the north, to make sure that these areas that have been cleared and are ready for replanting are replanted. I met this morning with some people within the industry. They're indicating to me that these areas are not being replanted. So I think the commitment from the minister to his forest management should be utmost on his mind.

When we look at the four mills that the member talked about, from Pembroke to Sault Ste Marie, that were probably closing and laying off people, we've got to look at that whole aspect, and that's only one area that he's talking about. There are areas in all of Ontario that is the same.

The assessment of standing timber: Has there been assessment made by the ministry that will determine for us exactly what is out there that you could make and sell to

the cabinetmakers, for wood-finishing people? Do we have those stands?

When we look at the economic policy of the government relating to forest management, the Ministry of Natural Resources commitment to the people of this province is failing. It's going to get a failing mark because the \$40 million this year alone that is being cut is unacceptable. I think that priorities within the ministry have to be put in place whereby forest management is its number one priority.

1020

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): I just want to take a little bit of time to address the resolution that the member for Renfrew North has brought forward. He's referred a number of times to the wood study—and that is not the Len Wood study. That is the wood study of the central Ontario area that he's referring to.

I have a copy of the study here. There are a number of recommendations—I believe they number up to eight—that have been brought forward on that study.

In the resolution, the member for Renfrew North's comments are to "take immediate steps to stabilize and support the forest industry, including taking sensible and timely action to implement the recommendations of the Central Ontario Wood Study...."

This is a study that started in September 1990 and was completed in September 1992. A number of actions will be taken from recommendations brought in in the fall of 1993.

There's going to be an improved inventory: "the importance of improved inventory to our future management," and "We're actively working to incorporate the inventory projects into our ministry budgeting process." These are some of the comments from MNR.

One thing we have to remember is that in the area where the wood study was done, there are 250 operating sawmills. Out of these 250 sawmills that are operating, there are 43 sawmills that produce over one million board-feet of lumber a year, and 13 of these mills provide over 90% of the lumber produced.

Of those 13 sawmills, there are logs available from crown and private land to meet the demands of approximately only eight. I'm talking about running full production, because in my riding of Cochrane North, all of the communities are single-industry towns. They're dependent on the renewable resources that we have. I'm talking about Hearst, Mattice, Opasatika, Kapuskasing, Smooth Rock Falls, Cochrane. Each one of these communities depends for its livelihood either on sawmills, pulp mills or paper mills.

The member mentions that there are a lot of jobs lost. There's no doubt about it. In my riding of Cochrane North, over the last number of years, there have been a lot of changes taking place through modernization—mechanization of the forest and modernization in the pulp mills, paper mills, sawmills—and downsizing. There are a number of sawmills that haven't been able to continue to operate.

For example, in Hearst right now, unemployment is close to 40%, but we're hoping that this is going to turn around as the community works together with government, with the various ministries and with private enterprise to be able to

get the best use of what forest is there and to maximize employment.

You can go back 20 years, where in one community there were 12 sawmills operating, and now there are two operating at approximately one and a half shifts. They cannot make ends meet, spend the money for capital to modernize the places, and at the same time create jobs. So they need full operation and they also need wood to be able to do it, and trees that are out there.

So there are a number of recommendations in the Central Ontario Wood Study area that will be addressed in the fall of 1993. The ministry staff in Pembroke are presently working with local sawmillers and Renfrew county staff on a variety of proposals for the utilization of the large volumes of low-quality material in eastern Ontario.

One of the options being considered is the development of a wood-fired generation plant in Renfrew county. While there are a number of problems that will have to be dealt with, the project provides a wide variety of benefits, including the stabilization of the local forest industry. We'll continue to work with Ontario Hydro, private investors and local representatives to develop a viable project for Renfrew North.

This is one example of private enterprise, government, the county and the municipalities in any community throughout Ontario trying to create other jobs and value added products from waste from wood, to get the maximum amount of jobs out of a renewable resource. If we're cutting down trees and using them to make pulp and paper and two-by-fours and things of this kind, then we have to reforest. I disagree with the member for Simcoe East; we are planting the trees, there are a number of trees being planted out there. In a lot of cases there are fewer being used because of recycling of newsprint and things of this kind, but during the recession and hard times that we're going through, the worst recession we've had in 50 years, we are making an attempt. I believe that Bud Wildman is doing a very good job of bringing forward a lot of proposals that are going to address the issues brought up in this resolu-

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): It certainly is a privilege to stand and support the resolution of the member for Renfrew North today. I think it indicates a strong concern, not only in his constituency but across the province, for what's going on in the forest industry and the forests of Ontario today.

Mr Conway represents many single-industry towns whose only reason for being was the forests of Ontario and the wealth they could bring to this province. Historically, these communities have brought that kind of wealth not only to the people within the region, by creating employment, but for the province as a whole. They have been strong engines of Ontario's economic development since people first started to use those resources to make this a better place. Ontario forests provide 20,000 fewer jobs today than they did about two years ago. That, to me and to the members of my caucus, is unacceptable. We find that the numbers in the forests and the wealth produced from these forests are just unacceptable, given the government's policies.

There's some information that I don't think people are well aware of, but forests, of course, are a renewable resource. Forests can be used over and over for many things, including the commercial uses. I want to talk just a little bit about the regeneration because, in estimates, our party spent a lot of time talking about wood supply and about what we are going to do 50 years from now. I want to tell you that the cuts to the regeneration programs in this province have been unconscionable.

Strangely, if you look at regeneration on crown land, what New Democrats are doing in 1991 and 1992 looks almost precisely like what Tories did in 1981 and 1982.

**Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie):** But what we want to know is, what did the Liberals do?

**Mr Brown:** The graphs are very similar; it's exactly the same thing.

We have an opportunity to improve forest regeneration, to do better things—

1030

Mr Martin: You had five years.

Mr Brown: Well, we did have five years, Tony, and I'd like you to look at the graphs, because they go like this. They go straight up, and now they're going straight down.

I want the New Democrats over there to understand that the 30 million trees that aren't being planted on the crown lands in Ontario today are a direct result of misguided policies over there, and not only the trees being planted because that's only part of the story. You can't just plant a tree, you have to tend a tree, and if you think that the number of trees planted have gone down significantly since this government came to power, and that's a fact—

Mr Martin: You don't harvest trees in five years.
The Deputy Speaker: Heckling's out of order.

Mr Brown: —the tending of the forest has fallen right off the chart. This government is spending virtually—well, it's just not there. They're not looking after the investment the previous governments have made in the forests of Ontario, because you have to tend the site for five to six years. We are not doing that in this province.

Members from the north would know that there were about 2,000 people less in Ontario's forests last year providing planting and tending, and those 2,000 people were mostly young people. They were people who were going to universities, they were people who wanted to improve their opportunities for education, and in a time when a government is cutting back on the assistance that it provides to students in northern Ontario as well as across the province, it is really unacceptable to me and should be to all members of this place that the government is not doing things that make sense. It makes sense to tend the forest. It makes sense to take advantage of the opportunity we have in the forests of Ontario today and to make sure that the renewable resource is in fact renewed.

I estimate we learned a lot of very amazing things. We learned that the Ministry of Natural Resources has increased the amount of money it is spending for information, research and policy by 23%. They're paying for a lot of consultants out there, but they're paying 6% less in

operating costs. The actual amount of work being done in the forests of Ontario and all the other programs of the Ministry of Natural Resources has been cut, and on top of that—and this is shameless—the staff payroll within the Ministry of Natural Resources has increased by 11% in one year, and the inflation in this province was about 1.5%.

If Mr Wildman can explain that to the people I represent, to the people who aren't working out there, how ministry staff can have their salaries and benefits globally increased by 11%—

**Mr Wood:** It was all explained to you in estimates, if you were listening.

Mr Brown: I cannot understand. The people I represent won't be able to understand that. We have to be able in this time to set some priorities, and our priorities are the people who Mr Conway represents, the people I represent, the people Mr Miclash in Kenora represents, who rely on the forest products industry for wealth. We hope our children and grandchildren will be able to do that. Without regeneration, without proper timber allocations, we will not have the opportunity of doing that, but we know that the bureaucracy is being well looked after.

The amount of money being spent on operations by the Ministry of Natural Resources is down significantly. It is the old "pay more and get less," and this government continues to do that in just about every facet of its operations.

I represent communities such as Mr Conway's. I represent communities along the north shore of Lake Huron. I represent the town of Espanola. Just outside my riding is Nairn Centre, some of the largest forest industry operations in this province. They are experiencing great difficulties. The industry was in to see us, that is, a committee of the Liberal caucus, last evening, and they showed what dire shape that industry is in these days. They told us that they are losing hundreds of millions of dollars. They're in very difficult straits. As I said, they've lost about 20,000 employees over the last two years.

They told us that there are problems out there, and they don't only relate to timber management. They don't only relate to regeneration. They relate to an unconscionable energy policy in the province of Ontario that is forcing them out of business. They are becoming very uncompetitive with their neighbours in even Michigan because of hydro rates. The numbers are astounding.

To survive that industry is going to need a rational policy by this government to make sure that they are economically viable. That applies both to Mr Conway's constituents in the forest industry or the people he and I represent on the farms of Ontario or the senior citizens. I want to just leave this government one message. The message I want to leave them is that your hydro/energy policy is killing the competitiveness of this province and it must stop.

With that, I'm going to ask that I can give my time to the member for Lanark-Renfrew so he may finish his remarks, if that's possible, sir?

The Deputy Speaker: Yes, it is.

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): It's my pleasure this morning to join with my colleague the member for Renfrew North in support of this resolution number 34.

The preamble of the resolution asks this House to recognize that the forest industry is in serious difficulty. While this difficulty arises from many factors, the primary factor is the deterioration in the availability of good standing timber.

The resolution also acknowledges the fact that the current forest industry crisis has led to the loss of many jobs in the riding of Lanark-Renfrew, and I will say that these job losses have been particularly hard on the economy.

The resolution also states that immediate steps should be taken to implement the Central Ontario Wood Study, which was released over the past summer. This study is proof that the government is aware of some of the problems with the forest industry. Despite the fact that the government is aware of the problems inherent to the industry, it has failed to implement the recommendations of its analysis. The longer the government delays, the more jobs will be lost.

The industry is in trouble not for lack of natural resources, because there is still abundance of harvestable trees within the Ottawa Valley. The forest industry is dying because of excessive intervention and regulation on the part of the Ontario government. Rigid environmental policies, set out and enforced by bureaucrats from the Ministry of Natural Resources, are simply incompatible with the economic realities of the Ottawa Valley. As a result of these unsuited policies, companies are going bankrupt, hundreds of people are losing jobs and communities are actually falling apart.

The closure of Stone Consolidated at Braeside is the clearest example of this negative dynamic between economy and government policy. It is evident in the village of Braeside in my riding of Lanark-Renfrew. In this village of only 500 people, 155 individuals have lost their jobs because Stone Consolidated, formerly known as Gillies Lumber, went out of business.

Stone Consolidated was not the only industry located in Braeside, and its closure put a total of 300 people out of work in the valley as a whole. This mill did not go out of business because it was uncompetitive or for the lack of markets. Stone Consolidated closed operations because it wasn't granted sufficient timber allocations by the provincial government.

#### 1040

The closure of the mill has had devastating effects on the community. This mill had served as a mainstay of economic activity for over 25 years and formed a major component of the unique tradition of history in the Ottawa Valley. It had shown that forestry was capable of sustaining jobs and investment within our local economy, because forestry is one of the few natural resources available to our area and because the Ottawa Valley has been hit particularly hard by the recession.

In discussing this closure with the reeve of Braeside, Mr Neil Mullins, he states, and I quote:

"The community of Braeside has been hit very seriously. Assessment from our mill took care of our school

and county taxes and now the county taxes will have to cover our losses and as a result everyone in Renfrew county will pay and there will be more taxes for everybody."

The economy of the valley is already suffering from hard economic times and cannot sustain any further tax increases. Taxes will also have to be increased in order to cover the welfare costs of the unemployed from this mill. This is particularly frustrating given the fact that every taxpayer knows full well that forestry is still viable in Renfrew county. What is even more frustrating is the fact that the mill at Braeside is capable of sustaining 400 to 450 jobs if the government would allow it to operate at its potential capacity.

When asked to explain why the Braeside mill went out of business, Reeve Mullins said, and I quote:

"I blame the government because they would not grant the necessary timber allocations to keep the mill open. By not allowing the mill to obtain these timber allocations, it's as though the government wants us to be on welfare."

We feel there is still hope for the renewal of the forest industry in Renfrew county and there is still a possibility that the Braeside mill can go into operation again, only if, though, the government starts to rethink some of its forestry policies. Instead of crowding out economic activity and placing unnecessary limitations on resource allocation, the government must work towards cooperative agreements that will ensure that local mills have access to the timber allocations that they deserve.

There are currently buyers who are interested in purchasing the Braeside mill, but there is one problem. The investors will not buy the mill unless there's assurance from the Ministry of Natural Resources that it will allow for sufficient timber allocations. This deal is thereby contingent on whether the government can cooperate with the forest industry. In essence, this government can make or break the industry in the riding of Lanark-Renfrew. The obvious solution is for the government to become more realistic in the implementation of its environmental policies. They should work towards sustainable development and not zero development.

Another problem with the forest industry in my riding is the cost of energy. I know my colleague the member for Renfrew North is well aware of what's happening. He has many more businesses and industries depending on the mills than in the south part of the riding that I have, along with Lanark.

The mills were actually guided and directed to use electricity for their operations not that many years ago and now, due to the policies of this government and the policies at Ontario Hydro, which is under direct control of this government, that energy is no longer feasible simply because of the cost. That, along with the drop in the availability of timber rights to the mills, is causing the real problem in my section of Renfrew county.

I am pleased this morning, along with the member for Simcoe East, who used to work in the sawmill and is very well aware of the number of people it employs and the type of employment, to be able to be here and support Mr Conway on this bill.

Mr Martin: It gives me great pleasure this morning to rise in the House and speak on this issue. We in this government inherited two and a half years ago a great challenge re the management of the resources of the province, a challenge that I think was heightened by the non-management of the resource over the last 10 or 20 years or more in the province, and particularly in the five years proceeding the time we came into office.

There has been a history of misuse and abuse and of catering to interest groups and particular groups. We decided that we would stop that and that we would try it in partnership with all the vested interests in the forestry sector, particularly in our neck of the woods as northern members, and do it in a way that recognized all the interests: certainly, the interests of the industry, the interests of the workers, the interests those of us who live and breathe in northern Ontario, and the interests of the environment and those kinds of concerns.

We have done a number of very interesting things by way of that unique partnership. My colleague from Cochrane tells me of the success of the Spruce Falls restructuring. I know that in my city Algoma Steel was restructured in a way that spoke to a new partnership and coming together of people, and we will continue to do that. In this forestry sector particularly, there is a need to sit down and seriously look at where we're going. That's not done overnight. It takes some time. We're well on our way and I think it won't be long before we will be able to see some of the fruits of the work we are now doing.

I will give you some examples of some of the recent activity in the north and particularly in this central region that my colleague, friend and neighbour Bud Wildman is leading as the competent minister that he is in Natural Resources.

The ministry is working with all parties to ensure that no additional commitments are being made on a very limited resource in the north. We are presently reviewing with industry representatives the allocation of the crown licences associated with the Stone Consolidated mill in Braeside, Ontario, that closed last May. Our operating principle in the review is that these licences should be redistributed among existing mill operations in the Ottawa valley area.

The recently announced wood rationalization program in central Ontario will be attempting to deal with the issue of improvement to our present wood allocation and licensing systems. This program has started with a target of late 1993 for recommendations. Representatives from the forest industry in the Ottawa valley and those members of the public concerned about this issue will play an active part in the wood rationalization program.

We recognize the importance of improved inventory to our future management and we are actively working to incorporate inventory projects into our ministry budgeting process. We are also taking initiatives to try and modernize the mills, which I think is important for the long-term viability of those operations and those enterprises. Incentives for the modernization of mills is closely linked to the availability of a long-term wood supply, of course. Before the industry can move ahead with modernization we have

to sit down together to talk about long-term available timber volumes and sustainable forestry. There is recognition within the industry that things are changing and we will be going through a period of restructuring. Our challenge is to ensure that whatever changes are made are done in such a way that the sustainability of the resource is ensured.

I think that's the key issue here this morning, the issue of sustainability and working in an intelligent fashion in front of that to make sure that all operations, including the ones that are most particularly being targeted here this morning by the member for Renfrew North, that are a concern, certainly to my colleague the member for Cochrane North, Mr Wood, and myself re the operations in my riding. 1050

Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton): I'm glad to rise in the House and speak to the resolution set forth by Mr Conway, the member for Renfrew North. Our ridings are very similar and Haliburton county is very close to Renfrew county and has similar territory and similar concerns. We in Haliburton county experienced a very difficult time under the Liberal government when the Harcourt mill was closed down. It was closed down for many of the issues that have been raised here today, because of the deterioration in the availability of good standing timber.

The Harcourt mill was seeking ways to expand its procedures for getting lumber. They were going to the government, and they asked for an agreement with the government to go into certain crown lands. The government, under the Liberal regime, was unwilling to do that. I must say, although I was very much against the process of what happened around the Harcourt mill, I really felt for the government in those days because the government was faced with a very difficult problem, and it's a problem that all governments, including our own, are facing today, and that is on one hand, we have the reality of government intervention, the government having to decide what are the priorities in terms of the forestry industry and how those priorities are to be met. On the other hand, we have a growing consciousness and understanding about ecological considerations, and it is these two very strong competing forces which have pushed governments into having to make very difficult decisions.

I live in Haliburton county, in that part of the county where there's been a significant amount of lumbering. It's a historical industry, going back to the Boyd family of Bobcaygeon, which was one of the barons of the lumber industry in the 19th century. I go through my area and I see the kinds of lumberings that are going on now in the forests, I see the wood that's coming out, and if you look at the stumpage, if you look at the size of the logs that are coming out of the forests, they are not very large any more. In fact, we have forested and overharvested to a great degree throughout our part of Ontario.

Again, we have this constant tension between government intervention and setting priorities for government and trying to help the industry along, and on the other hand, ecological considerations about the viability of the forests. How is that to be resolved?

I agree with the honourable member for Renfrew North when he says that the recommendations of the Central Ontario Wood Study be taken very seriously, and in many cases, implemented. I think on the whole that it's a good study. It needs to be taken seriously and I want to support that part of the resolution that the member for Renfrew North puts.

I do want to say, though, that in response to the members for, certainly, Simcoe East and Lanark-Renfrew, some of the criticism they have put towards the government, being a fair-minded individual, may indeed be true, but I can say—as I keep on hearing about where the Ministry of Natural Resources has cut its operating budget and the effects of that throughout the ministry and on the province of Ontario—to those honourable members, you can't have it both ways.

We are in a recession. We are definitely in a situation in which we have to control government spending. That is going to affect programs, and you can't have members saying on the one hand, that government should not be cutting these programs, and in the next breath, condemn the government for its spending. You can't have it both ways, so I would say to those honourable members that the government is attempting to redress this. I hope the recommendations of the study are accepted and I want to give my support to the overall aims of the member for Renfrew North.

Mr Conway: I want to thank my colleagues on all sides for their contribution to this debate. I appreciate very much what they've had to say individually about the situations in their own communities. I guess a big part of the reason I'm here today with this resolution is that this is one of the most basic industries in much of this province and it is in a hell of a mess, and we're all to blame.

My friend from Haliburton rightly observes the pain and misery of that Harcourt thing. I lived through that. I saw my own name smeared in the public press over that. I won't get into the history of that, but I'll tell you, it was not a very happy time, and there's blame on all sides, blame on the part of past governments, blame on the part of industry.

The key question of what's in the bush today—the member for Sault Ste Marie was talking, and rightly so—we've high-graded, we've depleted the public and private lands of this province of much of the good material, and that is not entirely the government's fault. Industry has a responsibility for that and so do all of us living in communities, because there were a lot of very, very strong short-term local pressures that drove some decisions, and sometimes those decisions, with the best of intentions, went altogether in the wrong direction.

My friend the member for Lanark-Renfrew points out the problem he's got in Braeside. I want to just cite one statistic, a statistic from this Central Ontario Wood Study, and this looks at the area from Pembroke up through Parry Sound. I ask my friends to listen to this. This is the most recent data from the Ministry of Natural Resources.

According to these MNR data, we now know that we have only enough sawlog material from crown and private lands to meet the demand of eight of the 13 large sawmills

in the Pembroke-Parry Sound area. So without doing anything else, we apparently now face a situation where 40% of the existing large mills in the area will have to shut down. That's hundreds of jobs. I hope it doesn't happen, but that's the latest data.

On top of that—this is very painful for members on all sides—in this study area, 40% of all of the material comes from Algonquin Park. Now if we move, for whatever good and virtuous reason, to eliminate logging in Algonquin Park or to substantially reduce the materials available to the Algonquin Forestry Authority, I hope we all understand what that means. That is sending hundreds of people to guaranteed unemployment. If we do that, we just better understand what we're doing.

When I go to places like Mattawa and Madawaska and Palmer Rapids and Cardiff and all of these other places, this is in many cases the only game in town. Before I send those people down the road to the unemployment and welfare lines, I'm going to think long and hard. I do not support an elimination of logging in Algonquin Park, although I understand the theoretical argument.

Mr Martin: Do you support management?

Mr Conway: Of course. We have no choice. I want to say to my friend the member for Sault Ste Marie who says we're talking about management, well, I hope so, and one of the criticisms I have is that the government—and I don't mean this is a partisan observation because it was certainly true in our case—the fiasco that our government presided over at Temagami was in large measure because the government was at war with itself. The Ministry of Natural Resources is becoming fundamentally conflicted. The timber branch is perpetually at war with parks and recreation. It cannot make any kind of a cohesive and coherent decision because it is a conflict of interest writ large.

Now you've got other departments of government: You've got Environment working at cross purposes with Natural Resources. As the member from Lanark pointed out, and as my friend from Manitoulin observed, the Hydro pressures on this industry are stupendous. My friends in the government caucus will hear from the Ontario Forest Industries Association, I expect, very shortly, but I'm going to tell you, when you've got sawmills employing 50 and 60 people with hydroelectric bills of \$500,000 going up on an annual rate of 10% and 12% at a time when the market is collapsing, you don't have to be Einstein to figure out what that's doing to viability. I know there maybe aren't any easy answers to that. My point is that we'd better understand that we don't have an endless amount of time to debate this question.

The OFIA told us last night that we've lost about 20,000 jobs in this sector in the last couple of years and we are undoubtedly going to lose more, and some of those losses we're not going to be able to do anything about. We'd better soon in this province develop a strategic plan in this vital resource sector that turns on a few principles.

One, it is an important industry in places like Sault Ste Marie and Pembroke and Haliburton and Cochrane and a lot of other places, and it's politically correct to say that, that forestry is not some kind of scourge, although forestry has some sins for which atonement is due. I agree with my friends opposite and my friends here when they say we can't continue the past practices. I can't believe there's anybody out there who honestly imagines that we can or should.

But we'd better soon come up with a plan in this province that brings government and business together in some kind of sensible, coherent way to address the problems of the environment, of energy, of wood supply, of a better inventory, of a fundamentally re-examined timber allocation system. In my area we've got community groups now developing that are not very happy with the traditional OIC, or order-in-council, licences.

On the other hand, we've got an industry that's going to require massive investments if it's going to modernize and update to develop some of the new opportunities. Nobody's going to invest any money in this industry if there is no certainty, if there's no predictability.

#### 1100

When we talk about some of these other issues like energy and the environment, I hope we all understand what some of these high-cost uncertainties in those key areas are doing to the investment climate. Nobody's going to go into Braeside, nobody's going to go into Lajambe in Sault Ste Marie and invest any kind of money if he thinks he's about to be run out of town with impossible environmental regulations. Nobody's going to do anything in my area if you think you're going to lose 40% of your feedstock, which has traditionally come from Algonquin Park. That is a reality.

This is an issue of economics, of jobs, of community survival in my part of eastern Ontario. The industry's on the critical list and now is the time to get on with some tough choices and some important decisions. I'm glad we're prepared to do that.

The Deputy Speaker: The time for the first ballot item has expired.

HEALTH PROTECTION AND PROMOTION AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LA PROTECTION ET LA PROMOTION DE LA SANTÉ

Mr Tilson moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 89, An Act to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la protection et la promotion de la santé.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 96(c)(i), the member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): This subject was first drawn to my attention and, I assume, to the attention of other members of this House some time ago by the Ontario Professional Fire Fighters Association. I will read the explanatory note which all of you have in front of you, but it would be interesting for those who are watching these proceedings to know the purpose of this bill.

The bill addresses a situation where a person provides emergency care to a person who later goes or is taken to a hospital.

The person who provides the emergency care may then ask the medical officer of health if he or she was exposed to a reportable disease or to an agent of a communicable disease in the course of providing the care. The medical officer of health is required to respond in writing as soon as possible and to not disclose the patient's identity to the care giver.

In addition, a hospital is required to report to the medical officer of health the name of every person who provides emergency care to a person with a reportable disease or an agent of a communicable disease. If the medical officer of health determines that the person who provided the emergency care may have been exposed to the reportable disease or to the agent of the communicable disease, the medical officer of health shall advise the person as soon as possible of that fact.

In short, if a fireman, a policeman or what I call a good Samaritan, an individual who is driving along a road and observes a car accident, or if he or she is in his or her place of employment and observes that someone has been injured and has sustained substantial injuries and then either rescues that person, takes the person to the hospital where he or she is attended to or simply makes the person comfortable until the fireman, the police officer or other person of authority comes to take the person to the hospital, and if that person who has been rescued has a communicable disease and the hospital, in the course of examining that person, determines that the person has a communicable disease, the law currently is that the rescuer or the police officer or the person providing care simply cannot be informed that he or she has come into contact with such a person. The purpose of this bill is to rectify that situation.

The rationale of the bill is that emergency response personnel are contracted to provide a service that we, as a society, consider to be essential: the provision of emergency medical care. People who are called upon to fill that role include ambulance personnel, police, firefighters and nurses.

As well, of course, it is widely recognized that all citizens have an obligation to provide what care they can for others who are seriously injured. Those who fulfil these obligations are recognized with citations, medals and awards, aside from the moral issue of simply providing assistance to people who are in need of care. Yet these health care providers and good Samaritans are, as it turns out, themselves put at risk of contracting potentially fatal diseases such as hepatitis, meningitis or HIV.

This bill, then, is designed to inform emergency care providers if they have faced significant chance of exposure to a communicable disease, so that they can take the medical steps to learn if they have indeed been infected, as well as altering their own behaviour to reduce the risks to their coworkers, friends and families.

I think that is the next issue, of course, if these persons have contact with a disease and they go back and, unbeknownst, infect their family. That currently is the law

today, and I would hope all members of the House would support this bill and remedy that situation.

There are a number of factors which together combine to place emergency response personnel at significant risk of contracting a communicable disease from an injured person. First of all, there is the presence of body fluids. While many medical emergencies arise out of motor vehicle accidents, workplace accidents or crime scenes, the injuries can be severe burns, extensive wounds etc. This means that the ample presence of body fluids is one of the ways in which communicable diseases are transmitted.

Secondly, the speed of response must be very high. The victim must receive medical attention fast. Any delay may be fatal. We all know that and we all, as good Samaritans or firefighters or police officers or nurses, realize the necessity to deal with these injured people as soon as possible. Emergency response personnel therefore are faced with the dilemma of wasting valuable time donning protective gear or acting to save the victim. So they're put in a very difficult position, and it may be that they may not have time to don their protective gear, aside from the risks of the good Samaritan.

Thirdly, there is the physical proximity to the victim, and this increases the risk of transmission.

While some 60 diseases have been designated communicable and most of them life-threatening, four are significant. There is the disease tuberculosis, secondly meningitis, thirdly hepatitis and fourth, human immunodeficiency virus, the disease that of course leads to AIDS.

One of the ways that a communicable disease may be spread to health care workers is through accidental needle pricks, in which a care provider pricks himself with a needle that he has just administered to a patient.

Not only does contacting these diseases have serious health implications, as I've indicated; it also puts friends, coworkers and family of the infected people at risk. Early detection can sharply reduce the risk of transmission.

There is one case in the United States where a person has died from a communicable disease contracted through providing emergency health care. I don't believe it's known how many health care providers have contracted communicable diseases through the provision of medical care, so there's no question—to date it hasn't occurred a great deal, but because it has happened at least once in the United States and because of the very fact that the possibility is there, I think we should act now before it does happen.

While the vast majority of medical emergencies do not put emergency care providers at risk, nevertheless I would submit that we need to protect our health care workers and the good Samaritans in the few situations where it does happen.

#### 1110

I'd like, in the brief introductory remarks that I have, to indicate how this bill would work.

First of all, hospital administrators would be expected to maintain records of who provided emergency care to any particular person.

Secondly, an emergency care provider, be that a professional or a good Samaritan, can make a written request to a

medical officer of health to determine, in the words of the bill, "whether he or she may have been exposed to a reportable disease or to an agent of a communicable disease in the course of providing [the] emergency care." The request would include certain information such as the date, the time and the place the care was provided, as well as the type of care provided. The medical officer of health would respond in writing, confirming whether the person was so exposed, and, if so, to what disease.

Nothing in this bill would allow for the person carrying a communicable disease to be identified, so that that individual's rights are protected, and at the same time, the people providing the care, or the good Samaritans, would have their rights protected as well.

I would submit that this government might consider the establishment of counselling for emergency care providers that would be able to provide factual and clear information about the communicable disease that the person may have been exposed to, as well as the importance of privacy. It's a very difficult issue, I appreciate, the whole issue of privacy versus the rights of our care givers and our good Samaritans, and I would hope that the members of this House would support this bill.

There have been examples of this legislation elsewhere. As of 1990, at least 27 US states, as well as the United States Congress, have enacted legislation requiring the notification of emergency response personnel of the possible transmission of communicable diseases. There's a list of those states in the Journal of Legal Medicine, and those are all set out. There are copies of that bill, and much of these bills say pretty well what this bill is recommending that this House pass.

Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre): I fully appreciate that the member for Dufferin-Peel's bill to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act is sincerely motivated and his goals are important and desirable. The exposure of emergency care givers, or anyone else for that matter, to infection from dangerous diseases is a matter of great concern. Clearly, we must do everything we can to set up safeguards against it.

After serious examination of the bill's provisions, however, the Minister of Health has concluded that it would not offer additional protection to emergency workers, and I'd like to explain the reasons for that.

For some time the Ministry of Health has been aware of the concerns of occupational groups such as ambulance attendants, firefighters and police officers. About two years ago a working group, the public safety services liaison committee, was set up with a mandate to address these concerns. The group includes staff members of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Solicitor General and the fire marshal's office, as well as management and union representation of police and firefighters.

The working group stresses the need for ongoing education of emergency workers, strict adherence to the infection control protocols, and the importance of informing those who may actually have been exposed to communicable diseases.

The Ministry of Health, through the physician manager of the disease control service of the public health branch,

has reminded all medical officers of health in the province about the importance of identifying and informing close contacts, especially ambulance attendants, police and fire-fighters, about any exposure to diseases for which person-to-person contact might create an increased risk. This must be done immediately after patient diagnosis, and the requirement for physicians and hospital administrators to report such exposure to the medical officer of health is spelled out under regulation 559-91 of the Health Protection and Promotion Act. So there is already a serious and organized effort in place to safeguard the health of workers most likely to be exposed to health risks from communicable diseases.

Three infectious diseases are of particular concern: meningococcal disease, hepatitis B and, of course, HIV/AIDS. The situations surrounding each of the three are somewhat different. Meningococcal disease is an acute infection that is quickly diagnosed. Hospital administrators are already required to alert the medical officer of health about any diagnosis. The MOH, in turn, is required to trace contacts and ensure that they received immediate and appropriate treatment. This procedure has been in place for some time now, and the mechanism proposed in Bill 89 is unlikely to speed up the process for informing contacts who have provided emergency care. Also, there is no issue of confidentiality with respect to meningococcal disease.

With hepatitis B, many individuals are carriers without having any symptoms and without being aware of their infection. Thus, the only way to safeguard those who provide emergency care from the risk of being infected with hepatitis B is to ensure that they are immunized against the disease. Ambulance attendants are already required by the Ministry of Health to have this immunization. I would suggest that it would be best to extend this requirement to other emergency workers, such as firefighters and police.

The risk of HIV/AIDS is of course a major concern with a more complicated framework than the diseases already mentioned. For one thing, many people who are carrying HIV have not been tested and are not aware they are infected. Furthermore, because of the confidentiality policies regarding anonymous testing and the right of individuals to keep their infection undisclosed, the medical officer of health may not have the information needed to advise emergency care givers that they have been exposed. Even when the medical officer of health has this information, in most cases the emergency care giver would know the identity of the patient, so release of the information would identify the infected person and thus compromise his or her right to confidentiality.

At present, hospitals do not record the name of every person who provides emergency care, and it is not unusual to have a reportable disease become known only many months after an incident. By that time it is too late for effective intervention to protect the emergency worker.

Furthermore, Bill 89 would undoubtedly increase the workload of emergency workers, hospital administrators and the medical officers of health across the province. This would be well worth it if it were to result in an improvement of the

safeguards. However, there is absolutely no indication that this would offer any additional protection.

The ministry takes the concerns of emergency care givers very seriously. We are well aware that it is a serious issue and are committed to continue to work towards acceptable and effective solutions. However, we don't think Bill 89 would move us any closer to that solution. Consequently, we cannot support passage of this bill.

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I'm pleased to participate in the debate on Bill 89 and commend Mr Tilson for bringing it forward. I say that and will also say up front that I will not be supporting the particular bill, but I'm interested in the fact that in private members' hour, on at least three occasions that I can recall within the past couple of years, similar bills or proposals have come forward to this place and on each occasion I have not been able to support the particular resolutions or bills that have been placed here. None the less, the concerns that are being carried by the placement of these materials and the resolutions before the House I think should give us pause.

In all of the previous cases, my reasons for not supporting the particular proposals that were made related to the methods through which the proposals could be implemented, deficiencies in drafting or indeed some misunderstanding of what the existing protocols or requirements or regulations are in the field of protection from communicable diseases or other diseases among the emergency care workers. My response to Mr Tilson's particular bill will be along those lines and may well indeed reflect much of what the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health has just spoken to.

None the less, while the parliamentary assistant has indicated that there are teams looking at these issues, in my view the matter is a broader concern than is being addressed by the particular working group set up by the Ministry of Health. Clearly, we in this House do not think that those efforts are adequate or expansive enough, and because they really reflect the professional emergency worker and relate less to the volunteer or to the good Samaritan, a great deal more attention has to be paid to those areas.

The other question relates to whether in fact we're addressing issues of concern with respect to airborne transmission of disease or transmission of disease through blood and bodily fluids. I think the Ministry of Health would do well to note the discussions that have taken place here and that the view of people as individuals in this House, which is why we're here the morning, is that much more action must be taken.

1120

With respect to Mr Tilson's bill specifically, I want to pass on to him that while I recognize the intent, the specifics are of concern. I think serious problems would be created with its implementation and I'd just like to raise some of those issues. One of them is the entire issue of cost of record-keeping and who would pay. We know that the Minister of Health has now reduced the operating transfers to hospitals, in fact to zero. They say it's 2% but that's not the case; it's zero.

The hospitals are taking other hits. They're taking hits from the Workers' Compensation Board, which is now demanding payment for coverage of co-op students, nursing in training and so on, and no more hits can be taken by hospitals in this province. The implications of Mr Tilson's proposal may well be, because the Ministry of Health clearly isn't picking up any other expenses, that the hospitals would have to take an additional hit in terms of cost.

I'm also very concerned that were Mr Tilson's proposals to be implemented, there would be an automatic presumption of disease. The person providing the emergency care may seek, through the medical officer of health, information as to whether he or she was exposed to a reportable disease. There aren't adequate criteria with respect to requesting information, and I was interested in looking back to the congressional action which was taken, which more reflects the requirement that we have in place now whereby medical officers of health are in fact required for certain diseases to trace all contacts. That is more reflected in the American statute to which Mr Tilson made reference.

I think Mr Tilson also hasn't adequately addressed the reportable diseases which are now on the list by regulation of the medical officer of health, required reporting provisions. If we look at that list, we have to look at issues that have not been raised here. The incubation period for chickenpox, by example, which is on the list, is 21 days. A person with an HIV infection may never have been tested and almost always doesn't have symptoms until the last stages. With other diseases which were included on the list such as malaria and measles, a different urgency would be expected in terms of the tracing of all contacts.

We know that MOHs must now trace all contacts for the three most virulent and serious diseases, and I think that is of some use. Were that to be extended, there would have to be a considerable examination of which diseases it would be extended to. Again, hepatitis B can be carried for many years with no symptoms at all, and symptoms generally only develop in about 50% of the cases in any case. So the presumption of disease is one that I think Mr Tilson should be looking at.

Another issue is the costs and the efforts associated with the tracking system. What if the patient doesn't know who provided the care? What if the hospital doesn't know who provided the care, which is clearly the case now? I don't believe hospitals record for the most part who the emergency worker was.

Additionally, because the definition section of Mr Tilson's bill is so broad, a person providing emergency care could in fact be a professional emergency worker, a firefighter, an ambulance worker, a policeman, a paramedic. It could be somebody who was employed in a position of authority but who in fact is not a professional emergency worker—I think of a teacher or a swimming coach—or it could be somebody in a totally different capacity: a volunteer at a community centre, a neighbour who's assisting by transporting his or her own neighbour to hospital. I think the section is far too broad, and that alone will provide difficulty.

Although I know Mr Tilson has made an attempt to introduce a liability section to this bill, I question if it is

broad enough. I think if we look at the very flawed legislation, Bill 74, which the government has put forward with respect to the liability clauses associated with recordkeeping, even they are a substantial improvement over Mr Tilson's proposals here.

In conclusion, while I recognize the intent of Mr Tilson's particular bill today and the other issues that have been raised by other members—I believe Mr Morrow spoke a few months ago with respect to a similar piece of legislation related directly to AIDS—I think more work needs to be done not in a legislated form but in terms of the protocols, in terms of the training not just for emergency workers but for all people who work in volunteer or other situations as part of our public health preventive programs.

I hope the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health will take what are clear concerns of this place back to the minister and ask for increased action and attention to these areas.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further debate?

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I'm pleased to be able to be able to speak today on my colleague David Tilson's private member's Bill 89, An Act to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act.

This legislation will enable an emergency care giver to find out from the medical officer of health whether or not he or she was exposed to a reportable disease in the course of administrating aid.

I fully support this bill and I've also discussed it with my firefighters in Grey and Owen Sound. They urge me to tell this House how important this bill is to them and to every other profession which provides emergency care. They believe, as I do, that they have every right to know if a person they helped has a communicable disease and what the disease is.

In my area I have one full-time firefighting body in the city of Owen Sound, as well as 12 other volunteer firefighting groups throughout Grey county. These dedicated individuals give freely of their time and should be afforded the protection this bill offers. As I have said, in my riding we have 12 volunteer fire departments. Now, most of those fire departments are all volunteers. A couple of them do have people who are full-time, but the majority of the people who work there are just volunteers. As I stated, they give their time to go out and help people. They have other jobs and they have families, and when they give this time they don't want things to happen to them, and this would be a bill that would help when they go out on the road and find somebody.

A lot of times my fire departments are there before the ambulances, and in car accidents they're called out now all the time in our area. When they get there, they're not going to stand around and do nothing for people who may have been hurt or who are lying there bleeding on the ground; they're going to work with them.

#### 1130

You know, no matter how much protection you use, it's not always going to be safe. There's nothing to say that the blood will not get into their system or whatever. Again, they're volunteers and I think that we have to look at something to protect these people. As I said, I've talked to them and they fully support this bill.

We also in my area have more than just firefighters. We have quite a core of ambulances in my area, along with the OPP and Mounties. We have a detachment of Mounties in our area. Most of my towns—not all, but most—have their own police force. A lot of the time the police are there ahead of things too. Even in Owen Sound we have an auxiliary police force who help out the local police. These people aren't even paid, but they're volunteers who could come on a scene before any of the paid people are there, and as they are volunteers I think we should be looking after them.

Also, we have a new group that has formed in my area called Community Watch Group, and these are dedicated people who have CBs. In some of the towns where the police force are stretched to the limit, they're out at night and they have their CBs on and they will call the local police. I have one gentlemen, Ron Cole, who has formed one in Meaford, and it's working quite well. They're most likely going to be at an accident scene before any of the professional medical people are there. They could also come in contact with someone who may have a communicable disease, and I think we have to try to help the people like them also.

Exposure to infectious diseases puts these professionals in a dangerous position. They routinely provide emergency medical treatment in unsanitary conditions on patients whom they know nothing about. Knowing what they have been subjected to will allow these people to modify their behaviour and to avoid further transmission to their families. I think this is one of the things why the groups in my area support this bill so much: their families are going to feel better; they're going to know when something's happened out there if this bill is passed.

Also, if there is something, it will allow them, if they have to, to get early treatment. It won't be something that they may be exposed to and not know about. So if this bill is passed, they have a chance to know this.

I also would like to read a couple of letters to the House that I received from professional firefighters. The first one I got was from the Owen Sound Professional Firefighters' Association and it's regarding Bill 89, an amendment to the Health Protection and Promotion Act:

"Our association, the Owen Sound Professional Firefighters' Association, would like your support on Bill 89, which has been introduced by David Tilson, MPP, Dufferin-Peel.

"This bill would protect our families, fellow workers and ourselves, and still protect the privacy of the person with a communicable disease.

"By letting the emergency worker know that they have come in contact with such a disease, he or she will be able to find out, in a reasonable time limit, the risk to his or her family or fellow workers. It would also help reduce health care costs because the spread of disease would be stopped as soon as possible and would not carry on undetected in innocent victims. Your support of this bill would help to save our lives."

This is from Randy Moore, secretary-treasurer of the Owen Sound Professional Firefighters' Association.

I also have one from our Inter Township Fire Department, which I was chairman of when I was reeve of the township of Sydenham. The Inter Township Fire Department is made up of four different municipalities that surround Owen Sound. They have a full-time fire chief and deputy chief, but the rest of the firefighters are all volunteers. This was sent to myself, and it says:

"I understand that on this Thursday, December 3, the Legislature will be debating second reading of Bill 89, which would amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act. Since the Ontario fire service is finding itself more involved in direct patient care, Bill 89 is very important to us.

"The changes proposed to this Bill 89 would protect our emergency responders in the event of being in contact with a communicable disease. As the fire chief of the Inter Township Fire Department, I would like to pass along my strong support for the continued progress in this matter in the second reading of Bill 89 on December 3, 1992."

That's signed by Ken Lawrence and he's the fire chief of the Inter Township Fire Department, which is made up of the four municipalities of Derby, Keppel, Sarawak and Sydenham township, which surround the city of Owen Sound.

Also, though, I mentioned before that we have the auxiliary police right in the city of Owen Sound and there are numerous people who work for them now and it seems to be a system that's working out quite fine. But, as I say again, they're volunteers with very little pay, if any, and every day they put their lives on the line to help people out, and they could come in contact with something like this and this would help them out.

I talked about the community watch, and I mentioned that we have 12 volunteer fire departments in my area of Grey. At the bottom of Grey is Dundalk and they don't have a hospital so they don't have an ambulance service right in Dundalk. The firefighters, when they go, are normally the first ones on the site of an accident on the highway and they have to give medical treatment. They do have now a new truck, by which they do this, and it's some time before they can receive the ambulance or people who can help them out, so they do come in contact sooner than some of the other ones.

As you know, or maybe you don't, Dundalk is one of the higher points in Ontario and we do get a lot of snow. With our conditions in the wintertime, it's probably one of the worst places in Ontario to be when it's snowing. The member Barbara Sullivan will tell you because she owns a farm up there and I'm sure she would want to be looked after if something like this happened. She'll be able to tell you that in the winter the storms are quite heavy in that area and there are a lot of accidents along the highway—unfortunately, but they're there in that whole area of Hanover, and we have a volunteer fire department in Hanover and all through the county of Grey.

I want to congratulate the member for Dufferin-Peel for bringing this bill in and I do fully support him. But before I leave, I just want to say how saddened I am by the fact that the government of the day and the Ministry of

Health would not support this bill. It would seem this would be something they would want to support when they continue to tell us they care about people, but unfortunately today they've indicated that they cannot support this bill, which is too bad.

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): I'm rising today in support of Mr Tilson's private member's bill. The bill is a fine piece of legislation which recognizes the extraordinary services provided and the extraordinary risks undertaken by providers of emergency care in crisis situations.

There are several compelling reasons to support this bill. Although firefighters and ambulance drivers and good Samaritans have actively supported the adoption and implementation of universal precautions to prevent communicable diseases, such as the wearing of latex gloves when coming into contact with patients' blood, it is possible that they will literally face life-or-death situations where reaching for those gloves could seriously jeopardize rescue efforts. But on occasion emergency care givers do take a risk in the public interest. It is the least we can do to ensure that they are as informed as possible about the possible adverse personal consequences of their actions.

The legislation before us stipulates two main things. First, hospitals should release relevant records to the medical officer of health whenever it is discovered that a patient is an agent of a communicable disease. This is not a change in the reporting of cases of communicable diseases; it is already the responsibility of hospitals to keep the medical officer of health informed.

#### 1140

Second, the real change in the legislation that this bill proposes is that emergency care providers will be able to write to the medical officer of health. Identifying themselves, they will be required to describe the incident in which they were involved and their potential exposure to disease. The medical officer of health, without revealing the identity of the person who received emergency care, would be able to write to the emergency care giver and inform him as to whether he has been exposed to disease. The information provided to the care giver is confidential. Nor is it possible to use this legislation to compel testing or other invasive procedures that might violate the rights of the receiver of care.

The information is essential to care givers in the case of viral diseases where there is an incubation period of several months before it is possible to test for the presence of the virus. Based on this information, emergency care givers will be in a better position to get early treatment and to act quickly to take precautions against further transmission of disease.

We are all potentially dependent on emergency care givers, be they firemen, ambulance drivers, prison guards, lifeguards or even just bystanders with some Red Cross training. We want to believe that they would take action to save our lives should the need arise. Emergency care givers are people who are willing to take extraordinary risks to save lives and protect individuals. It hardly seems unreasonable that we should give them the information that will help protect themselves and their loved ones, especially

when we can do so in a way that protects the privacy of the person needing care.

I have listened to the objections this morning from both sides of the House and basically what I hear is that the bill isn't perfect, the bill isn't foolproof. However, the fundamental question we must ask ourselves is, does this bill improve protection and safety for police officers, correctional officers, ambulance attendants and firefighters? The answer, very clearly, is yes.

I want to go on record. I want to support our professionals. There is certainly room for refinement of the bill, but the bill can go to committee and refinement can take place. I want this bill to move forward as a very clear signal. I noticed that the Liberal member who spoke laughs at this, but unfortunately our professionals, our firefighters, police officers, ambulance attendants and correctional officers are not laughing with the Liberal Party on this issue. We must let our professional care givers know that they are appreciated, respected and valued, and we can do this very clearly by supporting Mr Tilson's excellent bill.

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): It's always a privilege to follow the member for Cambridge in what he has to say, but I must point out to him that the member for Halton Centre was not laughing at what he was saying. She was merely laughing at a suggestion I had made to her on something we had discussed a little bit earlier.

Today I rise in support of this resolution by the member for Dufferin-Peel. We can see it as being an indication, as the member for Cambridge has already indicated, of the protection of those professionals whom we most need in our communities.

I often think of the firefighters, whether they be paid firefighters, as in the community of Kenora, which I represent, or volunteer firefighters, as in all the rest of the communities I represent, the many volunteers who put in a countless number of hours into their professions, and the emergency care givers whom we have, again both our paid ambulance services and our volunteer ambulance services, and the protection that the second reading of Bill 89 will give them. I see the importance of this.

As well, the member for Cambridge mentioned about this bill going to committee. I think this is very important, because we know that should it reach committee—and we know that it may have some flaws in certain areas—that committee will be able to take a closer look at the bill and a closer look at possibly bringing forth some amendments that will make this bill just a little bit better and a bill that will service the needs of the care givers whom I have indicated earlier.

We can go back and take a look at some 300 amendments that were brought forward by the government alone when we took a look at the Advocacy Act, 300 amendments that turned that particular bill around, that particular act, into something that was possibly a little bit more saleable to the people of Ontario.

Again, I must indicate my sincere support of this second reading and I look forward to it going to committee.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I welcome the opportunity to comment briefly on the member for

Dufferin-Peel's private member's Bill 89, An Act to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act, which received first reading on October 22, 1992.

I congratulate my colleague the member for Dufferin-Peel for bringing this private member's bill forward, because it addresses a very serious situation where a person, whether it's a professional involved in providing emergency services or a good Samaritan citizen, provides emergency care to a person who later goes on or is taken to a hospital for treatment.

If this piece of legislation is passed, the person who provides the emergency care may ask the medical officer of health if he or she was exposed to a reportable disease or to an agent of a communicable disease in the course of providing the care. The medical officer of health would be required to respond in writing as soon as possible, and not disclose the patient's identity to the person who provided the emergency care and treatment.

As well, a hospital would be required to report to the medical officer of health the name of every person who provided emergency care to a person with a reportable disease or an agent of a communicable disease. If the medical officer of health determines that the person who provided the emergency care may have been exposed to the reportable disease or to the agent of a communicable disease, the medical officer of health must advise the person as soon as possible.

Exposure to infectious disease is a major threat facing emergency personnel—firefighters, police officers, ambulance attendants who routinely provide emergency medical treatment in unsanitary conditions on patients they know nothing about, and this also applies to individual members of the public, the good Samaritan who provides emergency care at the scene of an accident—who could be exposed to a variety of dangerous, contagious diseases.

Private member's Bill 89 makes good sense. If people provide emergency care, whether they are paid for their services or not—just out of common sense; duty makes you do this—those people who have been exposed to the infectious diseases must be informed of this fact so that they can seek medical monitoring and modify their behaviour to avoid further transmission to the public and to their family and fellow citizens.

We, as a society, owe it to these care givers to notify them about the possible exposure to all infectious disease. They must be given the opportunity to obtain earlier treatment and reduce the possibility of further transmission. Currently, people are denied this right to know because of the Health Protection and Promotion Act.

Private member's Bill 89 would rectify this situation by amending the Health Protection and Promotion Act to give those people the right to know. Isn't that something like freedom of information? Don't you have the right to know, if you've been involved in helping some person in an emergency?

I urge my colleagues here to support this private member's bill, because we're always calling on the public to get involved in providing assistance in emergency situations. So let's give them the right to know if they have been exposed to an infectious disease that could have a serious impact on their future, and let's give the same right to the many professional men and women who provide emergency treatment as part of their job.

When we look at the Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters, they've been looking at something like this for years. They have prepared briefs. They're concerned about the exposure and infectious disease is a major reason. Firefighting is one of the world's most dangerous professions. Firefighters routinely provide emergency medical treatment, and they're looking to be able to know, when there's blood splattered all over the road and all over some people's bodies who have accidents that they have to touch, if they're going to be protected.

I think the right to know is what the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act is all about. It's just the medical officer of health who is going to be dealing with those people.

I thank the member for Dufferin-Peel for bringing this important piece of legislation to the attention of the House. There have been another resolutions here similar to this. I'm surprised the ministry would not want these people to have the right to know when there is an accident.

I think Bill 89, An Act to amend the Health Protection and Promotion Act is timely. I think it's appropriate and I think it's important that every member here see fit to support it.

1150

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): In speaking on the proposed amendments put forward by the member for Dufferin-Peel to the Health Protection and Promotion Act in Bill 89, I wish to express several concerns but also lend my unqualified support.

It is recognized that the emergency care provider has an essential role in our society. Without people, such as the police, firefighters, ambulance attendants and the good Samaritans, our quality of life in this province would be very different. We are very grateful to these people and recognize that they have a very difficult job to do and that their jobs place them in positions where one must react first and then ask questions later. Preserving public safety and human life is their main role.

It is recognized that the principle behind this bill is good. It does not, however, provide the emergency care worker with any further protection. The paperwork and levels involved in this proposed amendment would take an excessive length of time prior to the notification being sent to the emergency care worker that he has been in contact with a person who is infected with a communicable disease. Therefore, it does not serve their purpose. As well, we must remember that in the case of hepatitis B, all emergency care workers are to be immunized against hepatitis B. To ensure this, greater enforcement of this immunization requirement is needed.

Another problem that exists with this proposed amendment is that the local medical officer may not have the information regarding those individuals who have tested positive. As well, in most situations the identify of the individual involved in the emergency will become known, through the media in their reports of accidents, fires etc. The emergency care giver would then know the identity of

the individual, thereby compromising the individual's right to privacy.

A commitment exists to find an acceptable solution, one that will satisfy the needs and rights of all the parties involved. But clearly, the proposed amendments to this bill are not a total solution to problems or to assist the emergency care givers. Within the process, there are specific legislative mechanisms to use to see that a comprehensive and workable legislative mechanism can be put in place that will provide the emergency care giver with the knowledge he seeks.

The concerns and rights of the individuals are recognized, but the rights of all individuals must be considered. Further recommendations and study into procedures to follow in which all members of society are offered equal respect and given the right to privacy are needed. Provisions for the individual who is in the emergency, as well as those who provide care and those individuals who are associated with the care giver, that is, family members are important, but what is more important for them is to have a workable, efficient and practical method to seek and gain this information.

In the interim, adherence to the infection control protocol should be followed and ongoing education of emergency care givers should be provided.

In a presentation to the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly in October 1991, Mr Kostiuk, the chairman of the Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters' safety committee, expressed concern about the very subject raised by the member for Dufferin-Peel. They sought changes in the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act to the extent that a disclosure is necessary to determine if emergency health care workers have been exposed to a communicable disease for the purpose of testing, treatment and counselling, if needed.

The Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters supports the concept of universal precautions in regard to communicable disease and is promoted within its membership. However, there are times when universal precautions are rendered ineffective. An example is auto extrications where sharp metal may tear latex medical gloves.

The Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters simply want the right to know if they have been exposed. The right to know helps in timely treatment, prevents further transmission and would ease the members' concern for possible transmission of communicable disease to their families.

Again, let me state that the role of the emergency care giver is a necessary element in our society and these individuals are appreciated for the work that they do. It is because of this appreciation that we feel it is important for them to have something that will truly assist them. The amendments proposed to Bill 89 will not provide these individuals with what they are seeking, but would be an important link to providing a workable solution.

Therefore, as with my colleague the member for Cambridge, I am fully in support of this piece of legislation.

**Mr Tilson:** It's difficult to respond to all the excellent comments that were made for and against this bill, and I would like to respond very briefly to some of them.

I will say that the Ministry of Health has been informed of this subject for some time, even going back into the Liberal administration. Even in 1991, as a result of a number of letters that were written to the former Minister of Health, Ms Gigantes, an advisory committee was formed called the Public Safety Liaison Group and this group had representatives from the emergency health services, the office of the fire marshall, the Ontario policing services division, the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, the Police Association of Ontario, the municipal fire instructors association and a number of other organizations.

On June 6, 1991, the committee unanimously supported essentially the gist of the proposed bill I'm putting forward. The Provincial Federation of Ontario Fire Fighters went so far as to communicate with the minister, informing that its membership had the right to know. That of course is what the member for Simcoe East has said, that people, care givers, the good Samaritans have the right to know. They have a right to know for their peace of mind, if they can confirm no exposure, or secure treatment and counselling if they have been exposed. They at that time asked that the minister tighten the present reporting procedures to require the medical officers of health to seek out fire, police and ambulance workers who may have been exposed to communicable diseases.

With the one minute remaining, I'm just going to read into the record a letter that was written to me by the Shelburne detachment of the Ontario Provincial Police to explain the terrible problem that care givers are given in this province. It's a letter to myself and part of it says:

"It may interest you to know that a member of this detachment was confronted by this very issue in June. He was investigating an accident in which the victim had received a head injury. While assisting the ambulance crew in loading the victim into the ambulance, the member was bitten on the arm. Unfortunately, the accident victim died the following day as a result of unforeseen complications. While there was nothing to indicate the victim was carrying a communicable disease, we discovered that no legal means was available to determine if the member had any cause for concern."

That's the problem. The law today is that there is no legal means and that is what the intent of my bill says.

"Situations such as this are very rare. However, this situation illustrates the importance of being able to obtain health information in special circumstances. It is important for an emergency services worker to be able to obtain this type of information quickly, not only for their health and safety but also for their own peace of mind."

#### FOREST INDUSTRY

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Mr Conway has moved resolution number 34. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

I declare the motion carried.

## HEALTH PROTECTION AND PROMOTION AMENDMENT ACT

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Mr Tilson has moved second reading of Bill 89. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members; a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1200 to 1205.

The Deputy Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please rise and remain standing until your names are called.

#### Ayes

Akande, Arnott, Bisson, Brown, Carr, Carter, Cooper, Cunningham, Dadamo, Duignan, Eves, Farnan, Frankford, Grandmaître, Haeck, Hansen, Harris, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Jordan, Klopp, Lessard, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Mancini, Marchese, Martin, Mathyssen, McLean, Miclash, Mills, Murdoch (Grey), Murdock (Sudbury), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poirier, Rizzo, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Swarbrick, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Ward (Brantford), Waters, White, Wood.

The Deputy Speaker: All those opposed to the motion will please rise and remain standing until your names are called.

#### Nays

O'Connor, O'Neil (Quinte), Sullivan, Wessenger, Winninger.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals (Mr Alex D. McFedries): The ayes are 51, the nays 5.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The ayes are 51, the nays are 5. I declare the motion carried.

Pursuant to standing order 96(k), the bill is referred to the committee of the whole.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): Mr Speaker, I ask that this be referred to the standing committee on administration of justice.

The Deputy Speaker: If that agrees with the—

Interjections: Agreed.

Interjections: No.

The Deputy Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please rise and remain standing until you're counted.

Thank you very much. Take your seats.

There is clearly a majority. Therefore, this bill will be referred to the standing committee on administration of justice.

All matters relating to private members' business having been completed, I do now leave the chair and the House will resume at 1:30 this afternoon.

The House recessed at 1210.

#### **AFTERNOON SITTING**

The House resumed at 1330.

#### **MEMBERS' STATEMENTS**

#### FOREST INDUSTRY

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): Last evening in a meeting with the Ontario Forest Industries Association, it was made clear to my colleagues and I that the forest industry in this province is facing some difficulties. It is time for the Minister of Natural Resources to stand up and take note. All he has to do is to take a look at a number of plants that are going down, the jobs lost in this industry and the devastating effect that this has on such places as Hearst, with an unemployment rate of some 40%.

Earlier today my colleagues the member for Renfrew North and the member for Algoma-Manitoulin pointed out some of the inadequacies in this government's policy to protect this industry. They pointed to some 2,000 fewer employees in the industry over two years ago when this NDP government took power.

Let's review some of the statistics regarding this most important industry: 41 communities in this province, including four in my own riding, are dependent on the forestry industry; 63,000 people are employed directly, with another 127,200 employed indirectly in this industry. With the value of production being \$10 billion and the contribution to export trade being \$2 billion—that's \$2 billion coming into this province through this industry—we can see the importance of the forest industry to Ontario.

Let me tell you how this government has made it more difficult for the industry to survive in this province. Higher energy costs are one of the highest costs faced in the industry, and now we're telling them that energy costs will continue to rise, giving the industry a substantial competitive disadvantage. Increased workers' compensation and higher transportation costs are two other areas that must be addressed by this government.

I call upon the NDP government to review its policies to ensure that the forestry-dependent communities throughout the province can look forward to continuing their contribution to this great province of ours.

#### PURCHASE OF LAND

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I would like to advise the House, the Minister of the Environment, the Minister of Natural Resources and the Minister of Culture and Communications how amazed I was to learn that this government is buying land in Nottawasaga township through the escarpment trust fund for the Nottawasaga Conservation Authority.

While I am pleased with this purchase, I am also confused. Five years ago the county of Grey wanted to sell the forested Kolapore Uplands to the Ministry of Natural Resources. MNR refused because the area in question was not a part of the Niagara Escarpment plan and the ministry had no power to buy land that was not designated as such.

Grey decided to request that the forest be included in the plan so the trust fund would be able to purchase it. The necessary resolution which would amend the regulation came before this House on December 12, 1990, and two long years later the Niagara Escarpment Commission finally endorsed the amendment which would add the uplands to the plan. But things have changed.

Now the Ministry of Natural Resources says the fund has no money to buy the land. It knew full well that Grey was going through the lengthy procedure to get the forest into the plan for one reason only: so that the MNR could buy the land. Now, suddenly, the Niagara Escarpment trust fund has discovered \$300,000 to buy land in Nottawasaga township, where by coincidence the Minister of the Environment has a summer home. Is this what motivates the government to purchase land? I think all three ministers owe an explanation to the people of Grey.

#### GALT LITTLE THEATRE

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): I would like to rise today to congratulate the Galt Little Theatre as it celebrates two important anniversaries this year.

First, the Galt Little Theatre celebrates its 60th anniversary of performances. When they started out 60 years ago as the Galt Collegiate Staff Players, the founding members probably didn't know that theirs would be the oldest company in the Western Ontario Drama League. Those original members probably didn't imagine the hundreds of productions that would follow: musical reviews, Shakespearian dramas and full-scale musicals like Oliver and the Wizard of Oz.

Second, this year is the 10th anniversary of the Cambridge Arts Theatre, permanent home to the Galt Little Theatre Company. After the company's nomadic existence in places like Tassie Hall and the Cambridge library, the players have really earned this proper setting for their work. It is a measure of the determination of this amateur theatre company that they have won for themselves a permanent home.

On behalf of many other Cambridge playgoers, I'd like to thank the Galt Little Theatre for all of their hard work for the community's enjoyment and wish them many anniversaries of equal significance in the years ahead.

#### LANDFILL

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): You will know that all across the greater Toronto area, residents are up in arms and in fact there's a fury and a sense of anger that is unknown before, I think, in this province with respect to the way the minister, through her Interim Waste Authority, is handling the site selection process.

We are now down to short lists of potential sites that include parkland, wetlands, flood plains as defined by conservation authorities, environmentally sensitive areas and productive agricultural land.

This is obviously a problem in the greater Toronto area, and people are very upset and concerned about it. But it's not only found in the greater Toronto area. I'm asking pages to send over some pictures and a map to some of my colleagues. This is a picture that was sent to me by the

Speed River preservation group, and this may very well end up being the Guelph dump. Yes, what you see is correct: This is class 1 agricultural land. Mr Buchanan, I hope you're noticing that. Mr Fletcher, I hope you're aware of what's taking place. Over here we have wetlands, I say to the Minister of Natural Resources, Mr Wildman—wetlands and a river flowing into a lake.

This is obviously a problem. It's not going on just in and around the greater Toronto area but all across the province. I say to my colleagues opposite that if the Minister of the Environment won't protect the environment, perhaps the Minister of Natural Resources or the Minister of Agriculture and Food will.

#### ST GREGORY SEPARATE SCHOOL

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): I rise again on behalf of St Gregory Separate School in my riding. Since 1982, St Gregory has been petitioning the Metropolitan Separate School Board for much-needed renovations and expansion. Finally, after eight years, they were in the number two position on the priority list for funds in 1992. However, under the government's new guidelines, the lists for new schools and renovation projects were combined and they were bumped from second to sixth. Now, after the Ministry of Education's delay in announcing the capital expenditure list—a six-month delay, I might add—they find they are not on the funding list at all.

On April 30, 1992, I formally requested a meeting with the minister, the president of the school building committee and myself. I received absolutely no reply. On July 5, 1992, the building committee president requested a meeting with you, both by letter to the minister and by phone, and received no reply. Yet another request for a meeting was made on September 28, 1992, and again there was not even the courtesy of a response.

I have made numerous statements in this Legislature and I have presented petitions, all of which have gone unacknowledged. You may not care about the concerns of my constituents, but the minister should know that I do.

Let me tell you that I've had hundreds of letters come to my office about St Gregory school. Better still, I'll let him answer the questions; I'll send these over to the minister by page. All they want is to meet with the minister and discuss the procedures to follow in order for their facility to receive the necessary funding for these much-needed renovations. I don't think that is asking too much—simply a meeting.

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS**

Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York): I rise today to recognize the work of my colleague Evelyn Gigantes, whose Human Rights Code amendment that was passed six years ago today prohibited discrimination in employment, housing and services on the basis of sexual orientation. Since that historic event, gays and lesbians in Ontario have made significant strides, and in doing so, I believe the human rights of all Ontarians have been advanced.

Our government has been asked to take steps to remove the remaining barriers to equality which face the gay and lesbian community. Some of those steps have been taken. On January 1, 1991, this government extended benefits including health and dental insurance coverage to the same-sex partners of government employees. In September of this year, the historic Leshner decision was handed down by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. This decision has been accepted by our government.

Today, the government was presented with postcards from 6,000 Ontarians asking that additional steps be taken to eliminate the barriers to equality of same-sex spouses. I am confident that our government will respond to this matter in a serious way.

1340

#### PLANT CLOSURE

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): It is with a good deal of regret that I share with members of the assembly news they may already be aware of, and that is that St Catharines has once again been hit with another major plant closing, one that is devastating to the people who work at General Motors and those who reside in our community. The announcement was made today that 800 jobs will be lost at the rear axle plant in St Catharines as a result of a decision that was made by General Motors. This will be in addition to the 2,300 jobs that have already been announced as lost as a result of the closing of the foundry and part of the engine plant.

Members of the assembly may wonder from time to time why I have risen in this House in question period, in statements and on every occasion to raise the issue of the future of the automotive industry in Ontario, and specifically and parochially in the Niagara Peninsula and St Catharines. It's because of my concern that we're extremely vulnerable to these kinds of shutdowns and my concern that the provincial government should do everything possible to fight on behalf of St Catharines and Ontario to ensure that our facilities stay open.

The spinoff effect in our community is probably over \$140 million in terms of the loss of salaries. I am encouraged by the resolution that was accepted unanimously, the resolution I introduced to this House, to save the foundry. I now call upon members to join me in trying to save the axle plant in my city of St Catharines.

#### **OUTDOORS CARD**

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): My statement is for the Minister of Natural Resources. It's related to the continuing saga of the blatant tax grab of the Outdoors Card.

In his 1992 annual report, the Provincial Auditor indicated that he had reviewed remittances for hunting and fishing licences totalling approximately \$700,000 from 47 issuers in five districts. He discovered that approximately \$500,000 was remitted more than two months late. Your deputy minister responded by saying you are taking action by implementing a new Outdoors Card in 1993, which will lead to the establishment of a new point-of-sale system for 1994-95. This could very well rectify the cash flow problem, but I want to know who you are trying to fool by charging \$6 for your Outdoors Card.

You could easily have provided the magic strip card free of charge to anglers and hunters, and it would have created a straight flow of hundreds of thousands of dollars into the government coffers and stopped late payments entirely. I tried to be a good Samaritan by going directly to the MNR offices in the Macdonald Block to purchase my Outdoors Card, but MNR will not accept a cash payment. Instead, I had to fill out all of the paperwork, write out a cheque and mail everything to a post office box here in Toronto.

Minister, why are you making it so difficult for people to buy an Outdoors Card and, on top of everything, charging them \$6 for their troubles? And while I'm on the subject, who manufacturers these Outdoors Cards? Was the job put out for tender, and if so, who submitted the winning bid and how much does the company charge for them? Answer those questions.

#### GORD AND IRENE RISK SENIORS CLUB

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): I'm going to turn this statement into a tribute. I'd like to honour Antonio Perricone and the Gord and Irene Risk Seniors Club on Plunkett Road in my riding of Yorkview. There are a hundred members in that club. These seniors have got some guts. These seniors have got the ability it takes to change a community into a family. They do fund-raising for the community. They organize. They organize trips; they organize card tournaments; they organize political events. They are the core of our family in Yorkview.

I want to thank all of those seniors from Gord and Irene Risk, and Antonio Perricone, who is the leader of that organization, for everything they've done. I also want to apologize to that organization because I haven't been able to spend the time that I want. Mr Speaker, you keep me too busy in this place. Eighteen hours a day in this place, lately, has been driving me up a wall, and for that reason I haven't been able to spend the time to play briscola or tresette or even scopa; so for that I apologize.

I'll see you in Yorkview.

### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES

#### FOREST MANAGEMENT

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources): I would like to inform members today that I have released a report that will have a significant impact on how we manage this province's \$10-billion forest industry and on the many communities that depend on the industry for their existence. The report is titled A Report on the Status of Forest Regeneration and is the work of an independent committee. The committee's work represents the first audit of this kind in Canada. It will be a valuable aid as we develop forest management practices based on an ecosystem approach to the forest, and may I say that if this had been done in 1985, as we asked for it, we'd be a lot farther ahead than we are today.

I want to assure the House that this government is committed to acting on the implications of the audit report. It shows that in the period studied by the committee, harvested areas of the boreal forest are regenerating successfully and are not being deforested. However, it also shows that the composition of the boreal forest is changing after logging and harvesting, and this must be addressed.

The audit is the first initiative to be completed under the government's sustainable forestry strategy. It is a review of regeneration of cutover areas in the boreal forests across northern Ontario.

The audit was conducted by the Ontario independent forest audit committee, which is made up of the chair, Kenneth Hearnden, professor emeritus in forestry at Lakehead University, and the vice-chairs, Susan Millson, co-owner of Millson Forestry Service in Timmins, and Chief Willie Wilson of the Rainy River band. They are here with us in the gallery today. I'd like to welcome them and thank them for their work. I am pleased that they are here to help release their report, and I want to commend them for their important work.

I am pleased to learn from their audit that regeneration in harvested areas of the boreal forest is satisfactory. The report tells us that the widely held impression that the boreal forest is being destroyed is wrong. The report indicates as well that there is a change in the boreal forest ecosystem after logging and regeneration and that there is concern about maintaining black spruce as a major species. Black spruce remains vital to the pulp and paper industry. I am committed to addressing the concern about black spruce regeneration.

We will be reviewing the report with the forest industry, environmental groups and other groups interested in our forests as we develop an action plan that responds to the audit's findings.

The audit indicates that when all tree species are considered, there has been satisfactory regeneration at least to minimum stocking standards on 96% of the harvested area studied by the committee. The report notes that if only conifer species are considered, 84% of the areas have been successfully regenerated but only 40% would meet minimum height requirements for free-to-grow status. The report says the committee found no cutover sites that were barren and where no regeneration has occurred.

In addition, however, the audit indicates that in the original forest, 57% of the sampled areas were pure conifer species and 6% pure hardwood. In the new forest, only 40% of the areas are developing as pure conifer and 19% as hardwood at present.

The committee was established after I announced in April 1991 that we would conduct an audit to determine the success or failure of natural and artificial regeneration on previously harvested areas in the boreal forest.

The terms of reference of the committee indicate it could look at areas harvested between 1970 and 1991. However, it decided to investigate the period between 1970 and 1985 because success or failure would not be apparent for at least five years after harvest or regeneration.

The committee found that the composition of the original forest is shifting after harvest and regeneration from domination by spruce and jack pine to one in which hardwoods such as poplar make up a larger component of the forest at present. This trend is more evident on productive

forest sites, ones with fertile soils and well-drained conditions.

This information is important not only for ecological reasons but for what it means for the forest products industry, which is dependent on spruce and jack pine harvesting. A limiting factor in maintaining the conifer component of regenerated areas, particularly spruce, is control of competing vegetation.

#### 1350

While the audit shows that the areas planted and seeded are regenerating more successfully than areas of natural regeneration, the report does not suggest that all cutover areas need to be planted or seeded. However, the committee also says that if the goal of regeneration is to maintain the boreal ecosystem as it was before logging, then natural regeneration must be planned and vegetation must be controlled.

My ministry is already studying ways of improving methods of tending the forest to prevent competing vegetation from interfering with growth of desired tree species as part of sustainable forestry. We will certainly act on the committee's observations about tending regeneration in the boreal forest as we continue to work on our vegetation management program.

The audit is an essential component of the sustainable forestry strategy and provides a crucial starting point and guide for future investment in Ontario's forests. The report makes seven recommendations. I expect to respond to them fully in the near future. In simple terms, the audit shows that we are growing trees successfully on harvested areas of the boreal forest.

Again, I want to express my sincere congratulations to the audit panel.

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY CROWN EMPLOYEES

Hon David S. Cooke (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet): I am pleased to announce that I will be introducing legislation later today that will expand political activity rights of crown employees. With this announcement, our government is meeting its commitment to recognize its employees' rights to participate in political activities. The legislation will strike a sound balance between protecting the integrity of public services and allowing employees to exercise their individual democratic rights.

We believe the current rules are too restrictive and too encompassing. The existing system restricts thousands of crown employees, including most senior managers and many middle managers, from participating in political activities. Those rights that do exist in the way of political activity are minimal. We believe the restrictions are too broad and may be in conflict with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Under our legislation, all crown employees will gain additional rights and existing rights will be broadened. Unlike the current system, crown employees will no longer be required to take a leave of absence to exercise many of their political activities rights. These rights will be extended through a redefined two-tiered system that establishes a restricted tier and an unrestricted tier.

The following positions will be in the restricted tier: deputy ministers, senior managers in the Ontario public service, senior officers of the Ontario Provincial Police and full-time members of government agencies, boards and commissions. All other crown employees will be in the unrestricted tier. We believe this approach recognizes the fact that some crown employees hold positions that require limits on their rights that are more restrictive than those of others.

Under the existing system, employees in the unrestricted category are permitted only the most basic political activity rights. They are allowed to vote, to belong to a political party, to donate money to a political party and to attend all-candidates' meetings. These employees cannot, however, make political comments or raise funds unless they are seeking elected office or on a leave of absence.

The system proposed in the legislation would allow crown employees in the unrestricted tier to have rights similar to all citizens. Allow me to highlight some of the new rights. Unrestricted crown employees will have more freedom to comment on political issues, they will be able to canvass without taking a leave of absence and they will be able to choose whether or not to take a leave of absence when seeking a political nomination for any level of government.

In contrast to the existing system, crown employees assigned to the restricted tier will enjoy rights that they do not now have. For example, they will face fewer restrictions when making political statements and fewer restrictions when seeking elected municipal office.

The legislation also includes some limitations. For instance, a limited number of employees in the unrestricted category will not be able to solicit funds for candidates or political parties unless they are on a leave of absence. Examples of such employees are human rights officers, welfare workers and members of the Ontario Provincial Police.

Crown employees will continue to be prohibited from engaging in political activities while at work, on government business or in uniform. Crown employees still cannot directly tie their jobs to their political actions. With a leave of absence, this limitation will be less restrictive. As well, crown employees have to take a leave of absence to campaign as candidates in a federal or provincial election.

May I remind the House that all crown employees must observe conflict-of-interest rules unless, in the case of unrestricted employees, they are on a leave of absence. The oath of secrecy will of course still apply to all public servants.

Our proposed legislation reflects a consultation with the Ontario Public Service Employees' Union and with the Ontario Provincial Police Association. In addition, Frances Lankin, one of my predecessors, released a widely distributed discussion paper on political activity rights during May 1991.

The proposed legislation extends additional political activity rights to employees, but it does not require employees to exercise those rights. Crown employees are free to choose or refuse to become politically active.

Let me assure the women and men of the public service that this expansion of political rights will not be a burden to them, nor will it affect their working conditions or benefits. Recruitment, performance reviews, promotion and reassignment will continue to be based on the principles of equity, fairness and merit.

This legislation is not about changing the political neutrality of public services. It is not about changing how the Ontario Public Service does business. It is about extending rights to a group of people whose talents and interests have been unfairly and unnecessarily circumscribed.

This government believes that participation in public life is important. Governments that restrict the rights of a valuable and talented pool of people do not encourage that participation. This legislation will do that while protecting the integrity of the public service by applying careful caveats to these new rights.

I am sure members of the House are looking forward to supporting an initiative that provides more rights to crown employees while at the same time ensuring our public service remains one of the best in the world.

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I'll respond to the Chairman of Management Board just to say that I think the people who watch this Legislature, many of whom are unemployed, many of whom have friends and family who are unemployed, wonder what in the world the government is doing with its time.

I look at the issues that have occupied this Legislature over the last year and will occupy the Legislature over the next few months, and here's another example where we will spend time debating an issue—I understand why the government brings it forward, but it is the Minister of Municipal Affairs who brings it forward, and we see our municipalities struggling to deal with the issues of high taxes, struggling to deal with the issues of the whole disentanglement area and this minister will be spending his time dealing with this legislation.

We see the Minister of Agriculture and Food with the farm community in real difficult straits. Yesterday, we had the very unusual statement by the minister saying: "Yes, I brought forward a bill on farm stabilization, but I announced at the time I was bringing it forward that I was going to change it. So why should you be surprised?"

Bill 40 from the Minister of Labour was a change to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. We've never seen the business and the labour community so divided as it is right now—two warring camps.

Something that personally has offended me for some time is that the minister himself guaranteed we would have an all-party legislative committee investigate the two times the government called the Ontario Provincial Police into the opposition's office to try and find out who, what you would call, whistle-blowed on the government. Twice the OPP came into the opposition offices.

The government promised us we would have an allparty legislative committee to investigate it. It went to the legislative committee and then the government members refused to come and testify. So the Premier himself committed. He said we would have that all-party legislative committee, and then the government members refused. We have confirmation. The ministers and the deputies refused to come.

So we see a piece of legislation today dealing with part of the collective bargaining when the people of Ontario are so desperate to get on with job creation. We are going to be spending our time and efforts over the next few months continuing to deal with legislation like this.

1400

#### FOREST MANAGEMENT

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I want to respond to the statement by the Minister of Natural Resources, and the first thing I would like to do is congratulate the members who are here with us today: Dr Ken Hearnden, Susan Millson and Chief Willie Wilson.

The purpose of the audit was to determine the success or failure of artificial and natural regeneration on previously harvested areas of boreal forest. The primary conclusion confirmed what we already knew: that a regeneration gap exists between the area harvested and the area being treated for reforestation. The audit stated that the province must give greater attention to planned artificial and natural reforestation activities. The amount of commercially desirable boreal species which are coming up in the cutover areas are significantly less than what was on the previous stand. The audit noted that a lack of treatment funds was a primary factor contributing to the regeneration gap.

The regeneration budget of MNR has been gutted. Implications are that the minister is considering cutting back significantly on the number of tree seedling contracts in this province. We know in the forest-tending industry the number of acres or hectares tended is falling dramatically under this government. In the estimates, it tells us there will be 50,000 less hectares tended next year than this year.

It's very difficult for us to know over here in opposition where the government is going with this. The minister has committed that he will respond to the report in a meaningful fashion. Well, I'll tell you, Mr Speaker, over the two years of this government, everything has been going in exactly the wrong way in the forests of Ontario. This report gives us an opportunity and the minister an opportunity to start doing the regeneration that he should have done during the two years that he's wasted already. The study is an important, significant piece of information that will allow the minister to do things that he should have done already.

I said in estimates, and I'll repeat: It seems this ministry can't chew gum and walk at the same time. We think you could have done the study and we think you could have done the reforestation at the same time.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Responses? The leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): Mr Speaker, I know others wish to respond, but I wish to comment briefly on the report by the Minister of Natural Resources.

The minister talks about seven and a half years wasted because he needed an audit. I too want to talk about seven and a half years of wasted time. You didn't need an audit to tell you what was happening. This report, and I congratulate the audit committee, shows that up to 1985, regeneration

was proceeding very well. So this study shows that for 42 years of Progressive Conservative government regeneration was proceeding very well. This study also shows that there was a problem, that the regeneration had shifted the areas the forest was coming back in, that the boreal forest was changing, that there was a shortage now of spruce and the softwoods and jack pine that were there.

What was happening at that particular point in time? In the late 1970s and 1981 to 1985, Alan Pope dramatically increased the number of jack pine and spruce seedling facilities. We increased the tending money. In the campaign of 1985 we announced a new tending program to address this issue, and then we lost the government and we had seven and a half lost years, \$100-million cuts, seedlings being cut back, no place to plant them, money cut from the tending program.

I congratulate the audit committee and I concur: Up till 1985 our forests were well managed. What few problems there were were being addressed by Frank Miller, by Leo Bernier, by Alan Pope, and right up until that point in time, that's what the study shows. I congratulate the audit committee.

Shame on you. Shame on the Liberals. Shame on this Liberal-Marxist coalition that set us back in the forest industry by seven and a half years.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): Mr Speaker, I just want to compliment my leader on his remarks and tell you that I agree with everything that he had to say here.

I want to commend Mr Hearnden and his committee for the efforts they have put forward in bringing this report in. We appreciate the information they have brought. It's been compiled by a group of professionals, and I hope the province will benefit from that report they have brought in. The report shows that there's been no deforestation taking place. According to the report, "Representative samples of conditions in the cutover areas suggest satisfactory generation of 96%."

I say the report from 1970 to 1985 has been excellent. It's exactly what we were hoping for. I hope the Minister of Natural Resources and the government as a whole will consider seriously the recommendations of this committee, which strongly urged a long-term financial commitment to silvicultural funding.

I have spoken in this Legislature on many occasions, as recently as this morning, on the effects of the minister's decision to cancel the planting of some of the 35 million trees this past year. The auditor's report tells us that the forest industry is vital to the economic wellbeing of this province—approximately \$10 billion worth of forest products also produced annually, and 169,000 jobs are related to the forest and the spinoff industries.

The decisions this government will make in the near future will have a great impact on this important sector, and I hope all members will realize the contributions the forestry industry makes to our province.

Minister, you've promised your government is committed to sustainable forestry. You have now had the report of an independent auditor asking for a commitment to this province's forests. I certainly hope the document serves as an important starting point in the development for long-

term planning. It indicated that from 1980 to 1985 things were great.

Remember when you were in opposition telling the government of the day how the forestry was so bad and how the industry was in so much trouble? This report shows us that it's not as bad as it looks. I hope that in the seven years you have been under control with the Liberals that report will be as good, but I doubt it.

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY CROWN EMPLOYEES

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Just a quick comment on the Chair of Management Board's statement with respect to the extension of political activities. This was part of the deal that was cut back in 1985 between the socialists and the Liberals during those bedwetting years when they were in bed discussing the details of how this would be implemented. It's funny, you take seven years and the growth has been amazing.

We know full well that just beyond, as I said before, those bedwetting years we now have this minister coming forward simply to get ahead of the courts, because the Charter of Rights and Freedoms would have allowed this anyway. So this is just to beat the court system.

We're not shocked but we think there are far more important issues faced by this government than this issue, considering the courts would have done it anyway.

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister Responsible for Women's Issues): Mr Speaker, we have unanimous consent from all parties to do a statement on December 6.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Is there unanimous agreement? Agreed.

## DAY OF REMEMBRANCE AND ACTION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister Responsible for Women's Issues): This coming Sunday marks the second annual provincial Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women. Sunday is the third anniversary of the Montreal massacre, one man's 19-minute rampage at Montreal's École Polytechnique that left 14 innocent women dead. We, as individuals and as a nation, reeled with horror at the news of this tragedy. It is an event from which we may never fully recover.

December 6 is a day to mourn for the victims of the massacre and their families. It is also a day to renew our commitment to ending all violence against women and to eliminating the attitudes towards women which led the murderer to act as he did.

While some were quick to dismiss the massacre as the senseless act of a madman, the murders were not random or indiscriminate. The killer was very clear about his motives. His own words explained his actions. This man had internalized attitudes towards women which many of us find no longer acceptable: that women are inferior to men and should be subservient to them, that women's place is in the home and not in the working world, that men have a right to the best life has to offer while women get only what is left over.

The entry of women into the traditionally male field of engineering represented what that killer most feared and hated. He was made all the more bitter because they had accomplished what he could not, and so this man, in cold blood, robbed 14 women of their futures.

1410

The Montreal tragedy wrenched the blinders from the eyes of many who had disbelieved what women had long been telling them about violence in our lives. It was a watershed, a turning point beyond which it became difficult to ignore or be complacent about violence against women.

It does not take a great leap of awareness to see the similarities between the Montreal assassin, who killed women whom he felt had attained too much power, and the men who beat and humiliate their female partners or stalk and kill them when they leave or threaten to leave.

The belief that women are inferior and subordinate to men is deeply entrenched in our society. As we inch our way towards a more equitable society, visible signs of progress are met with resistance. Those who have enjoyed power and privilege are reluctant to part with it and will fight to the death to retain it.

If it is possible to draw anything positive from the events of December 6, 1989, perhaps it is this: The massacre, and the backlash against those who clearly understood it to be an act of misogyny, spurred people all across this province and this country to action. Individuals, corporations, small businesses, religious organizations, school boards and community groups joined in the efforts to counter the occurrence of violence against women.

Men who wish to address men's accountability and responsibility for violence against women launched the White Ribbon Campaign. Organizations such as the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario mobilized their membership. The federation's far-reaching No To Violence campaign sees women teachers' associations and other community members working in partnership to find long-term solutions to violence against women in all its forms.

One community succeeded in getting a cable network to produce public service announcements aimed at violence prevention, a local family restaurant to print violence prevention messages on its place mats and the phone company to include a new page in its directory listing all sources of help available to female victims of violence. Similar events are repeated in communities across this province and are echoed in the spinoff events as the messages and the desires to take on this issue have spread.

The Montreal murderer wanted to silence feminists and others who believe that women are entitled to the same pursuit of personal fulfilment men are. What he accomplished is just the opposite. We have added new voices to the chorus and the call for change is stronger now than ever before. The range of voices as well is greater, with men speaking out in ever larger numbers against male violence of all kinds.

By the time that the assassin entered l'École polytechnique that fateful Wednesday in December, it was too late to change the way he felt about women or their place in society. It is not too late to try to ensure that our society's values and attitudes do not lead to similar actions

by the men of the next generation, but we don't have a moment to waste.

We need more female role models so that young girls and young boys grow up seeing women in positions of power and accomplishment and regard this as natural, as the way things are, rather than a mere dream of the way they should be. But we also need male role models who, through their conduct as well as their words, educate young boys that violence against women is wrong and that they must take responsibility for ending it.

In a recent movie, Arnold Schwarzenegger, a role model for millions of North American young men, points a gun at his wife and pulls the trigger saying, "Consider this a divorce." Audiences have been known to laugh and applaud this scene. Men who do not see violence against women as funny or worthy of applause need to point out to young boys how dangerous and damaging these film images are and that such behaviour is to be lamented, not imitated.

We need to have equity in our education system so that young girls are not dissuaded from pursuing the maths and sciences in which they demonstrate early promise. Those disciplines must cease to present the male experience as the norm when in fact it is only one half of the norm.

We need to teach our children that girls and boys are entitled to achieve and do whatever is within their capability. We must ensure that they understand that violence is not an acceptable way of dealing with conflict, anger, disappointment or fear. We must demonstrate to them that positive and fulfilling relationships are based on mutual respect, not control and domination.

The newly established violence prevention secretariat in the Ministry of Education will coordinate the efforts of government and communities to achieve these goals. We must succeed in creating a community which does not tolerate violence in any form, for our children's sake and for the sake of our children's children. We owe them at least that much.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): It has been three years since 14 young women were gunned down at l'École polytechnique de Montréal. The senseless slaughter shocked Canadians, it angered us and, finally, it stirred us to action.

In commemorating a Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women, we are working to ensure that there are no more senseless killings and that one day women will be safe in their homes and on the streets. We are working to ensure that no doors in our society will be closed because of gender.

There is much work to be done. Even though it is clear that spouse abuse is a crime, one out of every 10 women in this country is abused by her partner. A recent poll reports that 57% of Canadian women fear to walk in the streets in their own neighbourhoods at night.

Women have been the targets of abuse and discrimination for a long time. The more vulnerable in our society, whether they be women, children, the elderly or the disabled, have been victims of violence and abuse for centuries. It is not new, but it took the senseless slaughter of 14 young women with hopes and dreams and promising futures to

shock us into the realization that we could no longer stand back.

Perhaps more important is that Canadian men began to realize that as they are part of the problem they are also part of the solution. Most men are not batterers, most men are not violent, but the turning point was that men began to realize that they could no longer stand back and stay silent. It makes a big difference, because it tells women that we are no longer alone in our fight against violence.

The 14 young women who died in Montreal have helped to change our society's views about violence against women. Their deaths brought home the fact that no woman is immune, that there are major problems with the way society has traditionally viewed violence against women and that if we want to change things we must begin by changing attitudes.

The message I have today is that ours is a very violent society. I always say that the biggest hope is the next generation, but I wonder what type of hope there is when our children are constantly subjected to violence on television and in the movies, when we have sportscasters who complain how boring hockey is because they are no longer maiming and injuring and when sometimes the written press sensationalizes some of these instances without giving part of the solution. I think people of the media have taken on a responsibility in the last few years to tell this story, but it has to go beyond that. There has to be a movement to stop this senseless violence in our society.

As we commemorate the Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women, I challenge each one of us to join in the battle to stop this violence, to stop the silence, to break the cycle and to ensure that our communities are safe places for all women. I believe that history will record that the Montreal massacre was the turning point in the battle against violence in our society. If that prophesy is true, then perhaps, after all, those 14 young women did not die in vain.

#### 1420

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): It's an honour for me to join my colleagues the member for London Centre and the member for Eglinton to speak on behalf of our leader and our caucus in remembrance of 14 young women who were murdered at l'École polytechnique de Montréal on December 6, 1989. It was a vicious and senseless crime against women, in particular women who were striving to become professionals in a male-dominated field. They were seeking careers in engineering. They were intelligent, ambitious and role models for younger generations.

Today, our thoughts are with their families and friends who we understand must be remembering the horror they experienced just three long years ago. At the same time we mourn this passing, we must work harder than ever for change. Women shouldn't be expected to continue fighting against violence alone. As legislators we have a responsibility to involve our constituents in a community effort to reduce crimes against women and as Canadians we have the responsibility to ensure that attitudes right across our country are changed.

On December 6, 1990, as a tribute to the 14 women killed, we introduced a resolution requesting that the government of Ontario establish a women in science and engineering scholarship fund. This fund would allow women to access money to help them enter the science and engineering faculties at Ontario universities, colleges and polytechnical institutes. We feel this would be a tribute to those women whom we are remembering. I believe it's imperative that we send a message across this country that women will continue to explore new fields and reach new heights.

December 6, 1989: We in Canada will remember for ever this date. It has become both a national and provincial day of remembrance of a most terrible tragedy and a day when we can remind ourselves, with very serious thoughts, that we must strive—it's our personal responsibility to do so—in every possible way to eliminate violence against women.

#### **ORAL QUESTIONS**

#### PLANT CLOSURE

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. Once again, this government's complete refusal to understand the seriousness of our economic situation has cost jobs for people in this province. The minister will be well aware that General Motors has just announced that it is cutting its wheel axle operations in St Catharines, with 800 lost jobs as a result, and that it's accelerating the closing of the engine foundry in that city, at the cost of another 2,200 jobs.

We knew this was a possibility. The member for St Catharines asked the Premier to deal with this issue himself. Yet when the crisis with General Motors arose, the best the Premier could do was to send the former Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology to talk to GM.

We hear that the Premier has gone to St Catharines today to talk to GM workers, and I ask the minister, does the Premier not realize that today is too late? Why did he not go when the member for St Catharines asked him to, when there might have been a chance to save those jobs?

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): I'm sorry that the honourable leader of the official opposition characterizes this in such a partisan way. This is a tragic day for the people of St Catharines, it's a tragic day for the workers of St Catharines and it's a tragic day for the workers in the nine plants in North America, of which one happens to be in St Catharines, because they are losing their jobs or will eventually lose their jobs.

The fact is that the Premier is in St Catharines today meeting with the workers and with the company. The fact is that I left Michael Wilson and the other trade ministers in order to answer questions and to provide some information to members of the opposition here today. I'd be happy to outline the many programs we have already initiated in anticipation of some of the problems in St Catharines. I hope that she and the member for St Catharines would cooperate and be part of the team to try and do something

about the situation that is happening in St Catharines today, just before Christmas.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): There's a concern that the GM operation in St Catharines is in effect being dismantled piece by piece. We've had 750 general layoffs, and these are what are called indefinite layoffs, which usually means for ever; second, we have the closing of the foundry and part of the engine plant, for 2,300 jobs lots; third, today we have the abandoning of the axle plant, which means 800 further jobs are lost. There is a fear out there that the entire operation will disappear if the bleeding is not soon stopped.

Will the minister assure the House and the people of St Catharines, and probably the people of the province of Ontario, that the Premier will now go to Detroit, will meet with the very highest officials of General Motors in Detroit and attempt to persuade them to change their mind about the closing of the operation of the foundry and selling the axle plant and indeed to persuade them to put further investment in our community, which has been so reliant upon the auto industry for so many years?

Hon Mr Philip: I can assure the member for St Catharines—and I'm sure he knows this already because I have invited him to meetings in St Catharines and indeed here with the various municipal leaders and other leaders in the St Catharines area—that this government is prepared to do everything we can to work with the people of St Catharines, with the workers of St Catharines. That's why the Premier's down in St Catharines today.

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): Why don't you do something?

Hon Mr Philip: The member for Quinte says, "Why don't you do something?" We have done something, if he'd pay attention to some of the things that we've outlined already in the House. The Minister of Labour is working with the Canadian Auto Workers Union, local, GM, and Employment and Immigration Canada, through a recently formed plant adjustment committee, to develop an adjustment program for laid-off workers at GM plants. My own ministry—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Could the minister conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Philip: Mr Speaker, I left the trade ministers' meeting so that I would be available to tell the members of the opposition exactly what we're doing, but they don't want to give me a chance to do that, so I will continue with my answer despite their interjections and their attempt to make this a partisan issue.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Philip: The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology assisted the Niagara Regional Development Corp and the city of St Catharines executive to set up the St Catharines-Niagara Community Development Group, a group that is coordinating some economic development in that area. The chairman of the region, Brian Merrett, and

the mayor of St Catharines, Joe McCaffery, have worked together as part of a team in that area.

The Speaker: Could the minister conclude his response.

Hon Mr Philip: I'd suggest that instead of criticizing this government and trying to make this a partisan issue over the heads of the poor workers who are suffering today, he join that team and try and build that area.

Mrs McLeod: Surely the minister realizes that this is a tragic situation. Surely he knows that today's statement is even worse than GM's last statement. Another 800 jobs are being cut and the closure of the foundry is being accelerated by six months. The minister stands here and tells us he is happy to recite once again all that his government has done to encourage business in this province. Surely the minister realizes that business confidence in this province is at a record low. Minister, this is not a non-partisan issue. Nobody wants to invest in Bob Rae's Ontario. Minister, the reality is that St Catharines needs new industries now—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Mrs McLeod:** —before the damage that is done to that city is irreparable.

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Guelph.

Mrs McLeod: I ask, what hope can you offer to the people of St Catharines who are being laid off that you will be able to attract new industries and new employment to that city, or, given your government's record of business-bashing and finger-pointing and pure defensiveness, will you continue to do nothing for the people of St Catharines?

1430

Hon Mr Philip: The doom and gloom leader of the official opposition talks about finger-pointing. We can see where the finger-pointing is coming from. It's coming from her and the third party, which have nothing but doom and gloom about this province.

The fact is that the trade ministers from across Canada, whom I'm meeting with today, would love to have the kind of foreign investment that's coming into Ontario, because it's more than all the other provinces combined at this point.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the minister please take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Had the minister concluded his response?

Hon Mr Philip: Not very well. The leader of the official opposition is trying to say that somehow the tragedy of the workers in St Catharines, in the St Catharines plant, the one out of nine plants that may close in North America, is somehow the fault of this government. In fact, if she'd read the statement by Mr Jack Smith, the president of GM, he clearly stated:

"We did not solicit or attain incentives or concessions from any government level. Moreover, our decisions should not be interpreted as a lack of involvement of any government agency, individual or group of elected officials. These were strictly business decisions based on a complex set of internal factors."

That's what the president of GM International has said. I'm so sorry that the leader of the official opposition can't believe what the president has said in his announcement

today.

#### ONTARIO ECONOMY

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Let me ask my second question of the Treasurer and find out if he feels, as the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology does, that everything is just fine in the province of Ontario.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for Cambridge.

Mrs McLeod: Treasurer, with the federal Minister of Finance's statement on the economy, the government's continued excuses about the failing Ontario—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. I ask the leader just to take her seat for a moment.

It would be very helpful if members on both sides of the chamber would allow questions to be asked without interruption and for responses to be given without interruption. The leader of the opposition may wish to begin her question.

Mrs McLeod: Thank you, Mr Speaker. Treasurer, yesterday you said that the federal Finance minister lacked serious economic renewal vision. This statement, coming from you, was somewhat ironic to say the least. Higher taxes for people in businesses, Bill 40, a mismanaged Workers' Compensation Board, an economic environment that is doing nothing to attract companies to this province, that is the economic renewal vision of the Ontario New Democratic government. It is doing nothing for Ontario and its 550,000 unemployed people.

Treasurer, at least you could have come clean with the people of Ontario about the state of our economy. Instead, you released your economic and fiscal outlook before the federal government's minibudget presentation. I would ask you, given the new federal projections of its deficit and its projections of economic growth for the country, are your budget projections still on target or are we facing a new economic reality in Ontario because of the federal statement yesterday?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): There's the makings of a speech coming on in response to that question. I would remind the leader of the official opposition that she whined about our not bringing forth our statement early enough, and now she's accusing us of trying to get it out before the federal government. I don't understand where she's coming from.

On the other point, I would remind the leader of the official opposition that when we brought down our budget this year we announced, and are indeed carrying through

with, \$4.5 billion of spending on infrastructure and training in this province, more than has ever been done before in the history of Ontario.

We also reduced taxes for the small business sector in the province as well. So, believe me, I don't need any lectures from the leader of the Liberal Party about our not coming clean with the state of health of the Ontario economy, given what they did back in 1990.

Mrs McLeod: I neither whine nor lecture. I am simply asking the Treasurer of Ontario to tell the people of this province the truth about our economic situation in December 1992. Treasurer, you have spent the last year asking Ottawa to bail out the Ontario economy through infrastructure spending, through increased transfer funds and through fiscal stabilization payments. I ask what you have to show for the effort. Ontario is clearly getting very little of Ottawa's new infrastructure spending and the federal government is clearly not giving this province any more transfer payments.

Treasurer, I suggest your economic renewal package, like your budget, was predicated on getting more money from Ottawa and increasing tax revenues from Ontario. With yesterday's statement by Mr Mazankowski, it's apparent that the federal money isn't coming, and as for counting on increasing tax revenues, the federal tax revenues are falling, which means the pattern may be repeated in Ontario.

Can the Treasurer tell us whether he will go back and redo his revenue forecasts because of the new federal numbers? Will he tell us now, instead of months from now, what our real fiscal situation is?

Hon Mr Laughren: First of all, I want to clear the air on what the leader of the official opposition calls a bailout from Ottawa. She made reference to the fiscal stabilization program and infrastructure spending. Does the leader of the official opposition prefer those, to which we are fully entitled, given the equalization payments in this country—is she really saying those are bailout moneys, moneys to which we are fully entitled? Surely to goodness she's not referring to those as bailout funds.

Finally, I would remind the leader of the official opposition that only a week ago or so we released our Fiscal Outlook for the balance of this year and for 1993-94. We have said before in this House that when the federal government originally gave us its projections on what income tax revenues would be for this fiscal year in the province, we took those income tax projections of the federal government and reduced them. I wouldn't want to say this number is spot on, but as I recall, we discounted that number by about \$800 million, because we didn't think it was terribly realistic.

Finally, we also, in the past couple of weeks, announced what our revenue projections were going to be off and built that into the fiscal outlook both for this year and next year. So nothing is being hidden from the people of this province or from the leader of the official opposition.

Mrs McLeod: I'm interested in the Treasurer's use of the term "bailout." It's not a term I've used. It clearly must be a part of his wish and prayer in his budget projections. I'm simply talking about the Treasurer's continuing expectations of transfer payments from the federal government. It's quite clear that the federal government has its own financial problems; it's not going to be anxious to bail out the government. But Treasurer, you presented a budget and you continue to present a budget which has expectations built into your revenue figures, expectations of transfers from the federal government. Let me point to one specifically.

Interjection.

**The Speaker:** The member for Durham Centre is out of order.

Mrs McLeod: In the 1992-93 budget, you have included \$1.2 billion in federal fiscal stabilization money in your revenue projections. The federal finance minister has made it very clear that he is not going to give out any more money this year. You've now said you want to meet with Mr Mazankowski soon to talk about the state of the provincial economy as well as about whether you will ever see the stabilization money.

Treasurer, do you still expect to receive the fiscal stabilization money as you predicted in your budget? Can you tell us when you will be meeting with Mr Mazankowski and reporting back to this House? Can you also tell us how, without that meeting, you can reasonably assume you are going to receive that money and continue to assume you're going to receive it?

Hon Mr Laughren: We now have both the official opposition and the third party implying, if not explicitly, certainly implicitly, that we're not entitled to that \$1.2-billion fiscal stabilization fund. I can tell you, we are fully entitled to that money and we intend to get it.

1440

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** No matter how hard I try not to be provocative, the official opposition rises to the bait every time.

The last time the fiscal stabilization plan was raised, it was raised by the leader of the third party, who told this House and the thousands of people who watch question period across the province that he had phoned the minister's office—

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health and Minister Responsible for Substance Abuse Strategy): The federal Finance minister's office.

Hon Mr Laughren: —the federal Finance minister's office—and had been told there wasn't a chance we were going to get that \$1.2 billion.

Well, guess what? Members of the media and our office phoned the federal Finance minister's office and asked him if he had told the leader of the Conservative Party in the province that. They told us absolutely not, and implied that he was indeed blowing smoke. Those are my words, not the federal Minister of Finance's.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: The leader of the official opposition's energies would be better used in helping us to get what is fully entitled to us rather than rising in her place and implying we're not entitled to the money. It's time for you to stand up for Ontario.

**The Speaker:** New question. The leader of the third party.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. Will the member for Cochrane South come to order.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): Get it over with now. You've got two and a half more years.

Yesterday's so called mini-budget from the federal government revised Ottawa's deficit projection for this year upward by \$6.9 billion and for next year by \$10 billion from that Treasurer's previous projections.

I'm sure you don't like to hear those numbers. I certainly don't like those deficit numbers. I don't think anybody in this country was particularly pleased to hear them. But at least the federal government and the federal treasurer are coming clean with Canadian taxpayers on the state of the country's finances. At least we know what we're dealing with in Ottawa. A lot may not like it, but it is honest and we know what we are dealing with.

Treasurer, when can we expect you and your government to come clean with the people of this province of Ontario on the exact size of Ontario's deficit?

Hon Mr Laughren: A week or so ago, when we released our Fiscal Outlook, we did indicate that we were going to have to struggle this year and next to meet the projected deficit numbers that were laid out in our medium-term fiscal plan in the 1992 budget. There's no question that it's going to be a struggle, no question about that whatsoever.

We are working extremely hard on the expenditure side. We don't control the revenue side as directly as we do the expenditure side. I can tell the leader of the third party that if you compare what the federal government has done on its own operating expenses with what this government has done with its own operating expenses, they don't hold a candle to the discipline we've imposed on our own spending, not a candle.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: What was provocative about that? We still have the deficit targets, which the leader referred to explicitly, for this year and next year. We are doing everything we can to meet those targets. We will see what happens to our revenues for the balance of this year because the leader knows—all right, I'll finish my response in the supplementary.

Mr Harris: I agree with the Treasurer on the comparison of the expenditures that Ottawa controls and Ontario controls. Really, you can't hold a candle. You are outspending them, outstripping the spending and the money going out the door two, three, four, five times to one. And you're quite right; we agree with that.

But, Treasurer, what I really want to deal with is the fact that the federal treasurer yesterday at the very least had the courage to treat Canadian taxpayers with open respect. They're not trying to pull the wool over anyone's eyes. As much as many may fundamentally disagree with them on other areas, you're going to have to give them that much.

Your government, however, is continually cooking the province's books because you don't seem to have the intestinal fortitude or the integrity to take the heat for your gross economic mismanagement. One example you mentioned today in response to the leader of the Liberal Party is the \$1.2 billion in federal bailout payments that you insist on adding to your revenue projections.

You're quite right. An official from my office talked to an official from Mr Mazankowski's and confirmed what was also told to the Windsor Star and confirmed, as we just found out yesterday, there's not a hope in hell you're going to get one cent of the \$1.2 billion in this fiscal year. That's what I said then; that's what they told the Windsor Star; that's what they told me.

**The Speaker:** Does the leader have a supplementary?

Mr Harris: The statement we saw yesterday makes it more obvious than ever that there's no mention in this fiscal year of one cent of the \$1.2 billion. Will you finally admit that today and revise your own projections for the deficit by \$1.2 billion for this fiscal year?

Hon Mr Laughren: I'd like to make two points in response to the leader of the third party. First of all, the federal government announced yesterday that it was reducing its operating expenses of ministries by 3% in the budget and 2% further. To me, that comes to around 5%. This government announced a 10% increase in the budget, added another 5% to it, for 15%, so if you want—

Interjection: Decrease.

Hon Mr Laughren: —decrease in operating expenditures in this government. So don't tell me that we haven't done a better job than the federal government in maintaining and controlling and reducing our own operating expenses, because we have.

Second, I have always said that it is our belief that we are entitled to the \$1.2 billion from the federal government in fiscal stabilization. I've also said that we may not get it this year. If we don't get it this year, the deficit will be increased by that amount for this year, but we'd get it next year instead. I've never said anything different than that.

But I ask the leader of the third party to please, in the interests of this province and its taxpayers, stop referring to something to which we're entitled as a "bailout fund," because that it certainly is not.

Mr Harris: If you don't want to call a payment, ex gratia, over and above the regular transfers to a province that can't control its own finances, is not a have-not-enough province to have the federal taxpayers bail it out, you call it what you want.

However, let me say this: The decreases that you are talking about in your expenditure aren't as much as you hiked them in the first year in office. In fact the only time the federal government has increased expenses is the transfers to you, to your Minister of Health, to your Minister of

Community and Social Services. Those have been in excess of the rate of inflation, but not their own spending, if you wish to talk about that.

By way of final supplementary, I want to talk as well about something that was in the federal announcement that again may not have appreciated everything that the federal government is doing. I understand that very well. However, there was a pledge yesterday by the federal Minister of Finance not to fight the national deficit by further hiking taxes. This shows that, if nothing else, Ottawa today understands the basic economic rule that you cannot revive the economy of this country by taking ever more money out of people's pockets, by taking that money out of the economy and giving it to the government.

I ask you, Treasurer, will you send that same signal to Ontario taxpayers today? Will you make a similar pledge? Have you now grasped that simple truth that the federal treasurer seems to now have grasped, and will you pledge to the people of Ontario that they have nothing to fear by the way of one cent of new tax increases from your government?

1450

Hon Mr Laughren: I feel I must respond to part of the leader of the third party's preamble in which he continues to talk about the fiscal stabilization moneys which are owed to us as a bailout. He would be serving his own taxpayers better if he would be in Ottawa, fighting with his friends in Ottawa to make sure we get that money rather than convincing them for his own partisan purposes that we're not entitled to it, because we are.

The other point is that before he gets too carried away with extolling the fiscal virtues of the federal government, he might—

**Mr Harris:** It was the honesty and the integrity.

Hon Mr Laughren: Well, okay.

The Speaker: Order.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Treasurer.

Hon Mr Laughren: I'll try again.

I would remind the leader of the third party that one of the changes announced yesterday was reducing UIC benefits from 60% to 50% of income. That alone is going to take \$300 million out of Ontario and put increased pressure on our social assistance expenditures in the province. I think the leader of the third party needs to be reminded from time to time that, while he may be a Tory supporting the federal Tories, he has obligations to this province as well, and it's time he started carrying those out.

**The Speaker:** New question, the member for Leeds-Grenville.

Interjections.

**The Speaker** Order. The member for Leeds-Grenville has the floor.

#### **GOVERNMENT CONTRACT**

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): My question is for the Minister of Government Services and it's related to a decidedly unconventional tender awarded

by his ministry to North Country Renovations in July 1991.

On August 22, 1991, your ministry issued a letter—I have a copy of it here—the purpose of which was to give reassurances to the subcontractors and suppliers of North Country that they would be paid through an irrevocable trust to induce them to do business with North Country. The suppliers ultimately became victims of favouritism. In December 1991 your ministry decided to breach this irrevocable trust agreement, directing government money to the minister's personal contractor and leaving some suppliers as victims of the ministry's favouritism.

When the minister was asked about this six months ago by my colleague the member for Etobicoke West, he pleaded ignorance and said: "Somebody played Santa Claus here, and I plan on finding out who. I promise I will get to the bottom of this." The minister has had six months to get to the bottom of this. What has he found out?

Hon Fred Wilson (Minister of Government Services): This question, I think, is bordering pretty close to a question of privilege, but I'll let that go for now.

The allegations the member made yesterday and today are totally unfounded. The allegations he makes in his question today, referring to an event of August of last year and referring to actions of my ministry, I have gotten to the bottom of, I'll tell the member right now. There were no irregularities whatsoever in that contract. The investigation is going on right now and of course I cannot comment on it.

Suffice to say, in answer to today's question and yesterday's question, that I myself am not under investigation by the OPP, nor have I ever been, and that the contractor was not my personal contractor; he was a businessman in my area, trying to carry on business.

**Mr Runciman:** Yesterday I said the minister was involved in a police investigation. I stand by that, and that was confirmed by the OPP. He's involved in a police investigation that's been confirmed by the police.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): No, he's not.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

**Mr Runciman:** On December 12, 1991, the owner of North Country Renovations wrote a personal letter to the minister.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Mr Runciman:** I don't know if the minister can even hear this question.

Hon Mr Laughren: Complete innuendo.

**Mr Runciman:** This is no innuendo; this is fact. If you want to shut up for a minute and listen to what I have to say—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. This House stands in recess for 10 minutes.

The House recessed at 1456 and resumed at 1506.

**The Speaker:** Would the member for Leeds-Grenville direct his first supplementary through the Chair, please.

**Mr Runciman:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, this is my first supplementary to the Minister of Government Services.

On December 12, 1991, the owner of North Country Renovations wrote a personal letter to the minister pleading for special treatment, as he was apparently being physically threatened by his employees. We know that letter was sent and we know that letter was received. Exactly 11 days after the letter was sent, the minister's contractor got that special treatment when the ministry handed over \$13,000 of government money in breach of the trust agreement. Six months ago the minister denied that he'd ever seen such a letter.

Will the minister indicate today who in his office received this letter, personally addressed to him, and was he apprised of its contents?

Hon Mr Wilson: The letter the member refers to, I still say to this day I haven't seen that letter. As for the person getting special treatment, there was no special treatment. All payments made in the case of this contract were in accordance with the Construction Lien Act. Since the member is fond of quoting, I will quote now from Superintendent Bob Guay of the OPP, "Mr Wilson is not under investigation." The interview I had was as Minister of Government Services—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Wilson: The interview I had with the police in relation to this case was in my position as Minister of Government Services because my ministry did in fact administer the contract in question. But I reiterate that the contractor involved had no special treatment from my ministry or from my officials. That, sir, is a fact.

Mr Runciman: You don't have to be a cat to smell a rat here. The writer of the letter confirmed he wrote it; the ministry confirmed it received it. I want to say, in terms of the minister's playing word games, that I said he was involved in a police investigation and that has been confirmed. This whole process—

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. I ask members of the House to make some effort for restraint. Will the member place his question, please.

Mr Runciman: Thank you, Mr Speaker. This whole process reeks of favoured treatment. Two small businesses have lost close to \$16,000 as a result of this smelly deal. I have a lot more faith in the public service than I do in this government. It's difficult to believe that any civil servant would engage in the serious breaches that occurred in this contract without political interference.

When the minister was aware that his personal contractor was doing business with his ministry, he should have gone the extra mile to make sure he was treated like everyone else. Instead, he got favoured treatment involving serious irregularities and the breach of a trust agreement. How can the minister justify his ministry playing favourites, particularly when one of the creditors who got the money

was the minister's personal contractor? How can he justify that?

Hon Mr Wilson: Perhaps the member should have spent some time on research. Perhaps he should have researched his question and his allegations with the member for Etobicoke West—oh, he's over here now—who's been through this question once before. He could have saved us all a lot of hassle and not wasted the time of this House.

The member knows he's wrong. The member knows the facts. He just seems to be reluctant to put the proper ones forward. I think this is the last time we should hear this question.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Wilson: There are no irregularities in this contract. The answer has been given before in this House and I will say no more, sir. Thank you.

#### FISCAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): My question is to the Treasurer and it has to do with your Fiscal Outlook, really, next fiscal year. This fiscal year we'll deal with as the numbers come in, but the document, Treasurer, raises some interesting questions for us in the opposition; I think for the financial community as well.

In your revenue estimates, you're assuming essentially the same level of revenue next year as this year, roughly \$44 billion—\$43.8 billion—about the same year over year. But within that, you are expecting a very substantial increase in revenue from personal income tax, about \$1 billion, and from the retail sales tax you're expecting about a \$220-million increase, and corporate tax revenue up about \$450 million. Those three big tax revenues are up quite substantially, about \$1.8 billion, about 7%. That's about 55% of your revenue, but that's up dramatically. But all your other revenues drop dramatically. The other 45% of your revenues are down about \$1.8 billion, about 7%.

My question is, how is it that three of your major revenue sources are up dramatically and all the rest of the revenue sources are down dramatically?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I think I missed the early part of the—

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I think you missed it all.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** Well, that could be. I think I missed the early part of the member's question about the year to which he's referring.

Mr Phillips: This is not the supplementary, Mr Speaker?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): No, that's right.

**Mr Phillips:** I'm speaking about next fiscal year, 1993-94, and the revenue estimates, Treasurer, in your Fiscal Outlook. May I repeat the question, Speaker?

**The Speaker:** No. I believe the Treasurer heard the question. It was the year he was looking for.

Mr Phillips: The essence of it is that your three big revenue sources are up dramatically, about \$1.8 billion,

while all the rest of your revenues are down \$1.8 billion. Why is that?

Hon Mr Laughren: I'm sure the member opposite would appreciate the fact that at this point in time there are rough estimates put in almost as placeholders for what we think the revenues will be in order to do planning for the next fiscal year in terms of expenditures and in terms of commitments that we make out there. But there's been no decision made on what, if any, specific taxes will be raised in the next fiscal year. That decision has not been made at all.

Mr Phillips: The estimates are accurate almost to the decimal point in the Treasurer's document. The reason I raise this is because the financial community certainly analysed this document. Treasurer, you say, "Personal income tax revenues, which account for 31% of Ontario's total revenues, will be \$835 million lower next year than they were in 1990-91." You can give the exact number, because you say what you had in 1990-91 and then you say how much it will be next year. These aren't rough estimates; they're straight out of the government document.

My question is a simple but important one, because those of us who follow the Treasurer's documents carefully read them carefully, and we use them to try to anticipate what the government's all about, and so, frankly, do the money markets; they look at this document. I want an answer to my simple question: How can it be that your three major sources of revenue are up dramatically next year, \$1.8 billion, over 7%, and all the rest of your revenues are dropping \$1.8 billion? How can that be?

Hon Mr Laughren: There's nothing mysterious or magical about that. It's simply that at this point in time, and I'm sure the member opposite would appreciate the fact, here we are in the first week of December trying to project what revenues will be from various sources in 1993-94. While we try to be as precise as we can, let's not kid each other that it's a great science when it comes to projecting revenues. We've learned that in the last couple of years.

All I'm saying to the member opposite is that this is our best guess. Assuming no changes in any of those taxes that are presently in place, those would be the projected numbers for 1993-94. That's all.

#### STABLE FUNDING

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have a question for the Minister of Agriculture and Food. The issue of stable funding for farm organizations is today one of the most divisive issues among farmers and in rural Ontario. Your Premier said in a letter to Mr Maxwell on November 4, and I quote, "We do not intend to proceed with any plan that will result in deep divisions among farmers or in rural Ontario."

I think you would agree with me now, Minister, that the mishandling of this issue has led to deep divisions in rural Ontario. It has led to deep divisions among farmers, both those who may have been for some form or a modified form or all of your proposal and those who are opposed.

Mr Minister, according to the words of your Premier and now what has happened in the last little while, your stable funding proposal now appears to be dead in the water. The Ontario Federation of Agriculture quite frankly right after the last election asked you to proceed with the stable funding proposal worked out two and a half years ago, the one that was agreed to by all parties and farm associations, but you insisted that you would proceed with your own proposal. This was the compulsory proposal.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Does the leader have a question?

Mr Harris: This was the one where you have to join the union before you are eligible for one cent of government money. This was the one where you had to set up this whole association, this new bureaucracy that would be funded out of the dues money first and, secondly, if you did not join the union you weren't eligible as a farmer for any government program.

**The Speaker:** Could the leader place a question?

Mr Harris: I would ask you now, Minister, why you insisted on going with your own heavy-handed blackmail approach to the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, your way or the highway. Now that your way is dead in the water, will you return to the proposal that was agreed to two and a half years ago, so that there can be some form of stable funding for our farm associations in this province?

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): It's difficult to comprehend how the leader of the third party can make so many statements that do not reflect the reality of the situation.

First of all, two and a half years ago there was a proposal that was brought to me by the OFA as one organization to represent farmers in this province. I rejected that proposal at that time because it was simply going to be one organization for Ontario only. We thought and we still believe that there were more organizations in the province that reflect the interests of farmers across the province, and collectively we worked with three organizations which call themselves general farm organizations.

The proposal, by and large, was worked out with those three organizations. One of the points that the leader of the third party did not mention was the concept of the fines, and I've already said that would not be in the proposal and was not intended to be, either on my part or on their part. The leader of the third party didn't mention that.

However, the rest of the proposal was worked out with the farm organizations, and everyone should understand that the proposal was not my proposal nor the government's proposal. This came to me from the farm organizations, and collectively we worked together to put this proposal together. It was not my proposal.

We worked with the farm organizations, and any divisions that are out there are in many cases politically motivated. They're not motivated on behalf of agriculture in Ontario.

1520

The Speaker: Would the minister conclude his response.

Hon Mr Buchanan: It's pretty important that the leader of the third party understand that this was put together by all farm organizations, along with myself.

Mr Harris: Even though I didn't ask it, the minister feels compelled to tell us that the bill he introduced just on Thursday is totally contrary to what he wants. I don't know why he introduced it, but I appreciate that he wished to tell us that.

I want to say to the minister by way of supplementary that the member for S-D-G & East Grenville and the member for Grey have worked with you in good faith. They have tried their darnedest to bring farmers together. They have tried their darnedest to get an understanding among all farmers and yourself. In fact, the member for S-D-G & East Grenville fought for and insisted on at least a vote, which you were denying right up until last week, in order for you to proceed with your proposal.

However, Minister, you have betrayed their trust and the trust of all farmers in this province, and I would ask you, now that your proposal, according to your own party and your own Premier, is dead in the water and out the window, will you now agree to the proposal we all agreed to two and a half years ago and that my party supported? That was the proposal that would allow the dues to go to any one of the three farm associations without taking away the rights of independent farmers, who would have the right to represent themselves and keep the \$150 themselves, to represent themselves at that point in time? Will you go back to that one that was agreed to and asked for by the OFA, that would be agreed to by all three associations, who would have an option—

The Speaker: Would the member conclude his question, please.

**Mr Harris:** Would you go back to that so our farmers can at least have some form of stable funding for their associations in this province?

Hon Mr Buchanan: The proposal that the leader of the third party refers to was never on the table. There was some talk in the last election campaign about stable funding—

Mr Harris: It was as far as the OFA, the United Farmers, the Christian Farmers and the Liberal Party were concerned and as far as we were concerned.

The Speaker: Order.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** But it was not a proposal that the third party accepted.

A couple of other points here. In terms of strengthening the farm organizations and farmers across the province, I think the leader of the third party is part of a party that represented the government of this province for 42 years. During that time, agriculture was very important in this province and farmers had a strong voice in this chamber. There's a time now for all farmers to have a strong voice to represent themselves to provincial parties, provincial governments and, if I might add, to the federal government, which saw fit to slash the transfer payments to farmers by 10% next year and 10% the following year.

Mr Harris: In the absence of your being able to talk to your cabinet, we are going to have forced unionization of farmers.

**The Speaker:** The leader of the third party will come to order.

Hon Mr Buchanan: If there ever was a time to have strong farm organizations in this province, it's now. The leader of the third party obviously doesn't want to see strong farm organizations out there. The organizations wanted this to be a non-partisan issue. We tried to do that. That's why we worked with the member for S-D-G & East Grenville and the member for Grey. We continue to try to do that to make this a non-partisan issue on behalf of farmers—

**The Speaker:** Order. Would the minister conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Buchanan:** The leader of the third party is trying to make it a partisan issue, which will hurt farmers across this province.

#### **GOVERNMENT FACILITIES**

Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North): My question is for the Treasurer. Recently in this chamber you were questioned by the honourable member for Renfrew North and the honourable member for Mississauga North about the proposed new head office of the Workers' Compensation Board. In your response to the member for Mississauga North you said the legal interpretation had been requested to determine the status of the obligations undertaken by the board of directors of the Workers' Compensation Board with respect to the new board office. I and I'm sure many others would like to know if you now have this legal interpretation.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Yes. I have indeed received a legal interpretation that the agreement reached between the compensation board and the developers of the new building, which as I recall occurred just before the new chairman, Mr Di Santo, took his seat at the board, was agreed to and, secondly, that it was a unanimous agreement by both labour and business representations on the WCB that the board have a new building developed of which the board would be a major tenant and that the contract or obligation is indeed legal and binding.

#### **LAYOFFS**

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My question is for the Treasurer. He will recall that last year, and this year for the last several weeks, I have directed questions to him, to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and to the Premier about the automotive industry in Ontario, specifically in St Catharines.

The Treasurer is aware of the importance of the auto industry because of the multiplier effect—one job in four being part of the auto industry, responsible to the auto industry—and he is aware as well that close to half the jobs, about 4,000 jobs at the present time, will be lost in St Catharines in that operation.

I want to ask the Treasurer what specific measures he will put forward from his own ministry—not from other ministries but from his own ministry—what ideas he might have to assist the people of St Catharines and the auto industry in order that we can maintain the investment we have today and in order that we can encourage new investment in our province.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I'm sure the member for St Catharines would want me to redirect that question to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology.

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): I'm pleased to tell the member for St Catharines, who I'm sure is quite concerned, as all of us are today, about what has happened in St Catharines, that my ministry will be doing everything possible to work closely, to assist in the sale of the axle plant, which will not close, of course, in 1993 if it is sold.

Tim Armstrong, who's being hired as a special adviser to the auto industry, is working closely with the Save the Foundry Committee to develop a business plan and options for the foundry to see what can be done to salvage that particular operation in St Catharines. The member for St Catharines is well aware of the various other things we are doing with the city of—

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): You're doing nothing.

Hon Mr Philip: Well, the member for Oriole says, "You're doing nothing." The member for St Catharines knows better than that—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the minister conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Philip: —because he's been part of this consultation process. I can tell you that we're working closely, of course, with the municipal leaders and various other leaders in the community, including himself.

Mr Bradley: My supplementary is to the Treasurer again, to see whether he fends this one off to someone else. This is to the Treasurer regarding the Niagara Peninsula itself—

Interjections.

Mr Bradley: I can't do that once he's fended off? Well, I'll have him in here to listen, at least.

The unemployment rate in the Niagara region at the present time is some 13%, which is the highest in Ontario. It's the second highest in all of Canada and we have a chronically high rate of unemployment. The minister knows the various closings and job losses, so I don't want to dwell on that with him. But I want to ask him two things: Would he encourage the Treasurer to accelerate the move of the Ministry of Transportation to St Catharines and the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation to Niagara Falls? Would he participate along with the Treasurer in designating the Niagara region as an area eligible for special assistance, the way we used to years ago for areas that were chronically depressed with high levels of unemployment?

Hon Mr Philip: The member has made a number of good suggestions. In fact, in the House yesterday, and I

believe he was quoted in the media as suggesting that somehow we were going to slow down the movement—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Philip: Well, people asked him that. I can assure the member that, unfortunately, his suggestion that the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation would not be moved on time to the Niagara area is completely false. We intend to move ahead on schedule. As Minister of Transportation, I worked very closely with that ministry and we intend to move, on schedule, the Ministry of Transportation.

I can tell him also that my ministry is working with Employment and Immigration Canada on a proposal to fund a special regional adjustment committee that will work with business, labour and the stakeholders in the community to come up with various adjustments. I think that is what he is suggesting. I think that's an excellent proposal. We are already working on it and I would encourage him to be part of the team that's working on it. I encourage him to give me any further ideas, since the one he just proposed is excellent. We're already working on it, but if he has some proposals of how we can adjust it in any way and improve it, I'd be happy to receive his suggestions.

1530

#### DEVELOPMENTALLY DISABLED

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services. There were thousands of people with developmental disabilities here at the Legislature a week ago today expressing their concern and fears about your cuts to their services, in particular the \$5 million that was cut from sheltered workshops. The concern was expressed about the lack of consultation and the disruption of the reforms that were going on at community-based support services. In particular, there will be devastation to the programs in York and Simcoe counties, and my colleagues have raised those concerns in the House.

But minister, the questions that these citizens are asking your government are, why is it that your government gave such little notice about these cuts, and why is it that virtually all of these cuts are directed towards community-based sheltered workshop programs and that your government has protected the institution-based workshop programs, whether it be a day program or whether it be an activated week-long employment program? Why have you made the conscious decision to punish almost exclusively the community-based support services provided by associations for developmentally disabled adults in this province?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): The member is quite wrong in his assumption that we are not constraining in that area as well, because we are. It is important for him to understand that we are doing this in a phased way, both within the community and within the facilities. I understand his concern about the timing of these things, but that is partly a function of the length of time it takes us to really develop a consultation process with the groups about how to remove some of that funding.

The member needs to recognize that over the last years there has been a change in the whole focus of work within the associations for community living. In fact, last year at its convention the Ontario association adopted a very strong statement against segregated work settings and for integrated work settings. We also agree that this would be appropriate, and so, over the two years, given that the budget had increased while the numbers served had gone down over previous years, we made that constraint decision and we are pacing that decision over the two years to try and assist our communities to adjust accordingly.

Mr Jackson: I chose my words very carefully. The majority, almost exclusively, of these funds are being cut from community-based sheltered workshops. The other common point in all of this is that if they are members of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, schedule 1 or schedule 2 facilities, those facilities with the exception of the Muskoka regional centre, which is the exception to the rule here—it's a facility that's going to close—but schedule 1 and schedule 2 facilities with OPSEU employees are getting their programs protected and they're getting their funding. But non-unionized sheltered workshops in this province are all getting cut.

My point, minister, is that your predecessor was caught making a private deal with Fred Upshaw and the union, and they had a six-month pause caused by a union leader making the decisions about the disabled community. Now, after your government promised it would never do such an offensive, discriminatory act, we have your government doing it with sheltered workshops.

The minister has a puzzled look on her face. She should look into this issue, because if the schedule 1 and schedule 2 facilities that are OPSEU-based are getting their funding—

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Does the member have a question?

Mr Jackson: —you're sending a message to the disabled community that has nothing to do with its needs, but everything to do with the needs of your friends Fred Upshaw and the OPSEU union.

Hon Mrs Boyd: I simply reject what the member is suggesting. It is not the case at all and I would be happy to have any of the material on which he has based his claims, but it is my firm contention that over the same two-year period that we're talking about in terms of the \$5 million to the transfer payment agencies, there will be considerable change in all our facility operations, which is in keeping with this government's policy.

**The Speaker:** The time for oral questions has expired.

#### CORRECTION

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Point of privilege, the Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Mr Speaker, I was absent from the House yesterday. I find in reading Hansard that the Minister of the Environment, in responding to a question from my colleague, indicated that I had taken a particular action in contacting her. The minister may well have been confused about two very different

issues and therefore may have inadvertently misrepresented my position.

There is in fact only one direct contact I've had with the minister. It's a statement in this House from almost a year today. I would hope that the minister would act to correct the record.

The Speaker: The leader will know that members may rise to correct their own record and not someone else's, but I certainly appreciate her concern. No doubt it's been duly noted by the minister affected as well.

Point of order, the member for Bruce.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Then I ask unanimous consent for the Minister of the Environment to correct her record on that matter.

The Speaker: Is there unanimous consent for the minister to correct the record? Agreed? No, I heard one negative voice.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): If the leader of the opposition would like to send over to me the document she has, I will certainly examine the record, examine what she said, and if appropriate, correct the record.

#### **OUESTION PERIOD**

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Point of order.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Is this a new point of order?

Mr Elston: Yes, it is.

The Speaker: The member for Bruce.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Thank you to the Minister of the Environment, first of all, but secondly, a couple of things.

I've raised this issue a couple of times, Mr Speaker, but I was watching perhaps just a little more closely today, because during the course of question period, while it became slightly rambunctious at times, I have again noticed, sir, that you are not as willing to call to order the members of the government side.

Interjections.

Mr Elston: I'm serious about this, sir.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Mr Elston:** I spent some time today, sir, looking at what happened, and I noticed—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Elston: To be quite honest, sir, we have not been doing very well in here, and I agree with you on that basis. I fully appreciate that, and that it is difficult. But I have, sir, been standing in the back area there, watching what goes on in the place, and today in my place here I watched as several times you called us to order here on the opposition benches and in fact stood and let the clock run down as the barracking back and forth occurred.

I put the case to you again, sir, that as long as the government is yelling and screaming—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. The member for Yorkview, come to order.

**Mr Elston:** As long as the government members are prepared to barrack back and forth and cause disruption with our people, there will be responses, it is fair to say.

Having been unable to find themselves being called to order publicly, it means that they are able as a group to keep barracking, and you stand and let the clock run down. That may be a particularly good tactic to silence us, but with respect to the government members, they will let it go on. Only at one time today—and I appreciated the fact that you felt the House had kind of gotten into a very bad situation—did you recess or stop the clock when the barracking continued.

I only note, sir, that on various occasions, while you called the member for Cambridge to order on one occasion, the member for Guelph on one occasion, the member for Cochrane South on one occasion, those were very brief, even though they continued during the course of almost the first 37 minutes, as I was looking at the clock, to barrack as my leader was asking her questions.

At the same time, the Treasurer, the Minister of Municipal Affairs, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and the Minister of Natural Resources, whom you called to order but once, were continually talking while my leader was trying to put her question, which in effect therefore requires a longer presentation. You cannot put the case crisply when people are interjecting that way.

I noted these things. I noted as well the running of the clock on three occasions when the government members were interjecting and you stood. On three occasions there were some 20, 40 and 20, roughly—these are just timings I made quickly looking at the clock—that ran from the clock while those people across the way were barracking.

While I understand that it is the responsibility of both sides, as long as there is no penalty attached to the government benches for doing that, then it will continue, and we will be the ones who are penalized because it is in very many respects the question period of all members, but more particularly the question period for the opposition members of the House, because this is the only time the ministers answer to the opposition, and in fact that's why the standing orders are put this way.

I appreciate that you may have some difficulties in this, but it is my honest observation. It is, from my point of view, very unsettling, and I ask you—

1540

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** Is that a point of order? Let's get on with this.

Mr Elston: It is a point of order, because you're disrupting it. It is a very serious problem, and it is a problem that we bear more than the government members, because as I said before, it is our time that leaves the clock.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): Mr Speaker, on the point of order: I don't want to prolong this, but I would hope that the member opposite would also recognize that in your role as Speaker, on a number of occasions in this assembly you have extended the question

period beyond the expiry of the time in order to give the opposition members an opportunity to ask an additional question, despite the fact that the question period had expired. I think the question period is certainly a period of importance to the opposition to be able to hold the government accountable, but surely it is a period for all backbenchers to be able to express their views.

The Speaker: To the member for Bruce, I appreciate his very deep concern and I certainly share concern that question period should be the optimum opportunity for members of the opposition and government backbenchers, as specified in the standing orders, to have an opportunity to ask questions. I will always do my utmost to maintain order and decorum in the House equally, as was applied today. I have offered on previous occasions, and if members would like to take a look at the weekly time sheet that is put on my desk, I'm more than pleased to share that information. What it reveals is not only the amount of time used by questions and responses, but the amount of time utilized by the Speaker having to stand.

I will candidly admit to the member that today was an unusually difficult day, from both sides of the House. I don't know why, but there seemed to be a reluctance to maintain any semblance of self-discipline. I cannot do this job by myself. I have indicated that to other members. There are 128 other members in the House, and it is a shared responsibility to try and maintain order and decorum. I regret very much if the honourable member has a perception that his Speaker is not maintaining an even hand. I can only assure the member that I always do my utmost to maintain an even hand and to provide balance in the chamber.

I will make one other observation, that indeed when it is necessary to recess the House for a period of time, there is in a sense a penalty to the government, because what you are doing is the clock does not stop, it resumes, and you are utilizing time which eats into time normally spent on doing public business, normally government business. So that if, to use an extreme, it were necessary to recess the House for a total of 20 or 30 minutes, it takes away from the government program. I understand that. I try to utilize whatever is at my disposal to maintain order and decorum, and I will do that relentlessly. All I ask, in conclusion, is that every member of this assembly make an effort to try and maintain the dignity of this chamber. I appreciate the expression that the member has brought to my attention. A point of order?

#### PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a different point of order, Mr Speaker: Last night, as you know, I raised an issue with respect to the Clerk of the committee of the whole. I was not given the opportunity of receiving the privilege of abstaining. I did abstain and I was, as a result, asked to leave the chamber.

In fact the Clerk of the committee of whole House, in my belief in violation of his powers, required the Sergeant at Arms to escort me from this place. My view is, sir, that I was not in fact and should not have been subject to that sort of procedure by the Clerk of the whole House.

I ask for your written ruling as to whether or not the Clerk of the whole House can and has assumed a new responsibility of throwing me and any other member from the legislative chamber. I say that this is particularly important because, if the Clerk of the whole House—I did not put up a struggle against the Sergeant at Arms. I thought that would be totally inappropriate, but my sense was that it was not in fact proper procedure.

Having subjected myself to it, Mr Speaker, I want you to immediately clarify if my position is correct that in fact the committee of the whole House Chair did use bad procedure and in fact cannot and will not be allowed, in the future, to eject a member from the chamber.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I must hasten to tell the member for Bruce that the Clerk of the House does not interfere in any way whatsoever with the procedures. Now, I do believe that perhaps the member for Bruce was referring to the Chair.

I want to just quite briefly mention a couple of things. Number one, I think all members who were in the chamber last night will acknowledge that the second Chair of committees handled a very tricky and complex business: a total of three and a half hours in that chair without a break. Quite frankly, as I watched it, I thought he did an absolutely superb job of trying to conduct the business of the House.

I had an opportunity to review the measure which the member brings to my attention. He is correct. An improper procedure was followed. Indeed, the committee should have risen and reported to the Speaker and the Speaker then would have dealt with the matter which was at hand.

Naturally, the second Chair of committees feels as badly about the situation as you do, and all we can do is to offer our apology for what occurred.

Lastly, as with the member for Bruce, I too, noting the size of the Sergeant at Arms and the fact that he carries a sword, would take the same course of action that he did.

**Mr Elston:** If I might, in fact I wish to apologize to the clerks of the table. I did not mean to say "Clerk" but it was in fact the Chair. I apologize for any misunderstanding.

#### **PETITIONS**

#### WOODLOTS

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): I have a petition here to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario regarding the Trees Act amendment.

"Contrary to some reports of clear-cutting of woodlots, I believe these incidents to be few and far between. Most woodlot owners would not allow clear-cutting on their woodlots because it would decrease the value of their property.

"Most farmers and woodlot owners cut enough wood for their heating requirements and some cedar trees for fence posts and sell firewood to supplement their income.

"In conversations I have had with neighbours and people in this area, we feel this proposed law to be restrictive. As land owners and taxpayers, we pay thousands of dollars each year in taxes. We strongly object to this proposed law, the Trees Act amendment. If this Trees Act were to be

implemented, we would become tenants on our own land. What about land owners' rights?"

It is signed by 450 people in and around the riding of S-D-G & East Grenville. I have affixed my signature.

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I've got a petition to the members of the provincial Parliament of Ontario.

"Re: Proposal to license a permanent gambling establishment in the Niagara Peninsula.

"We, the undersigned, hereby register our opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposal to establish and license a permanent gambling enterprise in the Niagara Peninsula. We believe in the need of keeping this area as a place where family and holiday time will be enriched with quality of life. Such gaming establishments will be detrimental to the fabric of the society in Ontario, and in the Niagara region in particular. We believe that licensed gambling will cause increased hardship on many families and will be an invitation for more criminal activity.

"By our signature here attached we ask you not to license gambling anywhere in the Niagara Peninsula."

People like J. Beeke from Lookout Street in Ridgeville, Marie Beeke from Lookout Street, Anna Linke from Scott Street in St Catharines and a whole pile of others have signed this petition. I have affixed my name so as to comply with the requirements for presentation of a petition and I serve this on you, sir.

1550

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I have a petition which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase jobs losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

To show my agreement, I will sign this as well.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I have a petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the province of Ontario and to the Ministry of Transportation.

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injury and reducing costs, we support the graduated licensing for new members."

That's been signed by me on behalf of 94 constituents.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly from members of the community of Middlesex county who respectfully ask that the arbitrator Mr John Brant's report be set aside because it does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in arbitration hearings, that there are better solutions available to the London and Middlesex annexation. The amount of land awarded to the city of London in this annexation is too extensive. It will jeopardize Middlesex county and our rural way of life.

I have signed my name to this petition.

#### LANDFILL

**Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York):** I have a petition here:

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and recreational holiday land, these areas would be drastically affected by a megadump;

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified these sites in the town which would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would disrupt the vibrant agricultural communities. The farm families in these areas have continued to invest large sums of money in their farms. These communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump in their area;

"Whereas most of the people of Georgina depend on groundwater for drinking water and a dump would threaten their supply of clean drinking water;

"Whereas the effects of a megadump would destroy the local economies of communities,

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and turn it into Metro and York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew its efforts to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill and implement progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I affix my name to this.

#### **BRUCE GENERATING STATION**

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): "To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas there is a concern in Bruce county and neighbouring communities that the Rae government will refuse to do rehabilitation and general maintenance work required to keep Bruce A functioning efficiently; and

"Whereas a detailed technical report prepared by informed and objective people has already shown that the maintenance and rehabilitation work is not only costeffective but profit-generating; and "Whereas there is concern in Bruce county and neighbouring areas that Bob Rae will circumvent that study by using non-objective people to restudy the cost-effectiveness of rehab and maintenance expenditures,

"Therefore, the undersigned request that the Legislature accept the list of signatures on the attached document addressed to Bob Rae and require the Premier to respond directly to them, indicating that he will guarantee a fair assessment of Bruce A maintenance and rehabilitation plans."

I attach my signature to the petition.

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition that reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the above-mentioned implementations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I support this petition and I have affixed my signature to it.

#### BRUCE GENERATING STATION

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): "Whereas there is a concern in Bruce county and neighbouring communities that the Rae government will refuse to do rehabilitation and general maintenance work required to keep Bruce A functioning efficiently; and

"Whereas the detailed technical report prepared by informed and objective people has already shown that the maintenance and rehabilitation work is not only costeffective but profit-generating; and

"Whereas there is concern in Bruce county and neighbouring areas that Bob Rae will circumvent that study by using non-objective people to restudy the cost-effectiveness of rehabilitation and maintenance expenditures,

"Therefore, the undersigned request that the Legislature accept the signatures on the attached document addressed to Bob Rae and require the Premier to respond directly to them, indicating that he will guarantee a fair assessment of Bruce A maintenance and rehabilitation plans."

I attach my signature, sir.

#### REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

# STANDING COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr Kormos from the standing committee on resources development presented the following report and moved its adoption. The committee begs to report the following bill, as amended:

Bill 124, An Act to amend the Highway Traffic Act / Loi portant modification du Code de la route.

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): It's Ms Cunningham's private member's Bill 124, which she very skilfully led through the legislative process. I appreciate the assistance of all the members of that committee and I move its adoption.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Shall the report be adopted? Agreed.

Bill ordered for third reading.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

SUPERANNUATION ADJUSTMENT BENEFITS REPEAL ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 ABROGEANT LA LOI INTITULÉE «SUPERANNUATION ADJUSTMENT BENEFITS ACT»

On motion by Mr Laughren, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 107, An Act to repeal the Superannuation Adjustment Benefits Act and to provide for the transfer of assets and liabilities of the Superannuation Adjustment Fund Account to the Ryerson Retirement Pension Plan of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute / Loi abrogeant la loi intitulée Superannuation Adjustment Benefits Act et prévoyant le transfert de l'actif et du passif du compte du Fonds d'indexation des pensions de retraite au Régime de retraite de Ryerson de l'Institut polytechnique Ryerson.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Would the Treasurer have some remarks to make?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Very brief remarks, Mr Speaker. This bill repeals the Superannuation Adjustment Benefits Act. The only pension plan to which the act applies is the pension plan of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, so the bill provides for the transfer of assets and liabilities arising from the act to the Ryerson pension plan.

PUBLIC SERVICE AMENDMENT ACT (POLITICAL ACTIVITY RIGHTS), 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE (DROITS EN MATIÈRE D'ACTIVITÉS POLITIQUES)

On motion by Mr Mackenzie, on behalf of Mr Cooke, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 111, An Act to amend the Public Service Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la fonction publique

[Report continued in volume B]

#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjointe et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre responsable de la Stratégie de prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementale
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/
			Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative,
G 1 .	C. 1. M. M.	D.C.	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Carleton Carleton East/-Est	Sterling, Norman W. Morin, Gilles E.	PC L	Donuty Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House
Carleton East-Est	Morni, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	du filmistre delegue aux Afrances trancopholics
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Minister of Education/ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	J 1
Elgin	North, Peter	ND	
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	and and an integral on grants 10101110
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, acting Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie,
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs par intérim
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	ministre des services gouvernementaux
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	or all commerce
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre Hamilton East/-Est	Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND ND	Minister of Correctional Services/ministre des Services correctionnels Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne,
	W 5 1	N. V.	aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General; deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général, whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration
			de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	de foi prives
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones Progressive Conservative deputy House leader/
	·		chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Middlesex	Mathyssen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est Mississauga North/-Nord	Sola, John Offer, Steven	L L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Mahoney, Steven W. Waters, Daniel	L ND	opposition chief whip/whip en chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	de l'Économie leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade
			and Technology/du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L PC	
Oakville South/-Sud Oakwood	Carr, Gary Rizzo, Tony	ND ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General/Solliciteur général
Ottawa Centre/-Centre Ottawa East/-Est	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn Grandmaître, Bernard C.	ND L	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	The second secon
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges
			et Universités
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Emie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord Riverdale	Conway, Sean G. Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	L ND	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/
S-D-G & East Grenville/ SDG. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre
St Catharines St. Catharines-Brock	Bradley, James J. Haeck, Christel	L ND	opposition deputy House leader/chef parlementaire de l'opposition government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent
			de l'ombudsman

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St. George-St. David	Vacant		
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie, Vice-Président
			du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	3
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	The second secon
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	opposition deputy with with adjoint de l'opposition
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/
Sine de Centre - Centre	Wessenger, Laur	ND	
Simcoe East/-Est	Mal oon Allan V	DC	adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Sinicoe East-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes
G: W	*****	200	gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	The second secon
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	government winp/ winp du gouvernement
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet and government House leader/ministre des Affaires municipales, président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement,
			et leader parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet/adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	an Boar Milotalant
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	Progressive Conservative whip/whip du Parti progressiste- conservateur
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels

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Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola

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Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

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#### Resources development/Développement des ressources

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Bob Huget

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David Turnbull, Daniel Waters, Len Wood

Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

#### Social development/Affaires sociales

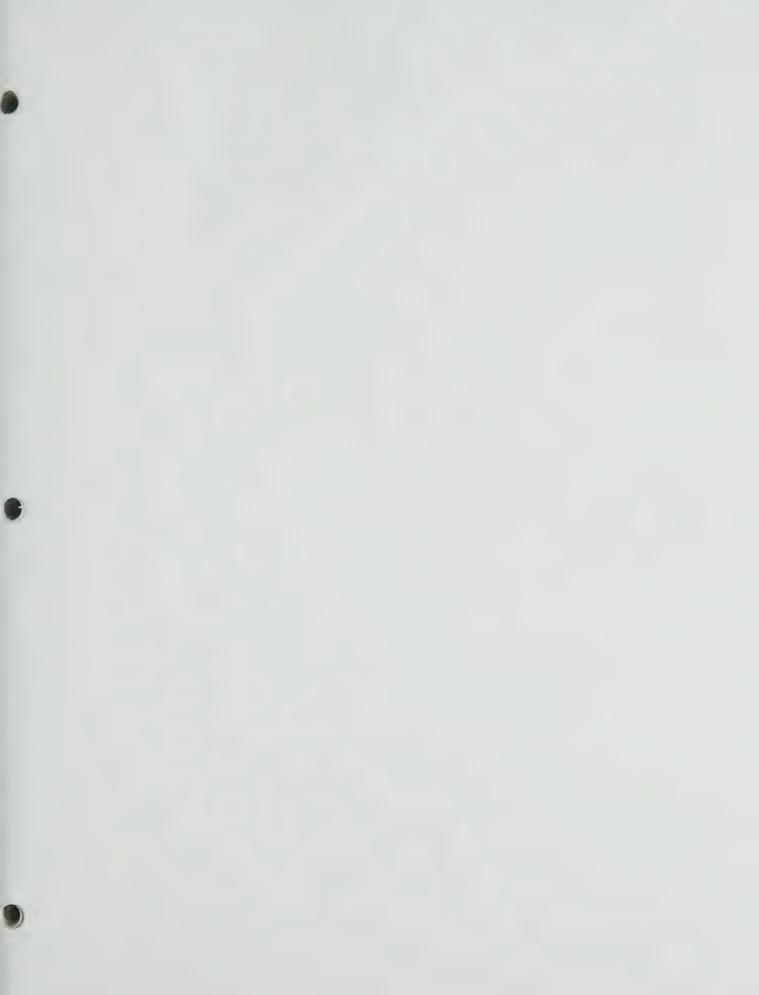
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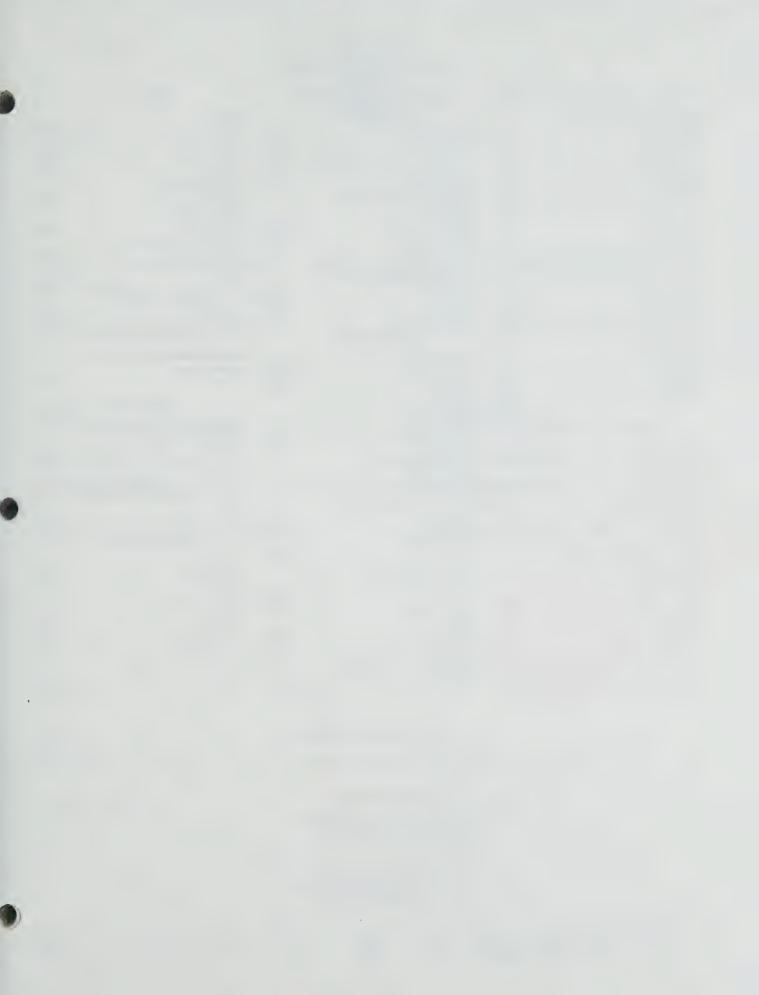
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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

**Thursday 3 December 1992** 

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Assemblée législative

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

de l'Ontario

Jeudi 3 décembre 1992



Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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## LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Thursday 3 December 1992

[Report continued from volume A] **1600** 

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

ONTARIO TRAINING AND ADJUSTMENT BOARD ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR LE CONSEIL ONTARIEN DE FORMATION ET D'ADAPTATION DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / Loi créant le Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la maind'oeuvre.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): The honourable member for Kingston and The Islands had the floor when we last debated this bill. Does the member wish to continue?

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): Yes I do, Mr Speaker. I'm pleased to continue some of the themes I was developing in my remarks late last Tuesday night, and I think all members will agree that we've had a very good discussion on these issues.

I'd like to begin by just going over some of the ground that has led to the development of the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. The entire OTAB initiative has been part of a new and innovative approach we have taken to consultation and the involvement of government's partners.

The introduction of the legislation to establish OTAB is an important milestone in the OTAB initiative, and the legislation itself reflects the same sort of commitment to consultation and a direct involvement of labour market partners.

I'd like to mention at this point that the OTAB projet has come up with some very attractive and interesting and I think inclusive notes called fact sheets that give us this development. It begins with Steps to Date to Implement OTAB, a very thorough description of the various steps that were taken to bring about the development of OTAB. These fact sheets would be available through any MPP throughout the province, or you could write to the OTAB project communications. They're well worth looking at, because they do give a very good description of how we came about the development of this project.

The original concept of OTAB emerged from a consultative approach initiative by the former government through the Premier's Council. The council, as it was then constituted, was the first group to recommend that government establish such a board and involve the labour market partners directly in the strategic management of Ontario's training and adjustment system.

The recommendations of the Premier's Council were reviewed by this government, and consultations were undertaken on ways to strengthen and improve the proposed model to ensure that OTAB could meet the challenges of the labour market as we saw them. The results of government's deliberations were identified in Skills to Meet the Challenge, the consultation document which was released in late November 1991 and which provides the base for the OTAB consultations.

I must say this is well known throughout the province, because over 40,000 were distributed, and on top of that, many community meetings were held to discuss the proposal.

The purposes of the consultations on OTAB were to refine the proposed model, further the understanding of training and adjustment issues, build up the capacity of the labour market partners to work in the multistakeholder consensus environment that OTAB will be and develop communications and linkages across all the various partner groups involved.

The labour market partners were involved in the design of the consultation process put in place for OTAB through a committee established by Minister Allen to provide government with expert advice on how to proceed. Business, labour, educators and social equity groups were represented on this committee.

The minister himself travelled to many communities in Ontario to hear directly from interested members of the public and the labour market partners with regard to their advice and recommendations for OTAB.

I'm pleased to say that I was present in Kingston on May 2 when we held a meeting among the various stakeholders to discuss these proposals. It was very well attended, so well in fact that at least one more meeting was scheduled; that is three in the day instead of just two. There was a good representation of the groups and I think it reflected the kind of work the stakeholders in the Kingston area have already done to meet the challenge OTAB represents. There have been many meetings of the members of the stakeholder groups to plan the move towards OTAB and the kinds of opportunities it represents.

Labour market partners themselves were asked to form steering committees, drawing representatives from their constituencies from across the province together, to address the OTAB proposal. These groups have worked very hard over the past 11 months.

This consultation exercise has drawn together people from very diverse backgrounds and perspectives to address the important issue of reform of Ontario's training system—and I think we know from the discussion we've had that there is a need for reform—groups representing business, labour, educators and trainers, women, racial minorities, people with disabilities and francophones.

The OTAB consultations provided opportunities for these groups to meet and engage in serious and informed discussions about OTAB, its proposed mandate, its roles and responsibilities, the ways in which it will be accountable to the public and so on. These have been very useful discussions. They have gone a long way towards fostering the kind of cooperative environment that will be needed to

address meaningfully the economic and social challenges we face as a province. The labour market partners have demonstrated ownership of this initiative and a strong desire to make it work for their own interest and for the broader public good.

The consultations have not been without controversy and disagreement, but the important issue is that the partners have continued to work together and with government to resolve the issues and government has responded to the input received from the labour market partners on OTAB.

The representation on the OTAB governing body was modified to include the direct representation of Ontario's francophone population in response to consultation input, and the need for the board to achieve gender balance and be representative of Ontario in many ways was recognized and emphasized. We have also included representation of the municipal government sector in Ontario on the governing body and in an ex officio non-voting capacity in response to strong input through the consultation.

The mandate of OTAB was fleshed out thoroughly as a result of discussions with the labour market partners. The bill we are reviewing today was developed in close consultation with the labour market partners to ensure that important concerns and objectives were included right from the start, because OTAB has been envisioned differently, as an agency that is needs-driven, inclusive, equitable and accessible, designed and owned by the stakeholders.

We have had to devise a consultation process that best reflected these objectives. Our consultations on OTAB have differed qualitatively from traditional methods of consultation. We have continuously made efforts to include and involve people in designing a training and adjustment system which will be responsive to their needs. As a result, OTAB will reflect the collective vision of the people of Ontario.

Having now listened to 12 speakers on this matter for over 12 hours, pursuant to standing order 47, I move that the question now be put.

The Acting Speaker: The member for Kingston and The Islands has moved a motion that the question be now put. According to section 47, "A motion for closure, which may be moved without notice, until it is decided shall preclude all amendment of the main question," and in the opinion of the Speaker, we do require some further debate. It's a very substantial bill and the Speaker at this point is of the opinion that we should have more debate on this very substantial bill.

The honourable member for Kingston and The Islands can continue with his participation in the debate.

#### 1610

Mr Gary Wilson: Thank you, Mr Speaker. As I pointed out, I thought there was a thorough debate on this issue, certainly by the representation of the opposition here. It seems they've had enough to say on it, or at least they're no longer interested in the debate. Anyway, I'm pleased that this is such a fascinating topic that there is more for me to say about it. In fact—

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I have the standing orders before me, and I

believe that it is contrary to the rules of procedure of this House for one member to question the motives of another member. I clearly heard the member for Kingston and The Islands impugning the motives of members of the opposition. The reason we said no to the closure motion of the NDP member was because we believe this is a substantive bill and we wish to have substantive debate.

Mr Speaker, I would ask that you censure him for his behaviour in this House and ask that he retract—

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. I do not believe the language was unparliamentary. However, the member for Kingston and The Islands may want to reconsider, if indeed he feels he was impugning motives. Please continue with the debate.

Mr Gary Wilson: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I want to assure the House that I had no intention of impugning the motives of anyone, especially people who aren't here. I would like, though, to mention a few points here. I'd like briefly to speak to the—

Mrs Caplan: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'd like to refer to the rules of procedure and parliamentary tradition in this House, where it is clearly improper for any member to refer to those who may not be here in this House. I would point that out too and ask you to remind the New Democratic members of the traditions of this House and ask the member to refrain from that kind of improper behaviour.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Kingston and The Islands, please continue.

Mr Gary Wilson: I will continue with these remarks then. I just want to talk about the accountability of OTAB. OTAB represents a fundamental shift in how labour force development programs are managed in Ontario. The government is preparing to share with its partners real responsibility for training and adjustment programs and services which, because of their importance to the economic and social wellbeing of the province, affect us all.

In order to develop a labour force development system that is more responsive to the needs of the labour market, OTAB will be led through its governing body by representatives of the labour market partners: business, labour, francophones, persons with disabilities, racial minorities, women and educators and trainers.

While providing OTAB and its governing body with the autonomy to undertake fundamental reforms in the labour force development system, the government has also taken very definite steps to ensure that the agency remains accountable to government.

The government will continue to set broad labour market policy. OTAB will be directed to operate within the economic and social policies of the government and within the government's accountability framework. Set out in OTAB's legislation are specific reporting and auditing requirements of the agency. These requirements include the obligation to file for approval with the minister multiyear and annual plans as well as annual and fiscal reports. OTAB will also be part of the government's fiscal planning and estimates process.

In addition to the requirements set out in the legislation, OTAB will be required to enter into a memorandum of understanding with the government. This MOU will outline very specifically what the minister responsible for OTAB and OTAB itself expect from and must provide to each other. The agreement will set out clearly the policy objectives of the government, the role of the minister, the operating, administrative, financial control and reporting relationships, the government's requirements for staffing, audit and conflict of interest.

To ensure effective and efficient use of public funds, OTAB will be subject to review by the Provincial Auditor and other audit arrangements, as required by the minister.

As a crown agency, OTAB must comply with all relevant Management Board, treasury board, Human Resources Secretariat directives, with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and the French Language Services Act.

OTAB's legislation specifies that the governing body members have a primary responsibility to serve the public interest. Although governing body members will seek information and guidance from their supporting reference groups, they—

Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North): Point of order, Mr Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker:** Point of order, the honourable member for Halton North.

**Mr Duignan:** It appears that the opposition has very little interest in the retraining of the workers of this province, Mr Speaker, when we only have four members present.

The Acting Speaker: I'm sorry, that's not a point of order. Are you calling for a quorum? If you're not calling for a quorum, it doesn't really matter.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Let's call for a quorum, then.

**The Acting Speaker:** On a point of order, the honourable member for Etobicoke West.

**Mr Stockwell:** Yes, I would like to call a quorum, Mr Speaker.

**The Acting Speaker:** Is there a quorum? Can I ask the table to check?

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Mrs Deborah Deller): Mr Speaker, a quorum is not present.

**The Acting Speaker:** A quorum is not present. Call in the members.

The Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is present, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: A quorum is now present. The honourable member for Kingston and The Islands can resume his participation in the debate.

Mr Gary Wilson: I've been discussing the accountability of the OTAB and I think you can hear from my remarks that there is a very strong element of accountability built into the governing of the new body. As well, of course, it's so rooted in the community that there will be a very close watch in communities throughout Ontario on

the operation of this body. Then, as well as the various projects that it brings forward, there will be a great amount of interest to see how well this essential and crucial element of our economic renewal is working.

That being said, I'd like to say that staff in the various ministries have demonstrated impressive dedication and commitment to clients and delivery agencies. These same individuals will play an important role in the establishment of OTAB and in making the dramatic positive changes to Ontario's training and adjustment system. Overall, OTAB will result in a leaner, more efficient system than we have today. Government programs and staff will be consolidated under a single agency with a mandate to minimize duplication while responding more effectively to the needs of the people of Ontario.

At this point I would like to turn the debate over to others who might wish to make comments about it.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments.

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): I've listened to the comments from the member for Kingston and The Islands and I must say that I am very disappointed and shocked by what the member attempted to do during the middle of his comments, and let's be clear what the member attempted to do. The member attempted to stop debate on the bill, which the member himself says is extremely important. The member's actions during his own debate attempted to shut the door on the rights of all other members in this Legislature to speak on this bill, to bring their thoughts and opinions and concerns to this legislative floor—thoughts, opinions and concerns which have been heard through the communities, through the constituencies of this province.

The member speaks about a bill as an important bill and 20 seconds later tries to close debate on the bill, tries to prevent other members in this Legislature from giving their opinions and their thoughts from their constituents on this particular bill. The member should be ashamed, the member's party should be ashamed, for what he attempted to do during this debate.

#### 1620

I have but one question to ask of the member, because the member speaks about how important this is for the community. Would the member please explain and respond to what the impact of this bill will be to an organization known in Peel and Halton as the Halton and Peel Industries Training Advisory Committee, HAPITAC, which has a long history of success in training and job adjustment? What happens to them? I will tell you that this bill puts them out of work.

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities and Minister of Skills Development): Nonsense.

**Mr Offer:** I have your own letter that says that.

**Hon Mr Allen:** Nonsense. This bill has got nothing to do with stopping local boards, and the member knows that. It's got absolutely nothing to do with it.

**Mr Offer:** I have your own letter.

**Hon Mr Allen:** Go home and think again.

The Acting Speaker: Order. All members will have the opportunity—

Mr Offer: Testy, aren't you?

**The Acting Speaker:** Order. The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: It was rather disappointing to hear a rather lame, bureaucratic statement with respect to something as important as this OTAB piece of legislation that has come forward. It was just filled with the obvious.

It's hard to believe that a member could stand up and say OTAB will be subject to the Provincial Auditor's reporting. Everybody's subject to auditor's reporting. We all know that. You don't need to say it. It's like, "Everyone has a vote." Of course everyone has a vote. We know these things. I expected something a little more concrete and a little more tangible, since this particular piece of legislation is being assaulted out there from all sectors: the business community, the labour community; all communities are assaulting this piece of legislation.

Hon Mr Allen: They are not at all.

Mr Stockwell: It's patently unfair. It's totally slanted—

Hon Mr Allen: Give us your evidence.

Mr Stockwell: —to the labour social side with very little participation.

**Hon Mr Allen:** Don't just say it, give us evidence. Tell us who. Name the people.

Mr Stockwell: I make this point very clearly. We can't get this minister to answer questions, yet he heckles when we get our two minutes to speak to OTAB. He won't answer a question in the House when it comes to this. It took him two years to draft this piece of legislation, which he suggests isn't as complicated as all it was made out to be.

It's being assaulted out there from all sides because it's a slanted piece of legislation that's going to be a black hole for up to \$2 billion of taxpayers' money, supported by few, if any, and it's slanted against business. The votes on this board will be made up of union representatives and social groups that will make it impossible for business communities to get a fair and honest input into this particular process.

Finally, Mr Speaker, you want to know how out of touch this is and how far removed? This government doesn't even get to make the appointments to the boards. They've passed that off to the union people as well. That's how irresponsible this government is—the lack of responsibility it wants to take for legislation it's passing off as good for this province.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I want to thank the member for Kingston and The Islands for his thoughtful comments. It really makes me wonder sometimes when you wake up and what do you read in the newspaper? You read about the jobless benefits being cut in a spending squeeze by the federal government. It's really a damn shame when the working people who pay into unemployment insurance benefits and the people who employ people—the benefits are there for those people

who work for them. It's a damn shame that doesn't get passed on down to those working folks.

When you see a provincial government that cares about working people and moves forward on something like the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, all I have to do is take a sigh of relief because I know we have someone out there who is concerned about working people.

The member for Kingston and The Islands talked about the representation on the board. We're hearing a lot of discussion because we've got some employers in there, we've got employees in there, we've got people from different minority groups in there. I think, hurray, it's about time we tried to make boards look as representative of the population as possible. It surely isn't representative when you see tax cuts like this happening to working people from the federal government. You certainly don't see any support for the working folks there, do you, Mr Speaker?

Sitting back and listening to some of the comments that have been made, we've had 14 hours of debate on this and a full discussion on it and I'm sure everybody who had a chance to get up and speak got their chance because they would want to be in here, and the place would be jam-packed to the rafters.

There have been a lot of staged comments, and the member for Kingston and The Islands has certainly put it all in context because the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board is about people, about getting people training, about having a workforce to meet the future and to bring the Ontario economy into the future and into the next millennium. That's what this is all about. I'm proud to be part of this party.

**The Acting Speaker:** We can accommodate one final participant. The honourable member for Oriole.

Mrs Caplan: I listened very carefully to the remarks of the member for Kingston and The Islands and I was very disappointed. As he is parliamentary assistant to the minister, I would have expected more from him in the way of substantive debate.

I don't think there's a more important issue facing the province today than the issue of training and retraining of our workers for the jobs of the future. It's very disappointing to see this NDP government, after two years, come forward with its proposal for the Ontario training board, which is not supported by the business community, because they do not believe it will achieve the goals of the former Premier's Council when this was one of the council's most significant recommendations.

Two billion dollars in assets being turned over, primarily, to labour leadership; the fact that the minister's representative, the parliamentary assistant, would stand in his place today, deliver a very bureaucratic speech, talk about an MOU, which most people in this province do not know is a memorandum of understanding; the fact that he would stand there and call for closure after limited debate on a very substantive piece of legislation is shameful.

I would say further, time and again we hear Premier Rae talking about fairness. I would say to the member for Kingston and The Islands that his behaviour in this House today was anything but fair. It was unfair, it was arbitrary and, as a member of the government caucus, it was unbecoming of a New Democrat in this place of democracy, with very little debate, to cut off the rights of the opposition to do their job and speak for the people of this province and raise the concerns of business leaders and people who care about whether or not they're going to have a job tomorrow and whether or not they're going to be properly trained and retrained for the jobs of the future. That's what this legislation is about. In order for us to do our job, we must have the opportunity of free speech and time here in this Legislature.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Kingston and The Islands has two minutes in response.

Mr Gary Wilson: I'm pleased that my colleagues joined in the debate. I'm not sure they raised substantive questions that would help in this debate. In fact, the member for Mississauga North used most of his time to question the process here. If he spent as much time as I have in listening to the debate—and I point out, it's over eight hours with 10 speakers; there has been a lot of debate—he will find it's been a bit uneven in that there was a lot of time devoted to questions that were, at best, a side point to what our main point is.

If the bill is that bad, why don't they want to get it out into the community and let the community have a say about it? Our point is that the consultation has been very extensive; it has involved the labour market partners in developing this legislation. We think it's very good. The comments we're getting from the community is that it's very good, that it will meet the needs of focusing the efforts of 10 ministries over 48 different programs into one effective and unified body, OTAB.

I must say the member for Oriole is a little bit dismissive of the people of Ontario. I'm sure there are people out there who have been following this issue who would know that MOU means memorandum of understanding, which I did use in my remarks. I think she's just being a bit patronizing there.

I think we've had a good discussion up to this point. We've covered all the issues. We believe there's very solid agreement among the labour partners. Business has been in agreement on what we've done to this point. They've been cooperating. I'm sure they too want to get this into the community, into committee hearings, so we can look at it in more detail and even advertise its existence and its purpose to the community. Again, I want to thank the speakers who joined in.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Mississauga North.

Mr Offer: I'm pleased to join in this debate on this particular piece of legislation about which, I must say at the very outset, I have some significant concerns which I look forward to bringing forward in the time allocated to discuss this matter.

At the outset, however, it is clear that the member for Kingston and The Islands did not answer the essential point that was brought forward by members opposite. That is, what prompted the member for Kingston and The Islands to try to shut down debate on this particular piece of legislation? What is it that prompted the member, as a representative of the government, to try to shut the door on all other members to bring forward their thoughts on this particular piece of legislation?

Why is it that the members on the government side seem to be so preoccupied with shutting the doors of this Legislature, with shutting the doors on the rights of other members of this chamber to bring forward the thoughts, comments and concerns of their constituents to this place? What is it that prompts a member to do that on a bill that the member himself has indicated is so important?

#### 1630

Well, I have some concerns with the particular piece of legislation and I believe that all members of the Legislature who do have those types of concerns should have the opportunity to bring them forward to this place. That is our right. That is one of the ways which we have and one of the reasons for our election. We have been elected to bring forward our opinions. We have been elected to bring forward the thoughts of our constituents and their opinions on pieces of legislation that they feel are of importance.

It is shameful that the members on the government side, and in particular the member for Kingston and The Islands, seek to shut the door on members of this Legislature from doing that particular job. That's our responsibility. It's something we take very seriously. It's the heart and soul of democracy, and the member has just tried to shut this down.

For that, I believe the member should be severely criticized, and if he has received some word and some authority or some direction from his government, it too should be extremely criticized for that. I would expect that the government members would not attempt to thwart the rights of members by trying to pull that trick when their turn next comes forward. I would expect they now know that there are a number of members who wish to speak on this piece of legislation and that we would expect that the members on the government side would not try to pull a trick like they have just attempted to do.

Mr O'Connor: Well, you sit down and let someone speak on it.

**Mr Bob Huget (Sarnia):** What the government needs is less talk from the politicians and a little more work.

Mr Offer: But to speak to the legislation, it appears that the members of the government seem to be a tad sensitive when they try to pull a trick and they get caught and it doesn't work, when they try to shut the doors of debate in this Legislature and they get caught and it doesn't work. They seem to be a tad sensitive when that which they tried to do has been found out and they've been stopped. We'll see if they will try once more when their turn comes about.

But I want to speak to the legislation. If the member for Kingston and The Islands had not tried such a dirty trick on the members of this Legislature, shutting out their rights to bring forward the comments and concerns of their constituents, I would not have had to really give up five minutes of the 30 that are allocated to me to bring forward

that matter, because it was something that concerned me and concerned many members of this Legislature. Maybe if the member—

**The Acting Speaker:** On a point of order, the member for Mississauga West.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I know that government members would like to hear the words of our Labour critic, and yet there's not a quorum present.

The Acting Speaker: Do we have a quorum?

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is present, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: A quorum is present. The honourable member for Mississauga North can proceed with his debate.

Mr Offer: I think it's clear that the nature of work in this province is changing, that we are undergoing a significant restructuring in our economy.

Interjections.

Mr Offer: Mr Speaker, I am trying to bring forward some of the opinions that I have received from my constituents. The members on the government side are continually heckling as I'm trying to bring forward some of the thoughts that I have heard from my constituents on this matter. I know they've tried to shut down debate, but the very least that the members on the government side could do is that when somebody does have the floor and is debating the legislation, they could refrain from heckling; because they are not heckling me, they are heckling my constituents and those people who have come to me to speak about this particular legislation. For that, they should be profoundly ashamed.

Even as I attempt to bring forward some of the thoughts on this particular legislation, the members continually feel it is somehow necessary to shout down members who said at the very outset, as I did, "I have significant concerns with this piece of legislation."

We all know that the nature of work and our economy are going through a fundamental restructuring. I believe that yesterday is yesterday and that we cannot look to yesterday to attempt to solve the problems of tomorrow. I believe that it is incumbent upon all of us to try to work together to make this province a province that can stand alone as an example for investment, a positive climate for investment; a province that can create jobs, can create new wealth, can send out a message that those who want to open up a business can do so in this province, that those who have an existing business can expand it in this province, that this is a province where "profit" is not a dirty word but rather is welcome and that there are positive messages to attract that type of investment and growth.

For that, I have some concerns with this particular piece of legislation. I have concerns because I believe the legislation is faulty in the extreme. I believe that it's faulty because it looks to yesterday to try to solve the problems of tomorrow. I believe that the makeup of the board itself is just not in sync with not only what this province is but what we all hope it will become.

Let's talk about the makeup of the board. Let's talk about who is going to be in control. It has two co-chairs, one representing business and one representing labour; seven directors representing business; seven directors representing labour; two directors representing educators and trainers; one director representing francophones; one director representing persons with disabilities; one director representing racial minorities and one director representing women.

I want to talk about the makeup of this board: "Educators." Let's read that again: "Two directors representing educators and trainers"—for the Ontario of the 1990s and into the year 2000, two directors representing educators. I don't have to look farther than a book that's really just been recently released, The Next Canadian Century by David Crane. I take a look at page 137: "The ability of a country to maintain a high standard of living depends more than ever before on the quality of its workforce."

Would anyone disagree with that? No.

1640

On page 141, it goes on that "Industry and government are demanding, and should be demanding, more scientists, engineers and managers."

It goes on, and I pick from the book: "To be a world leader in the quality of our workforce, we must"—and he uses the word—"reform the system from top to bottom. We have to look at the full system."

On page 163 of this book it says, and I hope all members will listen to this: "As we approach the next century, education at all levels must be our most important concern. To create the new goods and services that are necessary to replace old industries and to sustain our society, it is essential that we equip young Canadians with the knowledge, skills and lifelong learning opportunities that can make innovation happen."

That, I believe, is an important aspect. I believe that is an area where this legislation is not only deficient but neglectful. What does it do in the area of education? What is the representation of a 22-person board from the education area? Two individuals on a board of 22.

Let us go back to what David Crane has indicated, and we know that Mr Crane is the economics editor of the Toronto Star: "As we approach the next century, education at all levels must be our most important concern." This legislation neglects what will be the challenge not only today but tomorrow.

Interjections.

**Mr Offer:** Mr Speaker, I speak about this particular legislation, about the substance of the legislation, about some of the thoughts not only of myself and constituents but of others, and all I hear is heckling on the other side. Mr Speaker, I would ask to adjourn the House.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Mississauga North has moved adjournment of the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of Mr Offer's motion, please say "aye."

All those opposed, please say "nay." In my opinion, the nays have it.

The division bells rang from 1643 to 1713.

The Acting Speaker: Could all members please take their seats.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Offer has moved adjournment of the House.

All those in favour of Mr Offer's motion will please rise and remain standing until counted by the clerk.

All those opposed to Mr Offer's motion, please rise and remain standing until counted by the clerk.

**Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees:** The ayes are 21, the nays are 59.

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes are 21, the nays are 59. I therefore declare Mr Offer's motion lost. Mr Offer can now resume his participation in the debate.

Mr Offer: As I left off, I was referring to a book by David Crane that spoke how, as we approach the next century, education at all levels must be our most important concern. I used that because the makeup of the board does not put the emphasis on education for Ontario in the 1990s and into the next century, as it should. I believe that is a fundamental flaw in the makeup of this board and one about which I'm extremely concerned.

Mr Speaker, you will recall that I spoke to this issue and how it would affect an organization in the Halton-Peel area know as the Halton and Peel Industries Training Advisory Committee, with the acronym HAPITAC. I indicated in my response that this particular bill would really put this organization out of business. I believe the Minister of Skills Development interjected at the time, saying, "Well, you don't know anything about the bill if you could say such a thing."

The Halton and Peel Industries Training Advisory Committee has effectively and efficiently supported the training needs of local businesses. HAPITAC is a critical link in the coordination of educational and training needs in the Halton-Peel area and is one that carries a great deal of support.

Interjections.

Mr Offer: The members opposite heckle HAPITAC and its very credible past and, I hope, future. I was concerned about that. The members say I have not read the bill; this could only come from a member who hasn't read the bill. I inquired about what the future would be of an organization such as HAPITAC from this OTAB legislation, and I have here a statement that says: "I want to be clear that as local boards are developed, CITCs such as HAPITAC will stop receiving direct federal and provincial financial support. The functions currently performed will transfer to the boards under this legislation."

The members now are quite silent because they do not know who wrote the letter I am reading from. Well, I look at the bottom and it's by Richard Allen, Minister of Skills Development, the same minister who just 45 minutes ago criticized me for the concern I had for HAPITAC and agencies like this across the province. He criticized me, saying, "Well, this legislation won't affect them." The same Richard Allen, the architect of this bill, is the author

of the letter which states that local boards such as HAPITAC will stop receiving direct federal and provincial financial support.

They are out of business. The work they have done in the past, the support for training needs, the linkage of training to local businesses, is over for organizations such as HAPITAC. It is shameful that those that have contributed so much to their community over so many years will now be cut off from the funding.

Members opposite, though silent now, may wish to criticize, but I respond by saying that the bill calls the minister in charge as the Honourable R. Allen; the letter is written by Richard Allen, Minister of Skills Development. I would expect they are one and the same. I would expect my concern for the future of organizations such as HAPITAC is valid. Their future is in doubt and it is evidenced by the letter and under the signature of the minister who is the author of this particular piece of legislation.

I recognize my time is winding down and there are other areas of the bill that I find quite concerning, not only in the area of education and the way in which this particular legislation closes the door and turns its back on the demands education will be making on the workforce in the 1990s and into the next century and the way in which it has not given the proper emphasis to education that it should, but also I am very concerned with accountability.

Let me tell you why. This is a board that will stand apart from government. It is a board that will not be responsible, as members of this Legislature are, to the electorate. It is a board that I believe will have a cut in the linkage of program and accountability to the people. We don't have to go very far to see a real, true-life example. We can see the Workers' Compensation Board.

1720

The Workers' Compensation Board is right now—again a board without any accountability to the electorate, to the taxpayers of this province—embarking, with the approval of the Treasurer, on the building of a new headquarters, a head office, 525,000 square feet in the city of Toronto, and it is embarking upon that, which will have a cost of, we can imagine, not less than \$200 million, at a time when we know there is commercial space available.

Now, someone might say there is always commercial space available in the city of Toronto. But how much? Are there 525,000 commercial square feet available? The answer is not only yes, but the commercial square footage available in the city of Toronto is 27 million square feet. This type of accountability in Workers' Compensation, which is lacking to the taxpayers, is one that can very well be carried over to the OTAB board.

We know there must be advisers into how we are going to retrain our workforce, to make certain that our working men and women are being trained not for the jobs of yesterday but for the jobs of tomorrow. We know that there is the need and the requirement for many pieces of advice on how that can be obtained, but we also must recognize that there is a serious matter of accountability: accountability to our electorate, to our taxpayers. This particular board may very well have in its control in the area of \$2 billion, and I believe that before one can do that it, must be done by

individuals who make the final decisions in a way that is accountable to the taxpayers.

Yes, those individuals can take advice from a myriad of professionals around this province and outside. There is no lack of those individuals. And yes, maybe there should be an advisory committee which is made up of education and labour and business. But to say to that group that you also are able to make the actual decisions to commit taxpayers' dollars without the accountability that runs with it is, I believe, something which concerns me.

It concerns me not only in principle, but also what I see happening with the Workers' Compensation Board head-quarters, where there isn't that link of accountability, and Workers' Compensation Board is moving forward with building a new head office in the city of Toronto where there is ample commercial square footage available, where every objective analysis would say to use the space that is available, the glut in Toronto that is there. There are negotiations that can be undertaken and there is a certain sense of accountability which would then be met. But no, they work in a different area.

I'm afraid that this OTAB may also do that. My concerns are not just based on the fact that the board does not have the increment of educational input that I believe it should have; it also lacks that degree of accountability which I believe we hear about every day from our constituents. Every day we are saying that when you do something, you better remember that it is taxpayers' dollars. This is giving to the board probably something in the area of \$2 billion without any link of accountability. To me, that is irresponsible. I believe the Workers' Compensation Board should not be embarking on the building of a new head office in the city of Toronto at a cost of \$200 million when there is 27 million square feet of space available in that same city.

Maybe, just maybe, the board should have been looking in some outlying areas. Maybe, just maybe, it would have even been more economical to look at some of the space available in other areas. The question, in principle, is that where there is not accountability to the taxpayers, these types of decisions are made in a vacuum. They're made in an area where the comments, concerns and criticisms do not seem to hit home. We in this Legislature know what accountability is and we would respond. This board moves us away from that.

But I also want, in the very short time available to me, to speak to a concern that I have with, again, the makeup of the board, the business and labour component. I say this really as the Labour critic because I've been involved in the goings on of the Workplace Health and Safety Agency. The Workplace Health and Safety Agency is also a bipartite agency, again made up of business and labour, which have been attempting to work together to develop a core training program for health and safety in the workplace.

That had been progressing, but what has happened is that it has broken down significantly. It has broken down because it is alleged and stated that there has been interference by the Ministry of Labour in the workings of that agency. I believe that is true. I believe that bipartite approach, which should work, has not worked. It has not

worked because of the approach that the government has taken to bipartite agencies and to the work of labour and management. I believe that sets a very bad example as to whether this system, as indicated in the OTAB legislation, will succeed. I do not believe it will, because the Workplace Health and Safety Agency did not work.

I have a question that was asked by our leader as to whether there was any interference by the Ministry of Labour. The Minister of Labour indicated there was no interference. Yet I have a letter from the Deputy Minister of Labour of September 4 that states, "The agency is facing several immediate challenges and needs your support." He's writing to other members in businesses. He is in fact interfering. The ministry is interfering. They offered to facilitate an informal get-together with a few influential business leaders and "would seek your indulgence in such a meeting being called as soon as possible."

We don't have to deal with the actual substance of these particular letters. That will be, I can assure you, for another day. But what we do have here is an example of the Workplace Health and Safety Agency being interfered with by the Ministry of Labour. It is not working. It resulted in the resignations of the management component. And what do we have here? A very similar agency being created, a similar agency with business and labour. I believe the example set by this government in the area of bipartism and letting the agency work, of not allowing that to happen, is one which will affect this particular piece of legislation. It causes me great concern.

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It is an area where there are many other issues that have to be dealt with in this legislation. I have touched upon but three. There is the lack of educational input, the fact that there isn't the necessary component of educational input to determine the needs of the workplace in the 1990s and the next century. I believe there is a substantial concern dealing with the whole issue of accountability.

These will be taxpayers' dollars, and I believe, from my constituents' concern and opinion, that it is irresponsible to move these expenditures of those dollars to another board that does not have that type of accountability that members of the Legislature have. That is, I believe, a fair representation of the concerns I am hearing about this legislation from my constituents.

I have concerns, as a subpart, as to why organizations with such a great history, with such a great past in working with the local businesses and local training, why those groups have to be put out of business. Certainly, I have a concern as to whether this agency, this board, will be able to operate truly independently. It is as a result of those concerns that I do not support this particular piece of legislation.

I believe there are many members of this Legislature that wish to speak about this particular bill, to talk about other areas of the legislation that are of concern to them and their constituents, and I would expect that the government would proceed and allow all members of this Legislature to speak on this bill.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): I thank the honourable member for his intervention in the debate. Further comments and/or questions?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I want to take my two minutes to comment with regard to the member's speech here today in the House about OTAB.

Earlier this evening, the member for Kingston and The Islands wanted to put a motion through that the debate be closed off. I really find it hard to understand why, without a full and open debate, anybody would move that motion. I have been here over 11 years and have watched the debate go on in this Legislature and at most times there has been full and open participation by all parties. To see this government try to cut off debate is unacceptable to me.

The member spoke briefly with regard to how the program will be paid for. That is going to be a major concern for people out there. Is this going to be another bureaucracy like the WCB with regard to a levy on business? Is this going to be another bureaucracy that will be in debt to the tune of some \$10 billion, as the WCB is? Also, Ontario Hydro is in much the same position.

When we look at the aspects of this bill that is before us today and the amount of taxes it's going to put on the taxpayer some two years from now, we must remember that it's going to be 18 months before this board is even going to be put in place. Some 22 members will be serving on that board. The majority of those members will be from labour. I find it hard to accept without a full and public debate and I would hate to see the government bring closure in on this until that has taken place.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments?

Mr O'Connor: I want to comment on what we've heard in this member's participation debate. For the first 10 minutes, he wasn't very kind to the member for Kingston and The Islands. Of course, there weren't very many opposition members in the House when he tried to put the question. Then, in the middle of his debate, he decided he would ring the bells to adjourn the House. Well, we're here for the night and we've got jobs to do, so I appreciate that.

He talked about not liking this bill. Well, today was a very important day, because General Motors of Canada made an announcement. In their announcement they talked about—I want to quote a line here from it. "It's never a good time to make an announcement like this, but we wanted to be fair to our employees and communities, to make sure that the information was available as soon as the decisions were finished."

You know, for the workers in the plants in St Catharines, movement like this towards training and adjustment boards is so important. For the workers in Oshawa who have got now a weight lifted off them, just before Christmas—they're going to be much happier. But you know, the important thing is—they said it right in their press release: they wanted to be fair to their employees. When they talk about stuff like this, we've got to talk long-term and that's what OTAB is about: putting the employees they're so concerned about together, cooperation.

It took 125 years to get into the whole training bureaucracies we've got today—44 different programs in training—and it's just not working right. We're changing from the type of industry we've got today to different industries, and who knows better than the employers? We should have them there, and the people from the community, get the employees in there. Some of the comments and the rhetoric from across the floor really does disturb me, because every day we're here we've got a lot of important matters to discuss, and adjourning debate in the middle of something isn't proper.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): The member for Mississauga North in his remarks has raised issues that should be of concern to the government as it proceeds in the further debate on this bill.

The first issue that of course he expressed some outrage about was the government's intention, through the member for Kingston and The Islands, to invoke closure on this particular bill. I certainly want to participate in the debate as it moves along. This is a singularly important initiative and should be handled appropriately and properly.

The member for Mississauga North has pointed out the shortcomings with respect to the makeup of the board and the lack of a place that is full for education on that board. Universities will clearly not be represented on the board. The community colleges will be shrunk in number in terms of their representation. What is the place of high schools, which in fact provide on an ongoing basis cooperative training and other approaches?

He alluded to issues relating to the importance of education: David Crane's analysis that education is the key and the cornerstone of workplace training as we shift into a new and very different world of work. If the government isn't hearing the member on those points it is very surely to fail with this agency.

The member spoke of many other areas that deserve comment and attention from the government, not the least of which is that this board is clearly designed as and will become another Workers' Compensation Board, and God knows we don't need that.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): I want to briefly comment on the establishment of this board, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. It would seem to me that the prime reason for providing this training is to provide well-trained people to be available for work in this province should the economy ever turn around. The problem is that no one is against this principle of training the people. The problem is, it appears to me, that the board is going to be basically a labour board and then the curriculum for training is going to miss that connection with the place of employment that's so important.

1740

I visited a plant in my riding last Friday that is very concerned about this Ontario training. They see the need, but it's the establishment of it and the basis on which it's being established that they're expressing concern to me on. So I really think that this should go to committee and allow the input from the people who are going to use the trained personnel to perhaps convince the government that the board mix should be such that the place of business and the place of manufacturing and those who are actually going to bring the economy alive again are going to have some direct input into not only the formation of the board but the policies and the process that it would follow.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member has two minutes to make a response.

Mr Offer: I think it's clear that the government is trying to paint a picture that anyone who speaks against this bill or that anybody who has a concern about this bill is somehow against retraining workers. They might try to do that but they'll never get away with it, because no one in his right mind would ever think that was the case.

The concern that I have with this particular piece of legislation, and the comments I have made, is not because one is against training, but I believe that what we should be looking at is making certain that whatever training we have for workers is for jobs that are in existence as opposed to jobs that do not exist. I believe that is not in the best interests of the workers of this province. I do not believe it is in the best interests of the continued growth of this province. I do not believe that it is in the best interests of the future prosperity of this province.

We have an opportunity to put in place a mechanism of advice, an advisory committee, whatever, that deals with what the real issues are. I believe that this particular piece of legislation doesn't meet those issues. I believe that if we want to create a province where workers have real training and retraining in a relevant way for jobs that exist, we must have more of an educational component. We must also deal with the issue of the small business aspect to training and what the requirements are.

This particular piece of legislation just doesn't hit the point, and I believe that in voicing my concerns I voice them because I speak in the best interests of the workers, not only today but tomorrow. I believe this bill falls short of that.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: I appreciate the opportunity to enter into this debate. I have very serious and grave concerns with respect to this issue and its impact on the people in the province of Ontario.

Firstly, let me say that I don't think the business community really has a full understanding of this particular piece of legislation. As time marches on and OTAB comes closer to reality, the business community will begin to discover exactly how wide-ranging, encompassing and out of control OTAB is. OTAB will become the Workers' Compensation Board when it comes to a job training and adjustment board.

We in the Conservative Party have grave concerns for a number of probably ideological reasons, but not just ideological reasons. Our concerns also have to do with process and the capacity of such a burgeoning and bureaucratic process to in fact train and retrain the people who are in dire need of work, in dire need of retraining and preparing themselves for the new world order.

Many people have suggested that the first true hurdle will be when we discover whether or not business and labour can work effectively together. I believe business and labour can work together, in the proper forum, with the proper help and motivation from government.

The sincere difficulty I have with this piece of legislation is much like Bill 40. It's tremendously slanted and biased on behalf of the labour side and socialist agenda side, and absolutely leaves the business community with a very bad and awkward feeling.

The argument will be put forward much the same by the member for Durham Centre that it's really 50-50. That's the kind of sly response that doesn't deal with the realities and truth of the situation. The member for Durham Centre knows full well that the composition of this board is not 50-50, yet he continues to mouth the political platitudes that have been placed before him by the spin doctors post-John Piper. We know full well that the board makeup is not 50-50, and you know full well that when the business community opted out of this program in July of this year it was because the slant and bias towards the board makeup were clearly not in their favour.

I'll just go through the process of how these people are appointed and the makeup of this particular board. There are two chairs, one representing business and one representing labour, seven directors representing business and seven directors representing labour. That is a fair and equitable split. The problem is that the board makeup does not end there, and the next groups that are put on are representatives for francophones, persons with disabilities, racial minorities and one director representing women.

Those decisions will be made by the board, slanted by the board. There's no doubt in my mind—and it's very clear by the promises you've made to certain groups about whom they will appoint and the appointments you've already made to date—that those being appointed are of left-wing socialist slant.

I'm not for a moment suggesting a government can't do what it believes to be correct. But the spin-doctoring that the member for Durham Centre has bought into hook, line, and sinker is that it's a fair and equitable process set up 50-50. That is patently untrue, and it's shameful that this kind of rhetoric continues to spill out from the government backbenchers, who apparently haven't done their research or their homework or refuse to look at these particular pieces of legislation with a true, unbiased eye.

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: I don't relax. Those are the facts and that's the way I feel. Those are the facts put forward. That's the membership. That's the directorship. I know full well, and I will refer later in my speech, about the OFL sending out letters to its membership talking about the makeup of this board.

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: The member for Chatham-Kent, who constantly harps, is constantly wrong and is constantly

proven wrong, is harping again about this particular piece of legislation.

There is no debate. This is the makeup. The promises have been made. The directors, in some cases, have been picked. They've been bought off, and they're bought off with public money in support of this particular piece of legislation. Make no mistake about it; that's what's taken place.

The OFL itself has sent out letters—and I will refer to them later on in my speech—commenting that labour comment on these specific programs. They have said point-blank, "We are going to have to staff these boards and we should all fall in line because it's going to mean hundreds of jobs for us as directors of these boards, representing five or six days a month."

You know who sets the pay for these boards? That same directorate appointed by this government with its left-wing-leaning views. The bottom line about all this appointment is that this government doesn't have control of the local boards. They've passed off that position to this apparently autonomous, non-partisan, politically neutral group. We all know that's simply not the case.

#### 1750

Why did this government do that? This government did that because it knows that if it doesn't get power next time, it's going to be that much more difficult to dismantle OTAB. The appointment process won't be with the government, the stewards of the taxpayers' money; it will be placed with a group of people appointed by a socialist government, which I think is reprehensible and is usurping the responsibilities that you were elected to carry out.

How much will OTAB cost? The cost factor is a very important factor that very rarely impacts on the studies this government does. The cost factor for OTAB will be excessive, in my opinion. If you think the WCB is run well, then you'll think OTAB is wonderful. In my opinion, in a very short period of time OTAB will be \$2 billion, \$3 billion, \$4 billion in debt, sideways; no opportunity for recovery and a constant black hole when it comes to taxpayers' money.

We look at Ontario Hydro and the debt it's accumulated in the past brief decade. We look at the WCB and its unfunded liabilities. We look at this government and its capacity to borrow in two short years as much as we borrowed in 125. We look at this government and see ourselves facing, when it came into power, some debt in the term of \$45 billion. When they leave some five years later, we'll be looking at \$100 billion worth of new debt, because they're fiscally incapable of managing money.

Now they're going to pass off an additional few billion dollars to a board representative of no taxpayer, elected by no person, dominated by labour unions and social leftwing causes, that will be spending more tax dollars than most of your ministries that are in place today. That's what they call representative democracy.

That is abdicating the responsibility to govern and that's what OTAB is in fact doing. It's another arm's-length approach, much like the Minister of the Environment used on the landfill issue. The landfill issue was dealt with in the same manner. Rather than taking the issue head

on and dealing with the concerns the residents have in the member for Durham West's riding—I look across at him—you strike a committee, you appoint people to that committee and they make those decisions that affect millions of people in the GTA. You wash your hands of it by saying, "I have no responsibility; the committee's at fault."

OTAB is going to do the same thing. We'll lose billions of dollars running an inefficient, bureaucratic process and we'll have no control over how they spend the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars. I don't accept that kind of decision-making and I don't accept the fact that they're abdicating the responsibility of government.

The question has been asked on a couple of occasions about the size of the bureaucracy that will be built up. This is a series of cells. Each cell of this particular process will have a cell at the top that will consist of that number of people I spoke about earlier: seven labour people and so on and so on. From that, off come the branches, where those people will also be appointed, labour organizers, social service people, in each cell around the province.

They have even said in the OFL training board letter they sent out to their union representatives that they will not only just have to meet four or five days a month but they're going to have to get together and caucus their position throughout the province to ensure that they're all singing from the same song book. What is the point of appointing all these people? You may as well just appoint one if you're going to have the OFL get its representatives to caucus this viewpoint all around the province.

I don't believe this government has any concept of exactly how large and immobile the operation it is setting up will be. I don't believe they have any concept of how out of control this will be and how out of control it will become in a very short period of time. They are creating a giant government bureaucracy, passing off responsibility and wasting taxpayers' dollars, all for a program, I might add, that I will say categorically will not be effective, functional or efficient. It will be a colossal waste of taxpayers' dollars. In a few short years you are going to find it to be nothing more than a money pit, a black hole for taxpayers'dollars, funded and dominated by labour-oriented people, paid for by the taxpayers at taxpayers' expense.

I also believe that when they find out how expensive this program will become, it will be a very short period of time before they realize that they can't afford this program from general revenue. I would like the members opposite to mark my words on this one. Before you leave office, before this government leaves office, you will have to introduce a new payroll tax to fund OTAB because you do not have the general revenues. The only way that you will continue to pay off your union leaders, by appointing them to OTAB, will be to implement a new payroll tax on the beleaguered, overtaxed and non-profitable private sector in this province, thereby driving more of them out of business and even more of them outside the boundaries of this provincial jurisdiction.

I will promise them that will happen. I want them to mark my words because when the day comes that this Treasurer tells you backbenchers that OTAB will become a payroll tax, you can remember the day that I told you you will not be able to afford this bureaucratic, bloated process.

The question will be put forward, and this is what the business community hasn't quite twigged to yet, that what will happen on these boards is that labour's viewpoint will dominate decision-making. I look the minister right in the eye because he knows it. This is how he set it up. This is why he set it up and he knows that this will take place. The decision-making will be dominated by labour's viewpoint.

It will not take you more than six months to alienate any of the business community that you've appointed to these boards. Before this legislation even hit the table in this House, you had already alienated a significant number of business groups that opted out of your program to investigate OTAB. They simply resigned, because they said it was pointless talking to you. You had a mind-set, you did not want their opinions, you had your minds made up, and it was a program to employ labour people, to pay off labour executives and put in place a socialist doctrine agenda that will be a colossal waste of taxpayers' money. That's what the business community said.

It says right here, "Business Group Quits Joint Project In Protest." It says, "A small business organization has pulled out of the province's major training scheme for partisan, political reasons." Mr Rae, the Premier of this province, took a run at these people in another proof that there's no acceptance over there for the business community. These people gave Mr Rae their honest opinion. There was a slanted board and your Premier took a run at these people who offered their time and expressed their disenchantment. What does your Premier do rather than trying to readjust it and fit them back in and listen to their complaints? He takes a run at them in the paper, saying what an irresponsible lot they are.

I think that's pretty unbelievable, considering the economic times, the recession that we've hit, the closings that have taken place. One business community offers up some direction they'd like to see the Premier go in and he takes a run at them, calling them partisan, political sorts.

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: I'm sorry. I missed that from the exmember from Middlesex.

How will the programs be paid for? I just spoke to that, Mr Speaker. Those programs of course in the end will be paid for by a payroll tax.

A very important point needs to be made here, and this is exactly where the socialist doctrine fits in with this piece of legislation. Socialist doctrine fits in because in their viewpoint there's only one kind of worker in this province and that's an organized worker. The only people you deal with, the only people you represent, are those people who are involved in organized labour. The only difficulty you're faced with, and I say across the floor to the members opposite, is that 70% of the people in this province don't belong to a union. I know you don't like that, I know it doesn't fit with your socialist doctrine, I know you prefer that everyone belonged to organized labour, but it doesn't happen that way. Seventy per cent of the people in this province don't belong to an organized union and are

not represented by the Bob Whites of the world who cozy up with your Premier at every opportunity.

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The question must be asked for those 70%, the vast majority of workers in this province: Who represents them on the OTAB board? Nobody. Nobody represents the 70% of unorganized workers in this province. Why? Because you don't want to hear from them. You don't want to know what their concerns are. You don't want to hear about their position with respect to OTAB. You don't want to hear what they have to say about the operation of this province because they don't fit into your very narrow-minded, pigeonholed idea of what a worker is, and a worker is only someone who belongs to a union.

You can argue with me, saying that's simply not the case, but how do you tell me, how do you explain to the people of this province, to the 70% who don't belong to a union, that they don't have a single person representing them on the OTAB board when you've got room for seven labour and seven business for 14, two chairs for 16, two educators and then four directors, and you haven't got a single seat on that board for the 70% of the people who are paying taxes and working in this province who don't happen to belong to organized labour? Why is that? The explanation may take you quite a long period of time because there is no explanation, there is no excuse, and it's unacceptable, in my opinion, to totally ignore that many, that majority of workers in this province.

But that's very typical of these people. It's very typical of this government. They look down in an arrogant, self-centred attitude: "I refuse to listen to this argument, although it's been made. I refuse to deal with this argument. I'm just going to listen to the 30% who belong to organized labour. I'm just going to listen to the Bob Whites of the world, because when we got elected we promised we would pay them off." And that's what OTAB's all about as well. The business community will say the same thing: This is a union payoff.

The other point I'd like to make is that I think OTAB is going to spend more time introducing social change than actual training and adjustment. OTAB will be the arm for this government to institute or introduce social change, because I don't really believe the main thinking in this government's attitude towards OTAB was that of training and adjustment. It's an indoctrination and a policy they're putting forward that will allow these boards, spread out, fanned out across the province, paid for by the taxpayers, dominated by unions, to introduce social change in all sections of this province, whether those communities want them or not. That's the game plan.

You think it's going to buy you support in these communities around the province. These people are going to see through this. They're going to see through it. They're going to see it for what it is: a cheap political stunt with taxpayers' money being wasted. Business is going to see through it; those 70% of the people who aren't represented are going to see through it. Everyone's going to see through it except you and a few of your union élite executives. They're the only ones who are going to be bought off by this process, and the few, 200 or 300, people you're

going to appoint from the unions. Those are the only people who are going to buy into this.

My prediction is that this will be radically changed, if not eradicated altogether, by the next government. I will say this: It will be done so because the taxpayers in Ontario will simply rise up and point this for exactly what it is—a complete and absolute sellout by this government to its union friends.

What will be the relationship between OTAB and the 22 local boards? This government has provided absolutely no detail on what the relationship will be. The thing about this minister is that he's been mouthing about this piece of legislation since they got in. For two and a half years all we ever heard from this minister was: "Oh, ask me that when OTAB comes in. Oh, you won't have this problem when OTAB gets here."

I don't know what he's been doing. He could have written a word a day and gotten this piece of legislation done in two and a half years. Finally he introduces OTAB and nobody is quite sure why it took him so long. I don't even think he's quite sure why it took him so long. He finally introduces this piece of legislation and some very simple, very honest and some very direct questions are asked.

What will be the relationship between OTAB and the 22 local boards? They've provided no detail on this. What have you been doing for two years? What exactly have you been doing besides figuring out ways to cut your transfer partners, make promises you can't keep and rip off students for those grants that they expected you to make universal, rather than the loans that you foisted upon them and those promises you made? Besides doing all that, which means breaking your promises, what have you been doing with respect to OTAB when such a simple question can't be answered?

The other question is, why is the existing training infrastructure being abandoned? Twenty-two local boards replace the 57 community industrial training committees. The expertise of all existing CITC members will not be utilized as the number of boards shrinks from 57 to 22. It's hard to believe that they've had all these CITC boards in place and they're just simply going to abolish them. I'll tell you why they're going to abolish them: because the people who make up those boards don't fit into their socialist, pigeonholed union doctrine. That's why they're being abolished. They're going to start these new boards because they can start appointing and paying off their friends.

There's no guarantee that the CITC members will be nominated by their labour market partners to the new local boards. CITC staff will not be protected and therefore will have to apply to the local boards for employment. Isn't this a wonderful lot over here? This is the group that wants to protect jobs, protect people's right to work, protect someone who is working in a certain industry and maintain that person. When you made OTAB, when you introduced this legislation, none of the people on those 57 local boards was protected. Don't you find that slightly hypocritical? You're not protecting any of those people. They simply have to reapply. They could have been working for years and they may not get the job.

This isn't funny. These are people who have invested their lives in this kind of work, and you're just simply throwing them out in the cold. For goodness' sake, Varity had a better relationship with its employees than you do on this one, and you held the door open for it to leave the country.

Mr McLean: He said he wouldn't do that, though. He criticized Peterson for doing it.

Mr Stockwell: They've said they wouldn't do a lot of things that they've done. In fact, they're barely recognizable. Certainly, they were far more recognizable when they wore their checked jackets and elbow pads and peasant dresses than they are today, because I can barely recognize them today and the promises they stood for when in opposition.

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Stockwell: Excuse me, I can't hear you, the exmember for Middlesex.

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Stockwell: I've got to relate this one. The member for St Andrew-St Patrick talks about the poverty situation. I would hardly suggest that a member who has been not only been accused but also—

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. I'd ask the honourable member to maintain his attention on the bill and to speak through the Chair.

Mr Stockwell: Okay, I will talk about the rental situation the member's involved in if she's going to talk to me about poverty. Look, I know all about it and I don't need any lectures from you, because right now, today, there's nobody who has me before the rent review board with respect to gouging tenants.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Stockwell: We move on. Will private sector trainers be restricted from competing for a share of the training delivery business? Private vocational schools fear that they will be excluded in the future. I figure that if this minister had the two years with which—

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: I'm sorry; I can't hear the member. If she wants to speak up, I'd be happy to enter into debate with the member for St Andrew-St Patrick. I'd be very interested in hearing the defence for that. I've been waiting for a couple of years to hear the defence for that.

The Ontario Federation of Labour has recommended—get this—that the private educators and trainers be—

Interjection.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order, please. The honourable member has the floor.

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to hear you get up and defend that situation, member for St Andrew-St Patrick. I'd be really curious to hear your defence. You've been very silent about it, I've noticed.

**The Acting Speaker:** Order. Would the honourable member please take his seat for a moment.

Interjections.

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The Acting Speaker: The honourable member knows he should be addressing his remarks through the Chair. He has the floor and he should be addressing the bill at hand. Please, all interjections are strictly out of order.

Mr Stockwell: I'm sorry, Mr Speaker.

The Ontario Federation of Labour has recommended that the private educators and trainers be excluded from membership on the boards and be prohibited from providing training to recipients of government funding. Here it is, Mr Speaker. We're now going to set up OTAB. Anyone else who's in the business is basically out of work and anyone else who is offering retraining is basically cut off from funding. What's equitable and fair about that situation? Who's saying that the delivery of service they're offering won't be as good, if not better, than what OTAB is?

I will say categorically that in two years, with the absolute burgeoning of this bureaucratic process, you'll wish you'd never thought of OTAB because of the economic mess it's going to leave this province in. You'll wish you'd never thought of it because it's going to cost so much money.

Finally, I think the most important process here is: Why has this government focused on OTAB when existing training programs are not working? I think what they should do is, rather than create a new bureaucratic process that will suck up \$2 billion that taxpayers don't have, it would seem a little more acceptable to me that this government could look at what lit has in place today, refine it, roll it back, enlarge it, expand it, but deal in that process, which would be far less expensive than the process of establishing OTAB.

In conclusion—I know I'm running out of time under the new rules—this particular process that has been put in place will probably be one of the worst processes we establish. It will be a dumping ground for union executives and labour appointments. It will be an absolute black hole for taxpayers' money. It's success will be very limited, if any. It will deal in social programs and training and adjustment programs.

The government will find that it's going to have to introduce a payroll tax to fund this process. The government will lose control after it makes its appointments because, in its own legislation, it can't reappoint or change appointments. It's going to spread out right across this province and be out of control the further away it gets from Queen's Park. In the end, the business community will opt out, because it will have no serious input, because it will be outvoted by the membership that is directed by this minister.

I think you're making a very serious mistake, and time will be the proof. Time will prove who's right. I hope 10 years from today this group can get back together and see what a disaster it has created, a monster that won't be able to be corralled. It will be WCB2.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): I listened attentively to my colleague from Etobicoke West. I can tell you that on some days he generally is on the mark in terms

of some of his criticisms and comments, and on those very same days, he even impresses me. I can tell you, I don't get impressed by Conservatives very easily, not lately. But I have to tell you, today he stood on his feet for a half-hour, he spoke for a half-hour—I watched the clock—to the very second, and essentially offered this government no ideas whatsoever; not one little inkling, itty-bitty idea, and not just to this government.

I wouldn't expect him to offer this government any ideas, any free advice. I understand the role of the opposition. The role of the opposition is simply to criticize and lambaste and hope as best you can that everyone around will believe what you say. What is sad more than anything else is that if you're sitting at home and you're unemployed or receiving social assistance and there's no prospect of your getting a job anywhere, what's really sad is that my colleague's speech offered nothing but cold comfort, cold, cold comfort indeed. In fact, it was just a takeoff on what we saw happen in the media today with the federal cuts: nothing for anybody, and if you're unemployed, you get even less.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I would like to comment on my colleague's remarks. I think he had a number of very helpful suggestions.

I'll just say to all of us in the Legislature that this is fundamental to the future of Ontario, and in my opinion we are about to launch on a fundamental mistake. I'd urge particularly the backbench members on the government side to take a good look at this.

The fundamental mistake is setting this OTAB up as an independent arm's-length agency. It's wrong. It will be set up like the Workers' Compensation Board. I used to be the Minister of Labour, so I know that the minister cannot touch a board like this. They're independent; they're out of the hands of the publicly elected people, and it is a mistake of significant proportions to set OTAB up as an independent agency.

Not only that, the government can't appoint the directors. There are going to be 22 people in this province running this and the government will not appoint those people. They will be appointed by the Ontario Federation of Labour and by the business community. I would say to the people of Ontario that they don't speak for all of us, but we're going to turn it over to those 22 people and the government, the duly elected people, will not be able to have influence on that agency. It is a mistake.

What should be done? It's clear: Don't do it. Set it up as an advisory board. The member wants to know what the members are saying. There's the advice. That's what should be done. But I'm telling you, this is a fundamental mistake.

I will acknowledge that this came out of the Premier's report. The OFL argued like crazy to get it in there two years ago. I understand that and my name was on that report, but I've looked at it and it's a mistake.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr McLean: Just briefly, I want to compliment the member on his remarks this evening and I'll tell you why. He talked a lot about the makeup of this committee and he went in depth to prove and to show what he felt was going to happen. The previous speaker just went over the same thing. I'm sure they're both right.

But what intrigued me the most was the member for Downsview, who got up and said he listened to every second of the speech and didn't hear a thing. Well, you know something? That's the problem. They don't listen to what's going on. It's a one-way agenda: "Don't ask us a question. Don't tell us what to do because we know how to do it." That's exactly what's happened here with these people who are going to be appointed and that's exactly what's going to happen when people are talking about another WCB.

Millions of dollars are going to be put into this before one job is created; millions and millions of dollars. When we look at the makeup of the 22 people, when we look at whether business and labour can get along, we hope they would. But I can tell you that labour is going to have the majority of the people on the board so it's going to be a labour-oriented board.

When he speaks, and the member spoke proudly, about the 70% of the workers who are not represented by unions, what say have they got? What people are going to be appointed to that board from that group? Were they not asked if they wanted to be part of it? No, they weren't.

The bill is flawed. This government is heading in a direction in one of the most important aspects of the whole industry about creating jobs, and I believe it's making a mistake.

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The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): I listened attentively to the member as he made his speech just now about this really important initiative of our government, an initiative that probably more than or as much as any we've done so far, reflects the intention of this government as it moves towards a new global economy, as it moves into the next millennium in fact, in an effort to create partnerships as they've never been created before, to bring people together in an attitude of hope and commitment and trust.

I guess I have to say, in listening to the member, that I was really disappointed that he still hasn't come to understand that most important piece of everything we do. It flows through every initiative this government has taken on in its mandate to date. Any of the responses to the tremendous crisis that we've faced in the last two years have always reflected an effort by this government to bring people together as they never have before, because we know that if there's going to be a future for any of us in this province, and indeed in this country, it has to be together. It has to be people talking and sitting down in trust, in faith, in ways that they never have before so that we can come up with common answers to these challenges.

In my mind, this initiative by the Minister of Skills Development to bring together folks from sectors that have worked in isolation over the last number of years in this province, in a way that will provide opportunities to people for training and retraining that they don't have now and that will contribute to the economy in ways we have never yet seen in this province, is to be lauded and congratulated. I am really disappointed that you haven't understood that point.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Etobicoke West has two minutes to respond.

Mr Stockwell: I guess that's where the disagreement takes place. You see, I think listening means more than sitting down across a table from somebody and watching his lips move. That's what you think listening is. If you were truly listening, you would have dealt with Bill 40 in a much different fashion. If you were truly listening, you would have dealt with this piece of legislation in a different fashion. Just because you sit and watch their lips move doesn't mean you're listening.

The business community came forward and very clearly, on July 14, 1992, said to your government: "You're not listening. You're not hearing what we say." You blindly went off and continued on your own process without any regard to their concerns. You bring forward this piece of legislation and you're shocked that the business community says, "No, this is not good." You said, "Well, we listened." They said: "No, you didn't listen. You just came to meetings."

In 10 years or five years, when you really discover that you haven't got any control over who's appointed to this board, when you really discover that it's blowing billions of dollars of taxpayers' money, when you really discover that nobody's getting retrained, and you really discover that this has been a complete ball-up, you're going to say at that point: "Maybe we should have listened. Maybe we weren't listening. Maybe we just pretended to be listening. Maybe we just sat at the meetings."

The business community has stood on rooftops screaming at you. The president of the small business community has said, "It's like talking to trees." That was the quote, "It's like talking to trees." And you tell me you've listened. This legislation is proof positive that you haven't listened to anybody but labour unions and your caucus, and that's a one-way ticket to disaster.

Mr Perruzza: As I listen and watch my honourable friend's lips move, I can understand why today in the province of Ontario we don't have a training system that people can relate to, that people can access. I'll tell you why: Because we had 42 years of Conservative rule, and after people got wise to the Conservatives in Ontario they elected the Liberals and we had them for five years. I tell you, Mr Speaker, after 42 years of Conservatives, after five years of Liberals, we have a training system that people don't understand, that people can't access, that people can't work their way through.

There is no rainy day fund in the province of Ontario. There's no rainy day fund that takes you from good times through bad times to good times again. There's no system that buffers the blow of a recession or a depression. There's nothing like that. It doesn't exist. People can't find it. They can't see it.

We don't have a training system in the province of Ontario. We have a system that reacts. We don't have a system that leads. What business is looking for is a training system that leads, that provides trained workers, skilled workers when that demand arises. We have no such thing in Ontario.

I just noted that my honourable friend the member for Etobicoke West left. He doesn't want to hear it, and I can understand why he doesn't want to hear it. I sat and I listened and I watched his lips move and he said nothing, but when we talk about OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, when we talk about the meat of the matter, my honourable friend gets up and leaves. But that's fine because I'll speak to the rest who have stayed behind.

He asked the probing question, why has it taken so long? I'll tell you why, Mr Speaker. To get consensus on major initiatives, to make decisions on major issues, it takes time. You need to generate consensus because you can be the best general in the world, but if you don't have the soldiers who'll follow, you're going nowhere fast. You need to build momentum, consensus. You need to generate buy-in from the partners, from your labour market partners. That's why OTAB is reflective of our marketplace.

On OTAB there will be employers; yes, there will be labour; yes, there will be educators; yes, there will be trainers; yes, there will be social action groups, all represented at one place. What is their mandate going to be? To develop a training system to set up the training infrastructure that will guide this province through the rest of 1990s and well into the next century. That's what OTAB will do.

Is it a perfect model? We've heard many criticisms. There aren't enough educators, the member for Mississauga North said. The member for Etobicoke West said, "There are too many labour people." My honourable friend from Scarborough said: "Well, business isn't being heard. There's no place for business." I say that with any new major initiative you need to lay down the blueprint, the foundation.

The analogy that quickly comes to mind when I think of OTAB is that when you go out to build yourself a new house, you go out and you hire the best possible architect who brings back the best possible plans, but are they perfect plans? Maybe not. Because as you start constructing, as you move, you decide, "I want to move this wall or I want to make that window bigger," because you can visually see and feel the changes that you need and require.

Will that happen with OTAB? I suspect it will because we are humans and we build things in a human way. Do they change with time? Do the glitches get ironed out? Yes, they do. If enough educators are not represented at the board, will be the board be able to hire the expertise, integrate the educators it requires to move and to develop the training programs that are required in order to guide this province into the next century? Yes.

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Mr Martin: Absolutely.

Mr Perruzza: My honourable friend the member for Sault Ste Marie says, "Absolutely." Let me reiterate that: absolutely. That's the way, quite frankly, it should be.

We've heard many criticisms about a new bureaucracy. We have a training bureaucracy in the province of Ontario now. We have committees. We have a ministry. We have people in the business right across the province. It's a huge bureaucracy. It costs enormous amounts of money.

Will there be additional bureaucracy? There may be some, but we need to make some sense of what we've got now and, quite frankly, what we've got now doesn't make a heck of a lot of sense, because it's not helping a heck of a lot of people. Hence, it'll be an arm's-length institution, which was a criticism that was levied: We won't be able to control it; we won't be able to manage it; we won't be able to affect the business that it will conduct.

Many of the people we've spoken to—business, labour, all of the labour market partners—said: "Let us do it, because we understand training. We understand what's happening in the marketplace. We're the ones who should play an integral part of anything and everything that happens associated with this." You know that if you do not generate buy-in, if there isn't the movement to generate buy-in from the labour market partners, government can't do it alone.

Will government provide the direction? Of course it will. It needs to. It needs to continually provide the direction. Is there provision for government to provide the direction? Of course. There will be a minister responsible. Of course government will provide the direction. But who do you need developing the training programs? You need the labour market partners. You need precisely the people you have represented on this board.

People in our respective communities who are unemployed for whatever reason—the GST, free trade, crossborder shopping, as a result of the naysayers who have affected both the consumer confidence and the business confidence in this province—whatever reason, if you're unemployed and you're hurting through this recession, you're facing some very difficult times. I believe that people, our people, are hungering for opportunity. They hunger for hope, and that's what I see in OTAB. I see opportunity. I see hope, the hope that's so badly needed in all of our communities.

That's why I support and why I will defend this initiative, because the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board will provide the training infrastructure that will take this province, guide this province, through the 1990s and well into the next century and will provide a model for the rest of Canada.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the member for Downsview for his participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Scarborough-Agincourt.

Mr Phillips: I appreciate the member's comments. I think probably all three parties in the Legislature would agree that we need to coordinate our training programs. There's no question, zero question about that. All three parties agree we have to put far more focus in the future on ensuring that our skills match the needs in the workplace. There's no question of that. The Premier's Council report was all about that; it laid this out.

There is, though, the fundamental point that all of us have to come to grips with: Do we want to give up, do we want the public to give up its input in the running of this? We have to understand what we mean by this kind of agency. It's gone. I repeat myself, but as Minister of Labour you can't interfere in the Workers' Compensation Board. You've got to pass legislation to have an impact on it, because it's independent and it's free from the public body. That's what we're setting up here and even more so, by the way, is that the government doesn't select who sits on the board. The government simply appoints the people that have been nominated by the business community or by the Ontario Federation of Labour. So we have to debate this.

In answer to the comments, or to comment on the comments from the member for Downsview, there is a solution: Don't pass the legislation setting up this scheduled agency. Make it an advisory board for a period of time. Let it work its way through. See how that works, because once the legislation is there, it's gone and you, as duly elected people representing the public, have virtually no say in this fundamental future issue.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I'm very pleased to respond for a brief period on the member for Downsview's presentation this evening. I've just been speaking with the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, the former Minister of Labour in the Liberal government, and we have been discussing the matter that he has been trying to put forward to this government, the suggestion that it is a mistake to put this forward as a section 4 agency, I believe is the terminology that has been used. In this instance, we're going forward into an abyss, in a sense, without really understanding or realizing what's below us.

I think it makes good sense to look at this thing and suggest perhaps we should put it up as an advisory board, similar to what has been done at the federal level of government. Let it operate for a couple of years to determine if it indeed is the best way to go and then if it is indeed meeting the goals and the objectives the government is hoping, perhaps consideration could be given to put it into the situation, the arm's-length agency the government intends to do immediately, probably without thorough thought and with very little debate.

If we compare it to the Workers' Compensation Board, we've all had considerable dealings in our constituency offices with people in our constituencies who have very serious concerns about accountability, mainly at the Workers' Compensation Board. I find that's the main problem, that people find no one will assume responsibility for a decision taken. Of course, we as members try to advocate on behalf of our constituents who come to us and we find that particular agency, the Minister of Labour specifically, has somewhat limited jurisdiction in that it is an arm's-length agency he must administer from a distance. So we're losing accountability in that sort of an agency and certainly that appears to be what the government intends to do with training and we have concerns about that.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Gary Wilson: I'm pleased to commend the member for Downsview for a very insightful and, I think, forceful description of the virtues of OTAB. I think that by his remarks he shows he has a good understanding not only of the scope of this plan, but its necessity, which other speakers on this issue have shown as well.

I think we're all in agreement that something is essential to the success of OTAB: the focusing of the work of the 10 ministries now carrying out the 48 programs on training. This fear of including the labour market partners in the operation of the training of the province is a bit misguided and shows a lack of confidence in the very people who are expected to benefit from the training that is going to be developed.

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I remind you that the labour market partners are business, labour, women, racial minorities, people with disabilities, francophones and educators and trainers. They cover the spectrum of the people involved in training. So much of the community is there to emphasize the necessity for our society to have this kind of training, which we all agree is not happening now.

As the member for Downsview asked, who better than the people who are actually involved in the provision of training and the need for training to ask to come up with the kinds of programs we need? There's a long history to training, but it's always lacked this focus on the evaluation of what's happening there and to look for ways to improve it. Too often, it's been off-the-shelf kinds of programs that haven't benefited anybody for any length of time. Here again, by including all the partners, there will be much more scrutiny among the people it will benefit, to see that the programs do in fact meet the needs of the community.

Again, very good, member for Downsview.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I just want to make some quick comments about remarks made by the member for Downsview. I want to say to you that I don't think you have added any value to what the minister put forward. As the members on this side have pointed out to you, it's not that we don't need a training strategy or a training program or a board or an organization to handle that, but the way you're going about it is not the right direction.

Many of the colleges and universities have been wonderful ivory towers, and sometimes you hear the discussion inside those ivory towers, "If only there were no students, it would have run effectively." What you have done effectively now is start to build an ivory tower without any walls really: \$2 billion to do that. You have not gotten the people who can make that kind of contribution and make a valuable addition to how training should go. You're running headlong into this, all to say, "My government put in place a training strategy or a training board."

Take a look very closely at what you're doing. The representation is poor. It's not wide. It is skewed just to the

labour movement. It is skewed sometimes to big business. There's a tremendous amount of small business that can make a contribution and input in the direction it will go. The lack of an education process—educators could make an added valuable contribution to establishing this. I think what we're saying to you over here is, "Slow down, take a look at it and try to put something better in process." Your contribution has not added in any way at all to making this a better Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. I want the minister to look at that.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Downsview has two minutes to respond.

Mr Perruzza: If I were in opposition, I would have made the same speech: "Don't take a full step, take half a step. Don't go all the way, just go part of the way." I say to my honourable friends, I'm not prepared to take half a step; I want to take a full step. I'll tell you why I want to take a full step. I want to take a full step because there are too many people out there who are hurting far too much for us to dilly and dally with a system that we all know at the end of the day will not work.

Maybe my honourable friends in the opposition don't understand. Our secondary schools, our colleges and our universities by and large have no relationship with labour, have no relationship with business, almost none whatsoever. In 1992 this is unfathomable. Every successful industrialized country in the world has an education system in place that has a relationship with business and with labour, because the two go hand in hand. They want to perpetuate a system which essentially generates no buy-in, which generally will keep everybody separate.

Well, I say to you that what we need to do in order to make our training systems work is to bring everybody together, get the buy-in, and that is precisely what OTAB does. We need to move now. Our people are hurting now; not five years from now, now.

M. Jean Poirier (Prescott et Russell) : J'ai l'honneur de pouvoir vous adresser la parole pour donner une dimension un peu différente aux débats sur le Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre.

Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir qu'il y a bien des gens de l'opposition qui ont voulu décrire leurs inquiétudes face à ce projet de loi présenté par un ministre des plus honorables. Mais ce qui nous inquiète a été dit souvent avant moi, et je vais prendre la période de temps qui m'est allouée, mais sûrement pas pour justement décrire et répéter ces inquiétudes-là.

Je voudrais plutôt m'adresser à l'aspect du dossier franco-ontarien en ce qui a trait à la formation, à l'alphabétisation d'une communauté qui a des traits très spécifiques. Vous savez que la communauté franco-ontarienne a été très impliquée dans le processus de consultation. Elle a été présente, elle a été active et elle s'est vivement intéressée à la mise sur pied d'un COFAM en Ontario. La communauté francophone a parlé. La communauté francophone a répondu très clairement et a dit clairement ses attentes et ses inquiétudes à voir un COFAM tel que proposé dans le projet de loi.

Ces inquiétudes, nous avons été surpris de voir qu'en 1992, le gouvernement de l'Ontario proposait un COFAM unique à l'échelle de l'Ontario, mais dont le projet de loi ne garantissait qu'une seule place pour un représentant de la communauté francophone et, je dis bien, garantissait dans le projet de loi, le ministre a dit clairement, la communauté francophone, sa bonne volonté, ses bonnes intentions de s'assurer que, parmi les représentants du monde syndical, il y aurait au moins un représentant francophone ou une représentante, et la même chose dans le monde des affaires, une autre représentation à ce niveau-là.

Ce qui est inquiétant, c'est que ça c'est laissé à la bonne volonté du ministre en place. Cette bonne volonté du ministre actuel, nous ne la doutons pas. Mais nous, francophones de l'Ontario, sommes habitués à savoir qu'à travers l'histoire de cette province et de ce pays, la bonne volonté, lorsqu'elle est présente au début, peut s'effacer, s'estomper d'une façon assez régulière à travers le temps à tel point que les successeurs à ceux et celles de bonne volonté peuvent plaider que non, ce n'était qu'un engagement formel du ministre en poste à ce moment-là. «Nous, nous ne sommes pas tenus à respecter les engagements antiérieurs.» Je veux répéter que je ne doute pas de la bonne foi du ministre actuel, mais l'avenir nous a toujours inquiété, comme nous en a fait foi l'histoire du passé.

L'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, les autres représentants de la communauté francophone a demandé la mise sur pied d'un COFAM spécifique pour la communauté franco-ontarienne, parce que justement, cette communauté francophone a une spécificité qui est très différente de la majorité. Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir que l'évolution des deux communautés, tant anglophone que francophone, a souvent pris des chemins différents. Nous avons toujours dit que c'est ce qui a fait la force de ce pays, pas seulement ce que nous avons en commun mais également ce que nous avons de spécifique, de différent.

Pour des gens comme le ministre actuel et certains de ses collègues, cette différence-là n'est pas une menace. Vous êtes des gens, je crois, où dans votre vie personnelle vous avez compris que cette spécificité-là ne nuit pas à l'évolution de la province. Je crois que le ministre a dit clairement à la communauté francophone qu'il était prêt à prendre en considération ses inquiétudes, ses suggestions, ses recommandations, à savoir comment modifier le projet de loi pour corriger les lacunes de manque de services à la communauté franco-ontarienne. J'espère que le ministre et ses collègues autour de la table des ministres et du caucus, vous allez revoir le projet de loi et qu'après la deuxième lecture, lorsqu'il ira en comité, que vous serez ouverts à accepter ces recommandations-là, qu'elles viennent peu importe d'où de la communauté francophone.

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Monsieur le ministre a également suggéré que, dans les cartes sur la table, il pourrait y avoir ce même genre de représentation-là nommé par le gouvernement : l'un du monde syndical et l'autre du monde du travail, ce qui pourrait faire un total de 15 francophones dans tout le grand groupe de la famille du COFAM. Si c'est le cas, pourquoi ne pas le formaliser dans le projet de loi ? Et tant qu'à y être, pourquoi ne pas formaliser dans le projet de loi

un regroupement homogène, homologué des quinze représentants francophones de la communauté qui pourraient à ce moment-là, sous l'égide du projet de loi, avec la bénédiction du ministre, créer un COFAM et gérer eux-mêmes avec leur propre mandat, avec leurs propres contacts, avec leur propre réseau de communication, avec leur propre secrétariat francophone un COFAM qui va s'occuper, qui va se pencher sur la spécificité de leur communauté franco-ontarienne?

Je ne peux pas m'imaginer que le ministre et ses collègues ne puissent pas comprendre ça. Je suis même surpris que le COFAM, tel qu'il est proposé présentement dans le projet de loi, n'a pas eu le bon sens d'avoir créé ce COFAM spécifique pour la communauté francophone. Mais j'ai toujours de l'espoir; j'ai confiance dans le ministre qui va entendre encore une fois, lors des débats en plein comité, ces revendications de la communauté francophone. J'ai confiance qu'il va être capable de faire les changements nécessaires pour corriger le COFAM actuel, pour que celui-ci puisse mieux représenter les aspirations de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

Je pense que j'ai mentionné tantôt, également, l'aspect d'un secrétariat francophone. Le réseau de communication dans la communauté franco-ontarienne n'est pas le même que le réseau de communication dans la communauté majoritaire de l'Ontario. Les communications ne se font pas de la même façon. Ce n'est pas le même langage, ce ne sont peut-être pas les mêmes philosophies qui gouvernent les communications. C'est pour ça que c'est important d'avoir un secrétariat francophone, rattaché à un COFAM des 15 francophones indépendants, pour gérer la situation particulière dans la communauté francophone.

Et ça se fait. Il faut que vous le fassiez si vous voulez sortir de ce projet de loi en disant clairement : «Nous avons écouté, nous avons considéré et nous avons mis sur place un mécanisme où les francophones vont dire, "Oui, ça va fonctionner pour nous, parce que nous nous reconnaissons et nous pouvons gérer, comme dans le dossier dans la gestion scolaire qui s'en vient, nos besoins nousmêmes, en dépit du fait qu'il y a des gens dans la majorité anglophone qui ont compris la spécificité."» Mais il y en a d'autres qui la comprennent moins, pour ne pas dire du tout.

Mon cher collègue de Cochrane-Sud me regarde. Lui, au moins, comprend cet aspect-là. Je lui fais confiance qu'il va travailler main dans la main avec le ministre de la Formation professionnelle pour convaincre ses autres collègues du besoin de ce COFAM spécifique à la francophonie.

L'ACFO a dit au ministre ses inquiétudes, qu'elle ne peut accepter le processus du COFAM tel qu'on le connaît présentement. Je suis certain que vous également l'avez entendue, cette revendication. L'Entente bilatérale Canada-Ontario décrit en nombre de places les besoins d'avoir des services à la communauté franco-ontarienne, des besoins spécifiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne. Ils le disent clairement, mais lorsqu'on regarde le projet de loi provincial, ce n'est pas évident que ce même engagement se traduit dans le projet de loi.

Cela me rappelle un peu le débat constitutionnel, où on a traduit l'engagement anglophone à un attachement francophone. On dirait que la même chose s'est produite entre l'entente fédérale-provinciale et le projet de loi provincial. C'est ma perception. Mais soyez certains que je ne suis pas le seul à avoir cette perception-là. Vous les avez entendues, les revendications de la communauté franco-ontarienne. Elle voit exactement la même différenciation entre les deux dossiers.

Le ministre a bien dit qu'il y avait une possibilité de modification du projet de loi après la deuxième lecture. Qu'il prenne en considération cette demande-là. Dans le COFAM et dans ce COFAM francophone-là, il va falloir que vous respectiez la lettre et l'esprit de la Loi 8, garantissant des services à la communauté francophone dans la spécificité de ses besoins. Ce n'est pas en nommant un francophone sur 22 dans votre COFAM provincial et puis en se fiant à la bonne foi du ministre actuel, plus par crainte de ses successeurs, que vous allez respecter l'esprit de la Loi 8 de cette façon-là. Vous ne me convaincrez jamais de ceci, et vous n'avez pas convaincu les représentants de la communauté francophone non plus.

L'argent également, les fonds fédéraux-provinciaux qui seront mis et qui ont été mis dans le COFAM, si vous considérez que la population francophone de l'Ontario représente en 4 % et 5 % de l'ensemble global de la province, ça peut représenter une somme de 80 millions de dollars, à 5 % de 1,6 milliards de dollars par année. Quelle sorte de plan avez-vous pour prendre la tranche qui revient à la communauté franco-ontarienne dans les proportions de la démographie qu'elle occupe en Ontario, prendre cette somme-la et la remettre dans un COFAM francophone pour sa gestion exclusive?

Quelle sorte de plan avez-vous ? Je n'en ai pas vu. Est-ce que je peux vous demander de le dire clairement dans le projet de loi, que la part de la communauté francoontarienne ça lui revient? Et si vous êtes si fort à respecter le dossier de la gestion scolaire, mais aussi de la gestion de la formation et de l'alphabétisation, pourquoi bon Dieu vous ne le dites pas clairement dans votre projet de loi ? Cette part-là va être prise à la source et remise aux gestionnaires, aux 15 francophones qui géreraient le COFAM francophone. De cette façon-là vous seriez certains, nous serions certains et la communauté francophone serait certaine que les sommes qui lui reviennent seraient gérées par et pour eux. Mais, bon Dieu, comment pouvez-vous penser que vous seriez perdants avec ceci? Au contraire, vous pourriez crier sur les toits à ce moment-là : «Voilà, on respecte nos engagements envers la communauté francophone.»

Également, vous avez mis sur pied en ce moment un comité consultatif pour les francophones et ils vous en ont fait des recommandations. Ce que je vous ai dit aujour-d'hui, en ce moment, ça représente très fidèlement la lignée des recommandations qu'ils vous ont faites. Ils ont rencontré le ministre à plusieurs reprises mais ils ont un sentiment que le ministre écoute. Ils ont un sentiment que certains députés et certaines députées écoutent.

Je suis convaincu que mon bon collègue de Cochrane-Sud en est une, de ces personnes-là. Mais les autres, avec toutes les bonnes intentions que je vous prête, messieurs et mesdames du gouvernement, vous me dites et vous nous dites régulièrement que vous comprenez la communauté franco-ontarienne, que vous la respectez et que vous la voyez d'égal à égal. Est-ce qu'on peut vraiment compter sur vous tous et toutes pour comprendre et accepter cette spécificité-là, pas seulement dans vos discours mais dans vos gestes et dans vos projets de loi ? Messieurs et mesdames, la question vous est posée.

L'aspect qui concerne également la communauté francophone — il y a un deuxième aspect sur lequel je voudrais me pencher, c'est le dossier de l'alphabétisation des francophones en Ontario. Pourquoi est-ce que je veux en parler ? Parce que là, encore une fois, la spécificité francoontarienne refait surface.

#### 1900

J'ai reçu au mois de mai un superbe document, Monsieur le ministre, préparé par le Regroupement des groupes francophones d'alphabétisation populaire de l'Ontario. Ce document-là du Regroupement dit clairement, dit parfaitement, dit d'une façon très lucide cette spécificité de pourquoi ca prend un COFAM francophone, géré par et pour des francophones. Je ne sais pas s'il existe une version de langue anglaise, mais pour mes collègues qui sont francophiles, de l'autre côté de la Chambre, si vous pouviez lire et comprendre ce document, vous comprendriez immédiatement, dans 25 pages, pourquoi la communauté francophone vous dit qu'elle a besoin d'un COFAM spécifique francophone. Cela n'en prend qu'un, parce que la situation de l'analphabétisme chez les francophones est beaucoup plus poussée en moyenne que celle de la communauté anglophone.

Les programmes de formation en français ne sont qu'une fraction des programmes de formation en langue anglaise en Ontario, une petite fraction. Vous, mes chers collègues anglophones, à travers votre COFAM principal, voulez mettre sur pied de nouveaux programmes de formation pour la communauté anglophone. Vous voulez les agrandir, vous voulez les perfectionner et vous voulez qu'ils répondent mieux aux besoins de votre population. Bravo! Mais nous, on n'a qu'une infime fraction de ce que vous avez déjà, de ce que vous avez, de ce dont vous rêvez, de ce que vous voulez refaire.

Quand même, si on pourrait alphabétiser toute la population franco-ontarienne demain matin, puisqu'on n'a pas ou presque pas les programmes de formation en comparaison de vous, comment est-ce qu'on pourrait former ces personnes-là? Nous devons lutter sur des fronts beaucoup plus vastes que vous avez à faire. Notre taux d'alphabétisation reste à faire, parce que notre taux d'analphabétisme est beaucoup plus haut que le vôtre; nos programmes de formation sont beaucoup plus rares que les vôtres.

En plus de ça, à travers votre COFAM unique que vous voulez faire en Ontario, vous voulez mettre un francophone pour représenter les intérêts de la population francoontarienne, un sur 22. Vous allez encore une fois nous noyer dans cette mer, auprès de gens qui n'ont pas les mêmes intérêts, qui n'ont pas les mêmes préoccupations et qui n'ont pas les mêmes problèmes et les mêmes volontés que la minorité francophone.

Tout votre COFAM unique que vous voudriez créer en Ontario pourrait remettre en question les six dernières an-

nées de travail des groupes d'alphabétisation francophones et le dû travail, également, du Regroupement.

J'en sais quelque chose, parce qu'en 1980, j'ai été l'un des premiers dans ma circonscription de Prescott et Russell à mettre sur pied une étude de l'alphabétisation, mais surtout de l'analphabétisme dans Prescott et Russell. Ce que j'ai vu, ce que j'ai appris a été une expérience que je n'oublierai jamais de ma vie. Vous, de la majorité anglophone, devez comprendre et accepter que vos collègues francophones vous disent que notre situation n'est pas comme la vôtre. Et nous espérons que le gouvernement de l'Ontario tiendra compte de nos préoccupations et de nos propositions afin d'assurer et de poursuivre l'épanouissement de l'alphabétisation en français, amorcée aussi récemment qu'en 1986.

La main-d'oeuvre franco-ontarienne a des besoins particuliers, comme on peut lire dans le rapport du Regroupement, très particuliers, parce que le taux de chômage est plus élevé et les francophones détiennent des postes dans le monde du travail, des postes parmi les moins formés, les moins exigeants en formation, donc plus susceptibles de perdre leur emploi.

D'ailleurs, le gouvernement de l'Ontario reconnaît cette situation, et je cite du rapport un texte qui vous est

emprunté au gouvernement de l'Ontario:

«Dans la restructuration de l'économie mondiale, les Franco-Ontariens et les Franco-Ontariennes sont particulièrement vulnérables, puisqu'ils se retrouvent de façon disproportionnée dans les industries en voie de déclin dans le secteur primaire, les mines et les forêts, par exemple, et le secteur secondaire manufacturier. Pour leur part, les femmes francophones sont largement concentrées dans des secteurs d'emploi sous-payés et précaires. Les travailleuses et travailleurs franco-ontariens sont doublement désavantagés, puisque le taux d'analphabétisme est presque deux fois plus élevé chez la population francophone que chez la population non francophone de l'Ontario», et c'est une citation du gouvernement provincial.

Malgré la reconnaissance de cette situation très particulière pour l'Ontario français, le document de consultation du gouvernement ne semble même pas en tenir compte, Selon le Regroupement, il n'y a presque rien sur les points

suivants:

— la garantie d'une représentativité francophone au sein du corps dirigeant du COFAM unique ;

— le rôle que pourraient jouer les francophones au sein du COFAM en tenant pour acquis qu'il y aurait une représentativité francophone adéquate ;

— l'importance de connaître le dossier de l'alphabétisation pour les représentants au corps dirigeant du COFAM;

- l'absence de structures francophones de formation à travers l'Ontario :
- l'absence de structures d'identification et d'orientation des travailleurs et travailleuses francophones au sein des syndicats en Ontario.

Vous le savez, mon collègue, les travailleuses et les travailleurs sont dispersés partout dans les syndicats dans le monde du travail en Ontario. Où sont-ils ? Qui sont-ils ? Quels sont leurs besoins ? Comment va-t-on les desservir dans les secteurs majoritairement anglophones ? Qui va

s'occuper de les identifier ? Qui va s'occuper d'identifier leurs besoins ? Qui va s'occuper de leur donner, de leur trouver des programmes de formation en français lorsqu'ils sont dans des centres éloignés ? Qui va le faire ? La question est bien posée.

On dit également plus loin que le corps dirigeant du COFAM fait peur aux Franco-Ontariens et Franco-Ontariennes parce qu'on est habitués, nous autres, d'avoir un représentant sur 22. On connaît ça, être un sur 22. C'est à peu près 5 %; il y a droit un sur 22. Depuis le début de notre histoire, on est un sur 22. Pensez ce que ça veut dire à travers l'histoire, un sur 22. On sait de quoi on parle, parce qu'on a vécu une histoire qui nous a fait très mal dans le passé, et qui en grande partie continue de nous faire mal.

Le gouvernement manifeste son intention de laisser une bonne place aux francophones. Il sera à se demander, comme le dit le rapport, ce que signifie «une bonne place» ; un sur 22, tassez-vous, de ma connaissance de l'histoire, ce n'est pas ça une bonne place.

Étant donné le manque de garanties sur une représentativité francophone au corps dirigeant du COFAM, il est à se demander comment on s'y prendra pour assurer l'application de ce principe gouvernemental de maintenir les services ou les droits acquis au profit de la communauté francophone quand on transfert des responsabilitiés en matière de prestations de services à la population. La question est bien posée. Maintenant, c'est à vous d'y voir et de modifier votre projet de loi pour qu'il y réponde.

Je pense que le COFAM, comme le dit plus loin le rapport, a beaucoup de difficultés à répondre aux aspirations légitimes des Franco-Ontariens et des Franco-Ontariennes. J'y crois, et je partage cette inquiétude-là, parce que nous vivons dans deux mondes très différents. Ce n'est pas le même monde ; ce n'est pas pareil. Pour vous, les anglophones, mes chers amis, comme le dit le rapport, il s'agirait d'améliorer la qualité des prestations, alors que pour les Franco-Ontariens et puis les Franco-Ontariennes il faudra insister sur l'importance de structures répondant à leurs besoins, et j'ajoute spécifiques.

Il dit plus loin également : «Une étude plus approfondie nous permettrait de découvrir que les programmes de formation en français demeurent très déficients à l'échelle de l'Ontario.» C'est intéressant, ce tableau ici à la page 6 du rapport. Vous voyez les collèges offrant des programmes de formation en Ontario et la langue dans laquelle sont offerts les programmes : en français, une place, la Cité collégiale, point final ; bilingues, neuf places bilinques. Mais vous savez bien que dans ces places bilingues-là, pour la plupart des programmes de formation, je vous souhaite bonne chance de trouver quelque chose en français.

Pour les anglophones, regardez la colonne : une douzaine de places, et bravo pour la communauté anglophone, vous en avez des programmes, relativement parlant. Je ne dis pas que la communauté anglophone a tous les programmes nécessaires, mais si vous regardez le débalancement des trois colonnes, comme on dit en farce chez nous, «Rien qu'à voir, on voit ben que c'est pas la même chose.» Le problème n'est pas le même.

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L'absence de structures en français décourage les Franco-Ontariennes et les Franco-Ontariens à suivre des cours de formation. On va alphabétiser la communauté francophone, mais s'il y a une absence de structures en français, qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec ces gens-là? Comment allons-nous donner suite au travail d'alphabétisation? Comment allons-nous former les francophones quand il n'y a pas de programmes? Est-ce que ce seul représentant officiel-là parmi les 22, est-ce que cette personne-là va se lever pour dire: «Aïe, vous autres! Vous les avez, vos systèmes de formation mais nous autres, on n'en a pas. Voulez-vous attendre un peu? Pourriez-vous prendre un peu de temps de vos intérêts, de votre mandat, de votre mission pour voir ce que vous pourriez faire pour la communauté francophone?»

Monsieur le ministre, mes chers collègues francophones et francophiles, croyez-vous que c'est vraiment le mandat des gens de la majorité anglophone de se pencher et de regarder qu'est-ce qui ne va pas et qu'est-ce qui manque dans la communauté francophone? Peut-être, et je souhaite que la grande majorité des gens qui seront nommés au COFAM de l'Ontario pourront être sensibles à cette spécificité-là et aux besoins particuliers de la communauté. Mais il n'y a personne d'entre nous et d'entre vous qui pourrait me garantir cette sensibilisation-là acquise en permanence. Oui, une partie importante de la population franco-ontarienne est marginalisée par le marché du travail. Exactement.

Le taux de chômage chez les francophones n'est pas le même. Le taux d'analphabétisme est beaucoup plus élevé. Les francophones, comme je le disais plus tôt, occupent des postes qui sont plus susceptibles d'être perdus lors du désastre qui se produit avec les pertes d'emplois de ces temps-ci. C'est très inquiétant, ça. Çela démontre qu'une stratégie d'alphabétisation et de formation de la maind'oeuvre axée en fonction du marché du travail uniquement risque de rencontrer de sérieuses difficultés quand viendra le temps de l'appliquer à la population francoontarienne, parce que votre COFAM que vous voulez créer est basé presque uniquement sur le marché du travail. Mais si vous essayez de trouver où sont les travailleurs et les travailleuses franco-ontariens, ils ne sont pas nécessairement dans le marché du travail. Et s'ils le sont, ils sont au bas de l'échelle. Vous risquez, si vous voulez faire votre COFAM de la façon actuelle, de rater le bateau.

Je vous connais assez bien, Monsieur le ministre, et je sais que ce n'est pas ça que vous voulez faire. Ce n'est pas ça que vous avez envisagé pour votre COFAM; je vous connais trop bien personnellement. C'est pour ça que vous devez le modifier, votre COFAM, et créer un COFAM spécifiquement par et pour les francophones, avec des gens qui connaissent la spécificité, des gens qui savent où sont les francophones, qui ils sont, comment aller les rejoindre, qui vont être capables de les intéresser, premièrement, à avoir un programme d'alphabétisation, et après, leur trouver et leur créer un programme de formation en mesure de leurs besoins, de leurs connaissances et de leur confiance. Vous vous devez de faire ça, Monsieur le ministre.

Vous savez, la façon dont vous voulez centraliser le dossier, ça peut paraître très intéressant. Je suis certain que vous êtes de bonne foi. Mais je vous demande, je vous implore de repenser ce que vous avez fait et de vous poser la question à savoir, est-ce que ça répond vraiment aux besoins de la communauté francophone ?

La communauté franco-ontarienne vous le dit : la réponse c'est non, avec tout respect. Je pense qu'ils vous l'ont dit avec grand respect et qu'ils ont apprécié vos efforts de communiquer avec eux. Vous avez eu nombre de discussions avec les gens de la communauté. Ils ont été sincères ; vous avez été sincère. Mais vous ne pourrez pas me dire que vous n'avez pas compris, que vous n'avez pas entendu les représentants de la communauté francophone vous dire, «Merci, mais ça ne marche pas de la façon dont vous l'avez inventé et dont vous le voyez.»

Monsieur le ministre, mes collègues francophones, mes collègues francophiles, je vous remercie de m'avoir écouté. Je vous demande de continuer votre travail. Je vous demande de vous repencher encore une fois sur le dossier. Je vous demande de créer un COFAM par et pour les francophones et de lui accorder la part du financement qui lui revient.

Travaillons côté à côté au sein de votre grand COFAM, mais laissez la communauté franco-ontarienne s'autogérer, s'autodéterminer pour qu'elle puisse vraiment faire le rattrapage qu'elle a à faire en dépit du fait qu'il y a encore beaucoup de besoins dans la communauté globale en Ontario, chez vous mes collègues anglophones. Mais vous le savez, la communauté franco-ontarienne, à cause de ce rattrapage-là, a des besoins particuliers.

Je vous remercie de m'avoir écouté et je vous fais confiance que le projet de loi sera amendé, que vous reverrez la structure et que vous aurez prouvé que vous avez écouté la communauté francophone qui vous a fait des demandes bien spécifiques, bien précises, bien constructives et de très bonne foi.

Le Vice-Président (M. Gilles E. Morin) : Y a-t-il des questions que vous aimeriez poser au député de Prescott et Russell ou des commentaires que vous aimeriez faire ?

M. Gilles Bisson (Cochrane-Sud): J'aimerais dire, premièrement, un merci au député de Prescott et Russell. J'ai pensé que ses commentaires ont été très à point et très saisissants. Je pense que les débats et les idées qu'il a mis dans les débats sont des affaires qui valent de la considération.

J'aimerais seulement souligner une couple de points, la question d'un COFAM séparé et total. Je pense, et je n'ai pas besoin d'entrer dans toute l'histoire, que le monsieur le comprend bien, que la communauté francophone le comprend parce qu'elle a fait partie du conseil de direction qui était responsable, jusqu'à un certain point, du modèle qu'on a en place comme c'est là.

Vous avez soulevé le point durant votre débat qu'il est important, premièrement, que le COFAM suive les concepts du projet de loi 8. Je pense qu'on le comprend. C'est extrêmement important et c'est quelque chose qui va arriver. C'est la loi de la province de l'Ontario.

J'aimerais porter à votre attention l'alinéa 1 d) qui lit comme suit :

«Veiller à ce que les programmes et services de mise en valeur de la main-d'oeuvre soient conçus et offerts dans un cadre conforme aux politiques économiques et sociales, notamment celles concernant le marché du travail, établies par le gouvernement de l'Ontario, promouvoir la dualité linguistique de l'Ontario.»

Je pense que c'est assez clair ce qu'on dit, qu'il faut prendre la reconnaissance que les besoins des francophones en Ontario, dans le marché du travail, sont différents; et parce qu'ils sont différents, on a besoin d'être capables de s'assurer que le COFAM et la structure ellemême sont capables de reconnaître ça.

Je n'ai pas assez de temps dans le débat, mais l'autre partie que j'aimerais soulever, c'est qu'on sait sur le conseil régional, dans votre coin de la province, que ce sera un conseil qui va être totalement francophone, géré par les francophones pour les francophones de la région.

Notamment, dans le coin de ma province, dans le nord de l'Ontario, la représentation au conseil régional, où on retrouve la plupart des francophones, sera majoritairement francophone à cause de la démographie de notre bord de la province.

Mr Arnott: I'm very pleased to rise and comment on my colleague the member for Prescott and Russell, and I won't inflict my version of the French language on him—maybe at a later date.

He touched upon a number of issues, and in his usual forceful and elegant way he put forward the concerns of his community, especially the francophone communities in his riding, and he touched upon the issue of cooperation between the federal and the provincial government.

As you know, the Charlottetown accord was going to devolve the responsibility for job training entirely to the provinces from the federal government. I would like to go away a bit from conventional practice here and ask him a question. Does he think there should be continued a very strong federal role in job training, and does he believe that's in the public interest?

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Mr Curling: I too would like to congratulate the member for his eloquent and thoughtful comments. He touched upon something and I'm sure the confidence, first, that he has in the minister—and the minister will be listening to some of that input—will be worthwhile.

One of the things he mentioned that is forefront in my mind is the rate of functional illiteracy within the francophone community. With any type of training programs or strategy you're putting in place, you must pay attention to that aspect of it. Setting up a separate board for the francophones is an idea that I think the minister must look at very seriously. If there is not a separate board, then within that present board that is set up, he should make sure that they are going ahead, and if he should not listen, which I think is the wrong direction—make sure that the input of the francophones is there. There is great concern within that community about the education structure and system in

Ontario which has been started by the Liberal government and also to address those issues.

When you get into training now, it becomes extremely sensitive, because training involves cultural aspects, it involves languages, and, very importantly, as I emphasized in my remarks a couple of days ago, the high rate of functional illiteracy, and special attention must be paid to that.

I want to commend the member for bringing out that part of it and that issue, and also his belief and his confidence in the minister, who he thought in the past had listened very attentively to the francophone community.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any further questions or comments?

Mr Bradley: I appreciated the remarks of the member for Prescott and Russell because they did deal in part with the issue that the member for Scarborough North has just indicated, that is, people who have a problem with literacy. I think a lot of us don't recognize that many people who are unable to obtain employment in our society and in fact many who have a difficult time functioning in our society do so because they are not literate.

When I was Correctional Services critic for the opposition—that's the first job anybody has when they come into this Legislature—and I sat back up in the corner, I went with Ed Ziemba, who was the NDP critic at the time, and with Gord Walker, who was the Conservative cabinet minister, and we toured some of what you referred to then as "correctional institutes." I guess that's still the name. We talked to many people who had been convicted of various crimes and were serving their time in those institutions.

One of the things that certainly left a mark on me in terms of my observations of these people was their lack of education, their lack of literacy, which really meant that if they left the institution, in many cases they would not be able to function as well as they might. There were others who were very literate and were able to cope quite well, and when they got out into society, they had a different problem to cope with.

But many of these people had gone through a school system and had never had the opportunity to become literate. Therefore, when they went out into society, they were simply lost. It was a revolving door, simply coming back into the institution, because once they got outside, they didn't have the services out there and they didn't have as many of the services within the institution to equip them to survive in our society.

So I hope that as part of this effort we're talking about this evening, one of the things that will come out of it is the opportunity for those people to be adequately trained and to acquire the literary skills that are necessary.

M. Poirier: Je veux remercier mes quatre collègues pour une contribution et pour leurs éloges à l'égard de ce dont nous avons discuté, je répète: un COFAM distinct, même si le projet de loi parle de promouvoir une dualité linguistique. Ce sont de belles paroles, mais je ne veux pas que les parlementaires, les parlements et les gouvernements soient jugés par les paroles mais plutôt par les gestes.

Interjection.

M. Poirier: Oui, justement. La constitution, entre «engagement» et «attachement». Moi, qui suis un ancien traducteur, j'ai perdu les quelques cheveux qui me restaient sur la tête quand j'ai vu cette divergence de traductions. Donc, promouvoir la dualité linguistique, vous avez de la bonne foi, mais peut-être que vos successeurs en auront moins. Faites un geste concret qui ne pourrait pas être démoli par d'autres qui vous suivront, qui auraient peut-être moins à coeur cette communauté francophone-là.

J'ai parlé d'un COFAM distinct, mais je ne parle pas de travailler à côté, au loin, sans consultations. Au contraire, ce COFAM francophone serait rattaché à votre COFAM central. Il aurait dialogue et concertation, mais il serait distinct quand même. Conseils régionaux : vous me parlez de majorité. Pour le moment ça peut l'être, mais avec les démographies changeantes, qu'est-ce qui arrive? Ce ne l'est plus.

On en sait quelque chose ; on a bien des exemples à l'échelle de la province. Pour mon collègue de Wellington, les besoins sont tellement grands. Si, présentement, ça prend des ententes fédérales-provinciales pour venir à bout du monstre de la formation, je n'ai pas de problème. Si l'entente constitutionnelle revient un jour à donner exclusivement aux provinces la gestion, tant mieux ; je n'ai pas de problème. Mais le problème demeure, la spécificité demeure, les besoins demeurent, les demandes demeurent et puis votre demande de compréhension demeure quand même. Je n'y ai aucun problème, que ce soit fédéral-provincial ou uniquement provincial. Merci de votre collaboration.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Arnott: I'm very pleased and privileged to rise this evening to speak to Bill 96, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board Act, 1992, on behalf of the people of Wellington county who have sent me here to represent them.

This act, if it is passed by this Legislature, will establish a crown agency, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, or what is known as OTAB. The government is telling us that it will provide shared, cooperative leadership of Ontario's labour force development system, that it will assume responsibility for the "promotion, funding, coordination, design and provision" of provincial labour force training and adjustment services, including workplace and sectoral training, apprenticeship programs, labour force adjustment, labour force entry and re-entry programs.

We are being told that it will pursue labour market training and development programs that are equitable and accessible to all the people of Ontario, that it will pursue labour market development and research and that it will respond to the broad policy and priority directions set by the government. We're also told that the government will remain responsible for setting social and economic policy, including labour and market policy, and for federal-provincial relations on labour training matters, I assume.

The bill is fairly complex. I'm only going to speak for about 15 minutes, Mr Speaker, but I want to express the

concerns that the people in my riding of Wellington have expressed to me with respect to this bill.

They're concerned about the composition of the board which has been put forward in the bill. As we know, the agency will create a board of directors, which is also a governing body, that's comprised of 22 representatives. The breakdown is as follows: There will be two cochairs, one representing business and one representing labour; seven directors representing business; seven directors representing labour; two directors representing educators and trainers; one director representing francophones; one director representing persons with disabilities; one person representing racial minorities; one director representing women. So they've got a certain number of seats here for certain groups that they want to have represented on this board. That's very, very clear.

I have a problem with that fundamentally. I'm concerned that we're setting certain groups of people and we're looking at this board in terms of putting certain people, certain groups—every time we do that, I believe we step one step back from excellence. We're saying that we don't need the best people for the job; we need a certain type of person to fill a certain seat which is allocated for that type of person on the board. I have a fundamental problem with that, and I don't think that's the best way to assign seats to any organization. So I would express that concern from the outset.

This legislation raises a number of fundamental questions for people when they look at it. One question that is very, very important in people's minds is, can business and labour work effectively together? In my view, they can. I've seen it in many, many different workplaces. Many plants in my own riding of Wellington have very cooperative atmospheres in their place of work.

GSW, for example, in Fergus, has an outstanding record of cooperation between labour, represented by the Steelworkers union, and management. They were recently given credit on the change page of the Globe and Mail's business section a couple of weeks ago, informing people of what excellent things were going on in an excellent plant in Fergus.

I've seen in my own riding, in my own communities, the excellent cooperation that can take place. But I've also seen the opposite, where a confrontational structure that is imposed by government can create friction that wasn't there before.

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We've seen in the workplace health and safety organization, which I believe is administered through the Ministry of Labour, significant friction between the organized labour representatives and the business representatives. There seems to be friction built into the structure, meaning that there have been a number of different instances where the body has not been able to respond effectively to challenges that it's faced.

We're concerned about what OTAB will cost once it's established, and no one seems to know. There doesn't appear to have been a cost estimate that the Minister of Colleges and Universities is willing to present to the House of exactly what it will cost. There are various estimates.

We find the government is indicating that the various training programs, the whole amalgam of training programs it presently administers and undertakes, will be given over to this board and the board will have to administer it. So you can take the cost estimates of the present training programs that we do and try to see if that's going to be the cost. But I suspect, given the fact that it's a totally independent body that will want to undertake its own programs, you'll find the human dynamic will lead this new organization to expand considerably within three to five years from what they are doing presently.

Of course, if all these programs are wonderful programs, if they're all training people—that's important too—we have to question what it's going to cost, especially in this day and age, in 1992, when we're looking at a provincial deficit in real terms of \$12 billion this year, and the federal deficit as well going through the roof. We have to be concerned about that.

There is some speculation that this budget will eventually be \$1.6 billion, and from that we wonder how the program will be paid for, if we find what the cost is going to be.

There's been speculation and the argument has been presented and the question has been put to the government: Do you intend, government, to undertake some sort of payroll tax to pay for this program? Of course, there hasn't been a denial of that. We find that clearly is where the government is going in terms of the next couple of years. Once the agency is set up and running effectively, over time a payroll tax is probably within the government's plan to give that funding mechanism to the agency such that it can be self-sufficient.

As our party's small business advocate and knowing the small businesses in my riding—I've met some people from larger businesses as well in the last few years—they're very concerned about the prospect of another payroll tax. It's very difficult to compete in today's economy as it is with the various taxes that businesses are forced to pay right now. Ontario is becoming less and less attractive as a place for investment, and one of the problems we have is high taxation.

That's one of the considerations, as we know, that business people look at. If they have a choice to locate an enterprise here or anywhere in North America, if they look at the tax structure, they're going to find that Ontario's taxes are significantly higher than in many of our competing jurisdictions. So we have to be concerned about a new payroll tax on top of the one the Liberals inflicted on business.

Beyond that, we know that payroll taxes are taxes on jobs. If a company has to look at the cost of employing more people, if it's looking at expanding and it sees a percentage levy on its total payroll, it's going to see if it can keep things as small as possible and as efficient as possible, and it's not going to be as interested in hiring new workers. In today's economy, we have to be concerned about that. Unfortunately, I don't think the government is, and that's one of the problems I have to recommend to the government.

The board, as I said, is composed of a certain number or people representing certain groups. We also see that of the labour appointees there will likely be none representing non-organized labour. Approximately 70% of our workforce in Ontario is non-organized—is non-union, in other words—and we have to wonder whether those people who are not card-carrying union members and who don't pay any dues to a union shop are going to be represented. How is this OTAB board going to respond to the needs of those workers? Is the government saying to those people, "You'd better get into a union, you'd better organize your workplace or there aren't going to be any training dollars available to you"? Is that the message the government's putting to these non-union workers?

We have to ask that question because I feel, quite frankly, that the government is making an effort to give special preferential treatment to organized labour at the expense of non-organized labour.

We have a question about the relationship between the OTAB board, the big board, and the smaller boards, the regional boards that are going to be across the province, because this bill of course puts forward the view that there should be a network of local boards that will be established in the future by regulation.

I'm not sure if that is the best way to do it, really. You're putting forward this bill and you're not indicating how the local partnership is going to work. That is a very important issue, a very key issue, especially with a government that has indicated on many occasions that it believes in local decision-making. We wonder exactly how that relationship is going to work, how that will impact upon the board.

I've met with a number of individuals who are from private vocational schools. They're private businesses, but over the years they've done an outstanding job of training workers. These private vocational schools, I believe, have a legitimate place in our training system. It appears that the government of the day, the NDP government, does not agree and that it's doing what it can to make it difficult for private vocational schools to undertake their respective responsibilities.

The private vocational schools are very concerned about OTAB because it does not appear that there is a role for them to play in the OTAB system. They appear to be frozen out. In the next five years from now you would wonder if there are going to be private vocational schools in Ontario, because of the policies of this government. If that is the case, and if they do eventually disappear over the next couple of years, or whatever, I think all Ontarians will suffer a loss. I think it's very important that we have a balanced system.

Another question that's very important is, why focus on OTAB when existing job training programs are not working? I talked earlier, in response to one of the members' speeches, about the Workers' Compensation Board and how this schedule 4 agency will limit the accountability that the government is willing to accept, is willing to maintain over the training programs in Ontario.

Right now there's a program, as you know, called Transitions, which is in effect for older workers who have

been displaced to have an opportunity to retrain. I've had many, many complaints in my riding office in Wellington about this particular program. The program is a joke, as far as I'm concerned. It's helped very few people. I would like to know anyone whom it has tangibly assisted in in any meaningful way. I've found that it raises workers' expectations that there is a program out there that's going to help them, and the program is a joke. It doesn't help anybody, as far as I'm concerned; at least, I've not encountered anyone. I've heard nothing but problems from constituents in my riding.

I've spent quite a few minutes here suggesting my concerns about the bill. In other words, I've been expressing my concerns to the government about what it's doing. But I want to conclude with something a little more positive because I feel that as an opposition member, it is part of my obligation to put forward the concerns my constituents have about bills in as forceful a way as possible, because we know that in the parliamentary system of government the government will never tell you the downside of what it's undertaking. It's the responsibility of the opposition to do that.

Beyond that, we have a very important responsibility. We have a responsibility to present to the government positive, constructive suggestions for actions that it should be taking. Our party has done that with this Blueprint for Learning in Ontario, part of our New Directions series. We put a lot of work into this. This is an important document that we've presented for the government's consideration.

Opposition parties, in practice in the past, don't normally do this, because the parties are always concerned that if they give out their good ideas the government will just adopt the good ones, put them into policy and take all the credit for them. We're willing to risk that prospect because we are so concerned about today's problems. We think it's very important, and part of our responsibility, to put forward the best ideas we can come up with, based on our philosophy, based on our understanding of the economy, based on our understanding of the needs of workers. We have done that with our New Directions volume. I would commend it to anyone who's interested in learning what I would say is a more comprehensive response to the training needs in Ontario's society today. It has a far broader focus and scope than what this single bill is intending to do.

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I'd like to conclude with a few brief points. When we look at training we have to look at whose responsibility it is. I would say that in the past number of years business has looked to government to look after many of the training needs. I think, frankly, that business has relied too much on government. Government can't do it all. Business has a very important responsibility in terms of training workers. Business benefits from well-trained workers. Individuals who are trained benefit. If they themselves are trained, they receive a considerable benefit because they have skills they've acquired that they can market. They can find a job that's maybe in a more advanced skill than what they were previously trying to market their skills with. Everyone benefits with new training initiatives.

We have to look at the proper balance of who is responsible for training and I think we've got to find that government has a responsibility, but business should be doing a lot more than it's presently doing as well. You might be surprised to hear that from a Conservative, but I believe that very strongly.

I think we need greater cooperation in our workplaces. As I say, we've got to undertake, and I believe we can undertake, mechanisms that will create greater cooperation in our workplaces. I don't think Bill 40's part of that; I think it's the opposite. I don't think this OTAB initiative is part of it; I think it's going to be the opposite. I think you'll find that some of these mechanisms you're putting forward as solutions are going to be more divisive and create more friction than has existed in the past, and I'm very concerned about that.

But most of all, the bottom line in today's economy is that people need jobs. When I talk to people about job training in my own riding, they say: "Well, that's fine. It would be nice to be trained, but for what? There are no jobs available." A constituent will say: "I've been looking for a year. There are no jobs." So that's another thing you're going to have to address. The government is going to have to address the job creation problem it in part has inflicted upon Ontario, because it doesn't matter what it says; a number of different initiatives it has taken have had a direct, inhibiting effect on job creation, and it knows it very well. It's something they're going to have to address.

This bill in and of itself does not create jobs and there are going to have to be a lot of other complimentary policies come forward from the government of a totally different direction than what it has undertaken over the last couple of years, if we're going to create any jobs at all.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Mr Gary Wilson: I want to commend the member for Wellington for his presentation. He certainly raised a number of issues that I think many of us have thought about over the course of this debate.

The important thing to remember, though, is that the two things that have to be said about training in the past is that it hasn't been adequate and we certainly need a lot more of it. Now he has raised the issue, I think quite rightly, of the responsibility of both government and business in this regard. I think it's fair to say that business hasn't in the past been as supportive as it should have been on the training issue. The balance he's looking for is seen in OTAB in the governing board where the representation from business and labour is combined.

He also said he's concerned about the expertise, which I think he'll find in this board, which puzzles me a bit, partly because the expertise seems to have been missing in the past; otherwise, why are we in the situation we are? Secondly, we are turning to the people themselves: the labour market partners, the people who should most directly know what kinds of training issues there are. What better experts can you get? Again, the cooperation should be forthcoming because we all have so much benefit to derive from this system. I think that by setting up the board to

represent so many interests in the province, we will achieve that.

He mentioned some things, though, about the cooperation that should exist. I think we all realize there has to be a much greater role for both labour and business in the design of the various projects we're trying to achieve, both in the workplace in general and specifically with training. Of course, our view is that things like Bill 40 will address this issue. The people on the work floor have to be given the voice that will articulate their interests and this will show up in the training.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Any further questions or comments? The member for Wellington, you have two minutes.

Mr Arnott: I don't think I need two minutes to respond, but I would like to thank the member for Kingston and The Islands for responding to my comments.

I don't accept what he said. I find there's a very serious concern out there in the community about the mechanisms the government is setting up in terms of trying to promote cooperation and harmony in the workplace. I don't know if the member opposite has heard about it, but I certainly have in my riding.

The fundamental problem we still have to address no matter what the government says, if indeed this will create cooperation, is the accountability issue. The accountability issue is very important. With this bill, the government is devolving accountability to a great degree to an unelected body. I can see questions on OTAB two years down the road. I can see someone from the opposition asking the Minister of Labour a question and I can just hear him. He'll say, "I can't accept responsibility for that because this is a schedule 4 agency, it's an arm's-length agency." I can just hear him and I know that's going to be the answer. We're going to lose accountability. Once again, elected individual members will no longer be able to be held accountable by the people for programs that are very, very important.

Hopefully later on in the debate one of the government members will address that particular issue in a forthright way. Apparently, there's going to be a motion put forward later on this evening that will shut off this debate, so I doubt very much we'll hear it. I will conclude with that.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): It's my pleasure to stand here tonight and speak about Bill 96 and the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board.

I hear the current announcement made by the federal government—Mazankowski—reducing unemployment insurance from 60% to 57%, trying to save \$2.4 billion. I hear the announcement today in St Catharines, with another tombstone lying under the free trade agreement, with the Canadian content going. I hear members opposite laughing. There was an indication that we brought forward back in 1988 that a number of tombstones will lie in communities where industrial restructuring will take place, where competitiveness will be the issue—and you try to find the definition of "competitiveness."

When I look at the issues around OTAB, I hear members opposite say, "It took two years to develop this." I remember back in the early 1980s when we were fighting for training programs to be more centralized for people who were unemployed. I happened to be one of those individuals in the early 1980s, and the only time training was available was when you were unemployed; not while you were employed, because they didn't bother training.

I think what we're seeing here is an ability for government to allow focus. The taxpayers are saying, "Stop the duplication of programs." This will do it. "Put more community involvement in place." This will do it. "Make sure the community partners are in place—labour, business, social—the community as a whole being part of the decision process."

They are saying we have to create diversity in our communities. My community is an example. It's dominated by agriculture, and we all know what's going on with agriculture. Agriculture has been hurting for 10 years, and it's hurting even more. It's dominated by the auto parts sector, and we all know what's happening in the auto parts sector. It's being devastated as a number of tombstones lie in my community from plant closures because of the loss of Canadian content.

When I listen to the members opposite start talking about OTAB, I guess they're either not expressing true feelings about what's going on or maybe my community is so much different. Maybe that's why I refer to it as God's country. It is very different. I have leadership in the community, leadership in companies. As an example, Union Gas is putting forward over \$5 million to its training centre to retrain employees. How are they doing it? They've put their own money in place without government assistance in place, making sure that transition is there for them to be competitive into the future. Not only have they spent that kind of money in that facility, they also went one step further and involved themselves in our local area to make sure we could establish a local board that was up and running and one of the first ones in the province to show how it's really done and how OTAB can be effective.

It's very important to see boards of education on stream. I've heard comments tonight that boards of education are not even on with this. The director of the Kent County Board of Education made an announcement in the media that OTAB is the direction for us to go in the future. I've even heard professors from the United States talking about what the year 2001 is going to bring. According to their estimates, 2001 will bring a 15% unskilled labour force and an 85% skilled labour force. That tells us we have to do something fast and immediately to streamline our training system, not only when people get laid off, but while people are working, to improve skill added value so we can be competitive in our marketplace. That's one of the important areas that we have to focus on.

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I've heard the issue about our community colleges. My community college is involved. It's there at the local level, talking about its role in developing, because it currently provides programs. So what they're going to do is take the expertise that our community college has. I heard the

member for St Catharines talk about how our adults who are currently in workplaces may not have the basic skills of reading and writing. Well, I know the school boards in my own community want to take that expertise and put it in with OTAB because there are individuals who have worked since being out of school, maybe since grade 8, grade 9, grade 10, and need those basic skills to upgrade themselves so they can be competitive in the marketplace.

As we do some of this training that is currently going on today and that will go on in the future, we need to accredit that training, accredit it so that an individual, when making a résumé, has the information before him so that employers can look at progressive changes that are happening in our workplace, because the future is talking about skill added value and that's what we have to focus our energy on.

We talk about public input. The public has input. We hear them they say, "Well, there are no non-unionized workers represented on there." I can talk from past experience, and I'm talking 10 years of experience speaking on behalf of organized labour, and I also spoke on behalf of unorganized labour. I also know that the people in the business community who live in that community speak about their own interests, but they also speak about the unorganized worker because they're looking for a potential market. I also know our boards of education speak about the non-unionized workforce.

But we're talking about changing a structure, and I'm sure the member for St Catharines would agree with me that when he first got his new computer he sat there and he looked at it and he said, "Which way do I go with my new computer?" It was a little scary.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I still ask that.

Mr Hope: He says he still does it. It's a little scary because it's new, it's creative and it's simple, but if you don't read the instructions of what goes on, you're going to be lost. The instructions with the OTAB will allow direction, direction so you can make a community prosper.

It's very important for us to allow diversity in our community so that when an employer comes to the local board through the OTAB system, he can say: "I need this requirement to help me keep competitive. Can the community group supply that program for me?" They react fast to the community's need. Instead of going to Toronto, waiting for legislation or waiting for the Minister of Skills Development to make a program, they can react quickly to the community's needs. That's business, that's labour, that's even the social groups that are out there, because we're talking about long-term unemployed individuals returning and upgrading their skills to return back to the marketplace. Each community has different statistics of unemployment and we have to address those statistics.

So when I sit here and I listen to the members opposite make comments about it and they say it took the minister two years, yes, we're not going to doubt that. It took two years to develop this package, but it also took since the early 1980s for a government to recognize this. It took from the early 1980s. It took 10 years of previous governments. It took us only two years to develop. It took the

Liberals five, and they never did anything. The Conservatives took six, and more, and they never did anything. We've got to compliment the minister for his efforts in what he did. He put together a program which will streamline us into the future.

It's not me who's saying about the statistics; it's saying our education system must change in the province of Ontario. Education is not just in our school system. It's in our training system also. The professors around the country and all over the world are talking about skill added value and how it's the business community and the labour community that drive the training mechanisms. The educators don't drive it because they're the same as Mr Bradley around a new computer: a little scared about change.

I remember being afraid of change, and I know the member opposite used to be the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. When we heard the new word about technology, we got a little petrified because we might have lost our jobs around new technology. But we adapted and we changed. We adapted and we changed the process.

I know there are some small areas in this that we have a problem with. I know in my own community, I'm not saying it's picture perfect, because in order for us to make it picture perfect, there's a little boundary between Essex and Kent county that has got to develop a line.

When we develop that line, the people who are involved in the skills development program in Kent county, the people who are involved in the Wallaceburg area, the programs that they currently provide, if I utilize those resources, the resources with the education community, the resources with the business community and the resources that have been neglected for so long by previous governments, the workers themselves, the organized labour which has been representing people for so long, if I look at those individuals and I pool those resources in one room, we're going to walk out with Utopia in Kent county, because there is a positive attitude.

Yes, there's fear. There's always fear around change, but I'll tell you one thing: I can guarantee a lot of people will say: "Get training out of government's hands and let the business and labour and social groups run it because we know what's best for the community. You people in Queen's Park do a lot of arguing, points of order, everything else, calls to adjourn the house. You don't make progressive changes to deal with our communities."

I compliment the minister for what he's done. He's finally taken on an initiative that's very important. With that, I say to the members opposite, quit monkeying around, because there are people in St Catharines who need help and we've got time to do it. There are people in my riding who desperately need it. Quit monkeying around. Get the legislation passed so we can get on with progress.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): I'm rather surprised. I listened to the member's remarks and I learned very little about OTAB, I learned very little about what's

good about the act. All I learned was that this member has nothing but disdain for debate, for opposition, for constructive criticism. I'm rather surprised at the member's attitude towards debating an issue, towards listening to all sides, because I know the minister is listening and I know the minister will want to consider amendments that might be presented and might want to consider ways to make this a better act. He knows he has 74 members, he knows it's ultimately going to be passed and he knows that we have rules here that limit the amount of debate. He knows that it's going to be passed and I know that as a reasonable-minded individual, the minister is looking for suggestions to make this bill better.

I am little surprised that the member can stand here and not debate the bill but criticize the opposition for standing here and doing just that and for making those suggestions. It surprises me, the disdain that he has for the opposition, when his party toiled for so many years. Fortunately, he's going to have his opportunity in the next couple of years to test this side of the House. But I think that when people stand here and legitimately try and debate a bill, that is not a reason to criticize them.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Any further questions or comments?

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I just wanted to make a couple of observations. The member for Chatham-Kent thinks that rhetoric can overcome reason or information. I should point out that for him to condemn what happened in St Catharines today on free trade illustrates an ignorance of what has been going on in the automotive industry for the last 25 years.

I think any neutral observer would look at the auto pact, which is, in a sense, free trade in the automotive industry, as, on balance, a plus for Canada. It is what has allowed us to prosper in the automotive industry. There's no question that the automotive industry in Ontario has been the engine that has driven this economy. To portray the province for the last years, whether it be 50 or 100, as being a desolate desert of no opportunity and no technology is absurd.

Sir, I want to tell you—and I'm not taking credit for it; we were the beneficiaries of a burgeoning economy—that in the period 1984-90, Ontario had the most vibrant economy in the industrialized world. I will be speaking in a few minutes to tell you what went on and what the whole genesis of OTAB was. You guys didn't invent it. It came out of the Premier's Council, and I'll be telling you about what that is

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I just want to point out that there's an opportunity here for us to do what we all want to do. What we want to do is to help the people of Ontario cope with the global economy, to cope with the competitive situation out there, and I think to impute motive and to blame people for things happening just doesn't make any sense. We're all here to try to reach the same goals. We are all here and we're interested in making sure this economy prospers.

Mr O'Connor: I want to compliment the member for Chatham-Kent because he talked about real issues. Too

often we get into this place and we get the rhetoric. He talked about the fact that yes, there's a restructuring going on at General Motors, but he talked about OTAB as being a need for that to come on board for those workers. There's no better place than to have workers involved in some of that.

When I was 16 years old I worked in a foundry and, let me tell you, I walked down the aisle to this dirty, dark-looking foundry and all of the men there—because it is pretty well all men—had back braces on. If people were to stop and listen to them, they wouldn't be wearing those back braces because if they had talked to the workers they wouldn't have had to.

Last week I had a meeting in my riding of injured workers. The reason we had that meeting was to get those people in to talk to them. They're injured workers and if somebody had talked to them somewhere along the line, they may not have been injured workers. They were angry. Why were they so angry? It's because the Workers' Compensation Board is not responding to those needs.

If, when the Workers' Compensation Board was set up, it had workers' representatives on there, perhaps we wouldn't have had the same problem. Perhaps then the workers would have had a chance to say something from the beginning that might not have put all those people on workers' compensation. It wouldn't have injured all those people. Those are people. There are human lives there. There's injury there that was absolutely not necessary.

It's easy for people to sit back and take a look at the textbooks, at the way things could have been, the way they might have been, but you know that isn't going to help unless you actually do something. The member for Chatham-Kent talked about doing things. It's a responsible way of doing things. He was very progressive in the way he presented it and I compliment him.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): I'm very pleased to get up here and respond and make some comments and really compliment the member for Chatham-Kent. I think he was trying to point out some facts and some of the history that really brought us to some of the problems we have today. If members want to take that as a personal attack on them, I guess that's too bad.

But one of the big problems—and Mr Hope, the member for Chatham-Kent, has mentioned that and alluded to the lack of training in the past—one of the examples is that a lot of the large corporations actually imported skilled trades people into this country and there was a reason for that. For too long now they've been doing that and they did not have to invest a lot of dollars to train those people.

In fact what happened is that they brought those people from Great Britain, Germany and various other countries that actually started to train people to deal with the various trades and new technology. They started to train them at a very young age. They did not wait until they were in the workplace or wait until they got laid off, for example, or until they became adults and it's very unfortunate.

Then we talk about small business and how we're all concerned about small business. A lot of these multinational corporations, when the well ran dry in importing skilled trades people into this country, went to the areas where there were family-run or family-operated tool-and-die shops, for example. Those people invested four and five years in those people, and of course the large corporations also took them. Then the smaller business people said: "We can't afford this. People are stealing our tradespeople away from us and we can't afford that investment." So what's happening here—

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you.

**Mr Hayes:** I would like to talk a little longer, Mr Speaker, but we'll do that later.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Chatham-Kent, you have two minutes.

Mr Hope: I'll respond to the member for Willowdale. I think it would be important that he read his own critic's comments instead of listening to Mr Phillips over there, the member for Scarborough-Agincourt. Instead of his comments, you'd better read your own critic's comments, the critic to this ministry.

To the member for Wilson Heights, we understand what the Canadian content rule is, because we played an important role as an independent parts supplier in the Canadian content aspect. When I used the issue about St Catharines and talked about a tombstone, let me tell you that a lot of those members understand what the Canadian content rule is all about. Those individuals are losing their jobs because of corporate restructuring.

We need to move fast enough to make sure that community—and it's even in the press release from GM, which talks about reacting fast to help that community out. I don't want to play any rhetoric games. We can do that elsewhere, at election time, come 1995. Yes, I will prove myself to my community in 1995, because that's what I spoke about today, my community instead of the rhetoric that's also out there.

To the member for Durham-York and my colleague the member for Essex-Kent, who shares the same concerns because the riding I was talking about is also adjacent to Mr Hayes's, we have a community that has a lot of community solidness behind it. It's solidarity. It's called brotherhood and it's called respect for one another. We don't have the 1,000 jobs, the big plants in our community; we have small businesses, we have dedicated workers and we probably have more awards than anyone else.

But this OTAB will take us into the future. As I indicated, 85% of our workforce in the year 2001 is going to be skilled labour, and we need skill added value. If you want to play your rhetoric game, play it somewhere else, but the people we represent need a training program that's centrally focused on the people and the consumers. That's an issue to us.

To the minister, we want to thank you very much. Don't forget that line.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Kwinter: I'm delighted to participate in this debate because I had some role to play in the genesis of this whole OTAB initiative. I'm sure members will know—some of the newer members of the government's side may not know—that the Premier's Council was formed by the Liberal government. I'm not saying that because it was great; I'm just stating historical fact.

One of the interesting things about the Premier's Council was that for the first time in memory when a government commission/board of this kind was set up, members of organized labour were invited to join. I can tell you, because I was the vice-chairman of the Premier's Council and the Premier was the chairman, that one of the most difficult things Leo Gerard and Gordie Wilson had to come to terms with was whether they would be considered as having gone over to the enemy.

If they joined the Premier's Council, would their constituencies ask: "Why are you getting into bed with those guys? They're the enemy. They're the guys who are against us." To the credit of Gordie Wilson and Leo Gerard, they felt that if they were going to effect change they were going to have to do it from within. I'm sure there were some mighty heated meetings among their colleagues when the decision was made, "Yes, we will join the Premier's Council."

I can tell you that over the three years that I was involved with the Premier's Council—it's a known fact and you can talk to either one of them—Leo Gerard and Gordie Wilson and I developed a very close personal relationship. We disagreed on lots of things in a general sense, but it had nothing to do with our own personal relationship. We would debate some very serious issues of the day.

I think it's important that I lay out in this debate the environment in which the genesis of OTAB took place. Let there be no mistake. A Premier's Council report recommended the creation of OTAB, but I also want to add, and I think it's important, that the Premier's Council was a report to government and not a report of government. The fact that the Premier himself chaired it and that some of the senior ministers in the government sat on it indicated that, in most cases, whatever came out of the Premier's Council would in fact shortly become government policy.

2010

When the Premier's Council looked at our competitiveness—as a matter of fact, the major report of the Premier's Council was entitled Competing in the New Global Economy—I want to tell you that in that period, 1987 to 1990, as I said earlier to the member for Essex-Kent, Ontario was enjoying the most vibrant economy in the industrialized world. Our problem was an incredible shortage of skilled labour. As the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, I had a steady stream of manufacturers coming to me and saying: "There are not sufficient skilled workers in Ontario. It is going to impact on our ability to compete. What are you going to do about it?"

It was with this that a subcommittee was struck. There were representatives on the council from organized labour; I apologize, there was another member and I just can't recall his name, but certainly Gordie Wilson, Leo Gerard and George Peapples—remember the president of General

Motors—sat on that subcommittee, and the subcommittee came forward with the OTAB report and the recommendations.

At the time, we had situations, and I want to give you an example of Magna International. Magna International, I'm sure you know, is one of the largest auto parts producers in the world. Notwithstanding that they had some serious difficulties in the last couple of years, they've turned that around and are now one of the brightest lights in our industrial sector. One of the things that Frank Stronach did was to realize that if he was going to be able to compete and to be successful, he had to have trained people. He set up one of the most innovative training programs in the industrialized world.

We had a steady stream of foreigners coming to Ontario to see the Magna training facility. I can tell you that when Lothar Spath, the premier-president of Baden-Wuerttemberg, one of our Four Motors affiliates, came to Canada, the one thing that he raved about was that particular training program.

There were two problems from Magna's point of view. As a matter of fact, the minister referred to it; I think it was him. It may not have been him. Someone referred to it. The two problems were: It was extremely expensive for one company to sustain, and the second problem, which was even more serious, is once these people got trained, they became marketable so what they would do is get a higher salary offered to them by another company that didn't have to make that incredible investment in training and they would then move off.

To the credit of Mr Stronach, and he certainly understood this, he was prepared to continue it as long as he could, because his attitude was, if these people go out and work in industry, then that's great because it's going to raise the level of the competence of our industrial workforce, and if that was what the role of Magna was to be, he had no problem with that. Unfortunately, with the downturn of the economy and with some of the problems that Magna encountered, they had to abandon that training program and that in itself was unfortunate.

But again, you have to think of what the conditions were at the time. The unemployment rate in Ontario was hovering around 4% to 5%. Those of you who know anything about unemployment figures will know that when you have 4% unemployment, you have full employment. There is always 4% of the population who, although they claim they're unemployed, either aren't available for work, don't want to work or whatever, but 4% is considered full employment.

In Metro Toronto, the unemployment rate was hovering somewhere around 1.5%. In London, Ontario, they had the lowest unemployment rate in the country. If you walked around in any mall in Toronto or in London and some other communities, every single shop had a sign in the window, "Help Wanted." It was a workers' market as far as getting a job was concerned. That has changed dramatically.

What is our problem? Why are we suddenly confronted with this issue? The issue that spawned the OTAB initiative was that we had to produce our homegrown technicians and

people who were technically trained. I'd like to spend a bit of time talking about what I think is the real problem. I have no problem with OTAB as a concept; I have some problem with the way it's structured.

Our problem is that we as a society, we as Ontarians and we as Canadians have never given any real credit or any sort of prestige to people who work in trades. Most parents look to their children and hope they will become professionals, whether it be a lawyer, a doctor, someone with an MBA, an accountant or whatever it is. That would be the ultimate. The people who do these technical jobs, unless they're engineers—then of course they are also professionals—are not considered to be achievers. As a result, there is no incentive and there are no rewards for people to get into those particular avenues of employment.

Compare that to our major competitors. I sit in this House and from time to time I hear the rhetoric of the other side. I'm not just trying to blame it on the other side, because I hear it from people on the street who have no particular political affiliation. All they do is wring their hands and moan about the terrible competition we are going to suffer from places like Mexico, Taiwan, Thailand and Hong Kong.

I say to you and I say to them, that is not where our competition is. If cheap labour was the only criterion for success, Haiti would be the industrial capital of the world. It doesn't work that way. Our competition is coming from Germany, it is coming from Japan, it is coming from Sweden, it is coming from England, it is coming from places that have high wages. There is no problem with high wages. The higher the wages the better, as long as those wages are matched by productivity. If your output and your contribution to the value added is worth \$50 an hour, fabulous. Pay them \$50 an hour.

Where we have the problem is that we have people who think they should be paid for being alive. If I was alive last year and I'm still alive this year, I should get paid even more, regardless of what my productivity is, whether or not we are competitive. That is what we are missing in our competitiveness.

What we have to do is take a look at how we are training our people, but not once they're in the workforce. It's too late to suddenly take somebody and say: "You know what? We're going to take you and change you into something else." It's laudable, it's necessary if someone becomes obsolete, but that is not going to solve the problem.

Let me give you an example as current as today. The 800-and-some people in St Catharines surely cannot be classified as unskilled labour. I am sure they are very skilled. I'm sure they have been well trained. What are you going to do with them? Are you going to detrain them and say, "Sorry, you can no longer make rear axles; you now have to be trained to do some service job." That gets you into a vicious circle where you have to decide what you are training. How do you decide what you are training for?

I used this example in the debate the other day. I don't mean to cast aspersions on the people who make candles, but I've used this illustration for years. You have to be careful that you're not training somebody to be a candle-

maker, and the day he finishes his training, somebody invents the electric lightbulb and he becomes obsolete. What you have is a make-work program to train somebody, but he hasn't been trained for anything.

Let me give you another example. It doesn't do much good, other than bragging rights, to train someone if he doesn't have a job. I can just imagine the conversation: "I used to be an unemployed worker, a labourer, but now I'm an unemployed technician. I've stepped up in the world. I now have a better title to be unemployed doing." You can't have that kind of situation.

When we give money—I'm talking about grants, not guarantees—to companies, there is a reason, and I want to give you an example. We have a situation with the Ford Motor Co. When I was the minister—I've said this before—the announcement of the van plant in Oakville was initiated during my tenure in office. I'm not saying I was the cause of it; it just happened that I was the minister when those negotiations started.

## 2020

Ford came to me and said: "We have an opportunity to put a \$2-billion investment into Oakville, but we are competing with St Louis, Missouri, and we've got to go to our board in Michigan and we've got to convince them to put that facility into Oakville. Now, before we can even start, we need a level playing field."

To suggest that Ford Motor Co is coming to Ontario to get a handout so it would put their facility in Oakville just isn't true. It doesn't make any sense. What they are saying is that: "If we have to convince our board to put that investment into Oakville, we have to be able to show that it is going to be as competitive as the alternate possible location in St Louis, Missouri. We've taken a look at the facility. We need better infrastructure because it isn't there. We need additional water lines. We need additional electrical lines. We need additional roads and we also need a better-trained workforce."

When they talk about a better-trained workforce, they are not talking about training people to work in their particular company, because it changes. What was great technology yesterday could be obsolete. It's new technology. What they need are people who have been trained to be taught or taught to be trained, which is really more like it. Most companies will say to you: "We don't want the community colleges or universities teaching people to do the specific jobs that we do, because if you do that, that's all they'll be able to do. We want you to teach these people to be able to be trained so that in six months, three years or whatever it is, when a new technology comes along, we will be able to build on it."

I want to tell the story, and I think it's very, very significant, and again because many of you were not here at the time, you may not have heard it, but it is the classic story. That is the story of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. We had a situation in Ontario where Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co had been on the lakeshore for nearly 90 years. When they shut the plant down, there was a bitter, bitter labour dispute. Those of you in the labour movement, I'm sure, will remember it, and it had to do with severance and it

had to do with a whole range of things. When Goodyear left Toronto, it left with a very bitter feeling.

The automobile industry is dependent on tires. At one time, we had a whole range of tire production facilities in Ontario. I would mention to the member for Essex-Kent, when he said I might be afraid of technology, that I graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I'm not afraid of technology. My first job was the head of design for Dunlop Rubber. We had a huge plant out in Whitby. I had some input into designing the foam rubber part of it. Firestone had a huge facility in Hamilton. Goodyear had a huge facility in Toronto. All of them gone.

We were then in a position where it made no sense that Ontario, as the largest producer of automobiles in Canada, should not be in a position to have the tires that go on those cars produced in Canada. So we went to Goodyear and we said to them, "Would you please consider putting another plant in Ontario?" They said, "We will consider it."

What they did is quite interesting. They said, "You select the site for us that you think would suit our needs." Again, I'm not telling any tales out of school, but first of all, they had some criteria. They said, "We want to be east of Oshawa." The reason for that is they didn't want to get their supplies coming through the congestion of the Golden Horseshoe. They said, "Get us a facility that is east of Oshawa. We want it to be on Highway 401 and we want to be able to be within an hour and a half's drive of Oshawa."

We went out and started to work on that particular project. The people at MITT came back and said, "We have what we think is the best site for Goodyear," and it happened to have been in Morrisburg, Ontario. As I say, I'm not telling any tales out of school when I say that was the recommendation.

We forwarded that to Goodyear and Goodyear came back and said, "No, we're going to Napanee." And we said: "Napanee. Why would you go to Napanee?" Not that we had anything against Napanee; we just felt that Napanee, in our opinion, was not as good a location as a site in Morrisburg. No matter how hard we tried, because we believed—as I say, rightly or wrongly—that this is where they should be. They said, "No, we're going to Napanee."

When the deal was finally completed and the chairman came from Akron, Ohio—I remember it as if it were yesterday—and we signed the agreement in the Premier's office and I signed on behalf of the province of Ontario, I said to the chairman, "Now that we have signed this deal, could you tell me why you went to Napanee?"

He said, "Mr Minister, it is very simple. As soon as we decided on this project, we got a team of people together and we sent them out into eastern Ontario and we said, Here, draw a circle with the centre being in Oshawa, going east 150 miles, and canvass every high school in that area and report back to us as to what community has the best technical high school in eastern Ontario." Our reports came back and said that Napanee has a program that is the best in all of eastern Ontario."

They said: "That is where our plant is going, because that is where we are going to get the kind of workers that we can train. We want these kids coming out of high school. We will teach them what they have to know in our business, but we will train them."

The plant is now in Napanee, it's up and running, and I have told that story for the last four years, and it's an indication of what our major problem is.

OTAB has got lots of problems and I don't have time, unfortunately, to go into them, but I think that it can only work if it is done in conjunction with a look at how we train people, how we provide the incentives, how we provide the motivation for young people to say: "You know what? I can make a meaningful and productive life by doing something at a very young age that will allow me to prosper in an area that will give me some satisfaction as a person working in industry."

That is where it's going to have to take place. If all you're being is reactive and you're worrying about people who are being laid off and you're saying, "What do we do with these people," then you get the problem that we're in right now. We have no shortage of skilled labour at the moment, relatively speaking. I can tell you, the 11% unemployed of the population of Canada—and the same numbers in Ontario—there's a significant proportion of those people who are highly trained. Their problem is not skills training; their problem is, they don't have a job. There are not jobs there for them. You can train from now till the end of time, and unless it is done in conjunction with jobs, you're really not resolving your problems.

I admit that there are lots of people who need training and should be trained. I think OTAB could provide that particular aspect of the whole chain. There are problems with it that can be resolved, and hopefully we can make some amendments that will do it. But I think that to fool yourselves to think that OTAB is going to solve all of the problems, that it's going to make this a workers' Utopia, is short-sighted, it's irresponsible and it's not going to work. I think it's got to be just one of the initiatives in conjunction with a whole series of others, and I commend all of us to put our minds to that.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): I thank the honourable member for Wilson Heights for his participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Willowdale.

Mr Harnick: That was, indeed, a speech that I think we can all learn something from.

The member for Wilson Heights points out very clearly that jobs do not come directly from training programs; they come from business and industry and labour being competitive. If business and labour are competitive within the marketplace, then there will be jobs and there will be the need to train people for those skilled jobs. I think the member very clearly stated that. When I look at this bill, I see very little that connects what's going on in the technical schools, in the community colleges and in the high schools to what is going on or should be going on in the labour market.

## 2030

I see in this bill the creation of a huge bureaucracy. I see in this bill all kinds of questions about how OTAB is ultimately going to be funded. Is it going to be funded

ultimately by payroll tax? Is it going to make our industry and labour less competitive? What's going to happen to the 70% of people who are not unionized? Are those non-unionized people represented on OTAB? What is the connection between educators and those 70% of non-unionized workers? I don't see a great deal of impact that educators have in the OTAB process. I see two directors representing education.

Where is the connection between the education system and jobs? Where is the connection between competitiveness? Is our impact and focus here going to be on social change, or is it going to be on competitiveness? Those are some of the questions I'm left with.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): It's a pleasure to join in on this. Talking about what the member for Wilson Heights was saying about having relationships with Gord Wilson and Leo Gerard, I have a relationship with my chamber of commerce, and yes, I can debate with it and I can talk with it. But do they agree with me? Do they listen to me? That's the point, and not so much a relationship. A relationship is fine. You have to be listened to and they have to take you seriously, and that's the point a lot of people miss. We have to be taken seriously and I don't think that's there.

As far as having jobs that are geared to the training program is concerned, I remember that when the minister was in Guelph at the Traxle plant, Mr Hasenfratz said that had it not been for this program, this company would be relocated in Ohio, not in Guelph. There are 200-plus jobs that are going to be created through this program in Guelph, because of this program. I'm very happy for this program. I'm glad the minister did finally get something going.

That's what Mr Hasenfratz was talking about. The training is not only important, but when you look around the world, especially in the United States, they're not spending enough money on training. He praised this program. He praised what the government was doing and he said that it was about time a government finally was doing something serious about the training program.

As far as people who work in trades not being given the credit is concerned, we can look back through our education system and understand why people who go into the trades and into technical programs are always looked down on. That's why I think we also have to take in conjunction with what the Minister of Education is saying about destreaming. That will help to wipe away the stigma that's attached to going into basic courses, and let's face it—

Interjection.

Mr Fletcher: To the member across from me who is heckling, let's face it, there are a lot of people who have been streamed into programs that they should never have been streamed into. That's why I agree with what the Minister of Education is doing, and also with this minister.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Bradley: I want to commend the member for Wilson Heights on an extremely thoughtful speech. He is a person who has maintained his interest in matters of business and training and education, despite the fact that he is in opposition where he does not have the direct ability to make those changes. Actually, there are some people in this province who are under the impression that he is still the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology.

I was walking through the hall today and I saw a large delegation of people with him from one of the republics that used to be part of what we called the Soviet Union—Kurdistan, in this particular case. He's known for meeting with people from all parts of the world in all parts of the world, and brings a very wide experience to this Legislature. I think it's extremely important to have that kind of person in this Legislature, and I certainly appreciated the remarks he made.

I was taken particularly with the remark he made—as a former teacher, I can recall this, and all of us, I'm sure, have made this observation—that we in our society, unfortunately, in Canada tend to relegate technical education to the bottom rung of the ladder where it should not be.

It was always discouraging when talking to parents who wanted their sons or daughters to become doctors, lawyers, politicians or something that involved wearing a shirt and tie all day long and not working with their hands, but rather, supposedly, working with their minds. I always thought we had lost an awful lot by parents who would not allow children who had very good technical skills, the same people who have to fix so much of what I am unable to operate with my limited knowledge of these technical things—I always thought that was a tragedy and I hope OTAB elevates those kinds of jobs to something higher than what they've been in the past in the minds of Canadians.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The member for—

Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings): Prince Edward-lennox-South Hastings, Mr Speaker. I want to respond to the member for Wilson Heights' comments and say that I find it very interesting to hear him speaking about eastern Ontario and the high school in Napanee, a high school that certainly had some qualities that Goodyear thought were advanced enough, proficient enough for it to establish its plant in, actually, Richmond township, which Reeve Howard Cuthill would think was probably his baby. But let's be honest and say that Neil Lambert, the mayor of Napanee, would think this was very important for his town as well. Indeed, Goodyear says it is located in Napanee.

I understand that they hired locally, and it's true that as a result of the technical expertise of Goodyear, the high calibre of the students—I might add as well that it's Mike Breaugh's alma mater, Napanee, so it doesn't just produce good technical students; it produces good politicians as well.

In spite of that, Goodyear is a plant of excellence. I understand it is the number one tire manufacturing plant in the world with regard to the quality of product it produces. I think that's what the member was saying.

I've got to add this as well: When you're looking at jobs in the job market, it's all fair and well for the employer or the manufacturer to train its employees, but I think in times of great unemployment, which we have right now, we have to look at what the manufacturers on the global scale are looking for and produce people with the training and the skills that will cause those manufacturers, those industries, to locate in our province. I think that's what OTAB is designed for and that's the reason OTAB is being established, to train these people for those needs in particular.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings and I apologize for my reticence in remembering his constituency. The honourable member for Wilson Heights has two minutes to make a response.

**Mr Kwinter:** I want to thank the members who have commented on my address.

I just want to tell you one other story if I have the time to do it. When Honda established its facility in Alliston, Ontario, it decided consciously that it didn't want to hire people who had been trained in making automobiles. They hired locally. They went out and literally got people off the farm and trained them. They trained them in the way they wanted them to be trained, to produce the Honda automobile.

A couple of years after they had finished the facility, trained their people and started producing cars, Honda in Japan said to them, "We want you to take two cars off your line at random and send them back to us." They went to Marysville, Ohio, where they have a huge Honda facility and they said, "Take two Honda Accords at random and send them back to Japan." They went to their Japanese facility, took two cars and said, "We're now going to analyse them as far as quality, finish, tolerances are concerned, all of these things," and after their evaluation, they determined that the two best Hondas built in the world were being built in Alliston.

### 2040

I told that story to the president of Toyota when it established itself in Cambridge. They said: "We have exactly the same situation. We have American dealers specifying on their orders that they want a Cambridge Corolla. They want the car to come from Cambridge because of the finish." I spoke to the president of the Cami operation in Ingersoll, and he confirmed the same thing.

What we have is the ability to train our people. There is no question about it. We have the people who can be trained. We have to make sure that it is done properly, and if the OTAB initiative will do it, God bless, but I'm saying, to just assume that some kind of bureaucratic structure is going to solve the problem, is shortsighted.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

**Mr Jordan:** It's a privilege this evening, on behalf of my people in Lanark-Renfrew, to have the opportunity to comment on Bill 96.

The member for Wilson Heights has really, you might say, taken part of my presentation, because in touring industry in Lanark-Renfrew, they're not asking for trained personnel. In the high-technology industries that we have, which aren't that many, they're very well run, they're very well managed, they're not that large, and I might say, they're not unionized; unions in the riding of Lanark-Renfrew are a very low percentage of the work force.

The point I want to make, relative to what the member for Wilson Heights has been saying—he has given us a very informative talk and I'm sure everyone agrees—from his experience and his general business experience, is that we might be moving into something here that's going to be very, very expensive and maybe not that successful.

Coming back to my tours of the industry in my riding, of which I'm more comfortable to talk about, they would like to get good grade 12 or grade 13 students from our education system, and they will do the training. They really appreciate the government assistance that they are getting to do that training. There are no administration costs there. There are none of the buildings and all that's required in what we're talking about in the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board that is going to be set up.

This Ontario Training and Adjustment Board is going to absorb, I understand, right off the bat, about 800 civil servants who are already employed in the different agencies, plus all the bricks and mortar and the directors and everything that goes with a corporation such as this. The other scary thing is that even though the minister, the member for Hamilton West, has, I'm sure, put a lot of thought into this in bringing it to the Legislature, I'm sure he too realizes the cost and the fear that it could go astray and become very administration-heavy, and reach the point where he, as minister, or his government is not really going to have the input or control that he would like to have as the corporation develops.

I know that Ontario Hydro, for instance, is a different type of corporation but it too got away to the extent that the government saw Bill 118 as being necessary to try and get a grip on it. I have the same fears that when we establish this body, it too could become a very expensive item for the taxpayer, and maybe not produce the finished product in personnel and workers that the manufacturers, businesses and industry require. The last plant I was in last Friday is very high in technical requirements in education and, as the manager and the instructor explained to me, two years from now it'll be all changed again.

They have an ongoing continual education system there. It's almost a school in itself. They give freedom of research, they give freedom of development and they give general guidance to the finished training that they want from that individual. They know after three months if that individual does have the understanding and the basics to develop through their program and it works out to be a two- or three-year program. The young fellows I met there that are actually in charge of departments are between 25 and 35. They started in there about 21 years of age and some of them at 18 as they came out of high school.

This act establishing the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board gives me a little concern that it appears now to be orientated to labour, and when I say labour I mean organized labour. That's only about 30% or 40% of the workforce, and it's far less than that in my riding. So

there's the concern that if the manager and director of the company that I'm referring to were not going to have some input on that board to give direction as to the type of training and the level of training they were expecting to see before that student, if you will, would come to their plant, then all of our money, all of our good intentions could be in vain.

We might think we're doing a wonderful job, we have a wonderful corporation set up here and we feel it's representative of the business, labour and workforce and that we are going to have in the end exactly what we need as the economy picks up and high-tech industry moves into Ontario. I'm afraid at the rate that the high-tech equipment in these plants is changing that we're facing a very expensive system that is not going to adapt itself to the actual workforce.

I really believe that the plant that assumes and takes on these people is going to have a real training exercise to do still. They tell me that they can do that from a grade 12 education base. They would prefer that the individual didn't have this other technical training, because he comes in there assuming he's ready and can take over and go to work. It creates unrest, it creates a relationship there with management that we're not spending this money to create.

I know the government is sincere in its intention, and the minister for sure, that the work he has put into establishing this is to create a well-trained technical group in Ontario that is ready to go as the economy picks up. We know the jobs aren't there. We know the policies that the government is using today are not being successful. Jobs are disappearing every day. We may be creating jobs in one pocket and, on the other hand, we're losing three to one on the other side. So the jobs just aren't there.

I go back again to the member for Wilson Heights. In his presentation he tried to make clear to us that companies know what they want. He pointed out that he had a delegation that went across eastern Ontario looking for a site for Goodyear. They were going to have the expertise from government to tell Goodyear where its plant should be.

But who had the money invested? Who was going to be investing the money? The Goodyear company was investing the money and the Goodyear company had the common sense to send its own people out and do a survey of eastern Ontario. What did they base the criteria on? Not on how many pre-trained people there were. They went to the high schools to find which school in eastern Ontario had the highest rating in technical training for the people coming out at the grade 12 level.

# 2050

The member for Wilson Heights has considerable experience, not only in business but in government and in cabinet. I was quite impressed with his presentation, because it ties into what I'm being told as I talk with people in the constituency office and visit industry and manufacturing in my riding.

We talk about disentanglement of government from the private sector. If we form this corporation as it's laid out, there are going to be two cochairs, seven directors representing business—I understand business has already indicated that the layout is such that it doesn't feel comfortable

in taking part—seven directors representing labour, which appears to be an even pitch, but let's go on. There will be two directors representing educators and trainers—these people can be from the government—one director representing francophones, one director representing persons with disabilities, one director representing racial minorities and one director representing women.

We've got a mix here. We've got away from training. Now we've got a mix in here of who we're going to train and what mix of people we're going to train. If you're running your own business, just stop and think. You want to train the person regardless. You're not going to look at any of these social factors. You're not going to discredit anybody because of some social disability, whatever it might be. Surely you're going to treat everyone fairly and you're going to have the best you can acquire to come on to your production line, to come into your plant, to be part of your business, part of your manufacturing or industry or whatever it might be.

There's pressure put on governments on an ongoing basis. We talk about unemployment and we keep shouting, "Why don't you do something?" We talk about the training of personnel and we tend to holler to government, "Why don't you do something?" But every time we talk about that, we're talking about taking money out of my pocket, putting it through the government, with all the administration costs, and bringing it back to my riding with only about a third of it left.

I would prefer to see the government disentangle and withdraw from this and make money available to my plants, to my people who say they are capable of training them from high school. We're spending a fortune now on education, for God's sake. We can't afford what we're doing in the education system. This is basically an extension of the present education system.

I say it's time to ask ourselves whether there an overlap here, when we have people coming out of high school with a good grade 12 or grade 13 base and they're not interested in going on to one of the professions, as the member for Wilson Heights mentioned, whether it be lawyer, doctor, school teacher or whatever, they're interested in entering the workforce.

I see the Minister of Energy yawning over here. I think perhaps Ontario Hydro is a good example of training. They have an excellent training program at Ontario Hydro. They bring them in from grade 13. They make them number one tradesmen here at Pickering and they've also trained them there now to bring them on to Darlington. I don't think the government helped them, that I know of, to train those people and we wonder why maybe our hydro rates are high.

**Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Energy):** Ontario Hydro's an agency of the government.

Mr Jordan: Right. These are some of the things that Hydro's been doing for years, but it's out of control and you're afraid to issue a directive, you see. I'm afraid, Mr Minister, that you're going to create another corporation that in three years' time will be out of control. It'll be like the Workers' Compensation Board.

The Treasurer said this afternoon, "I can't do anything about it. They've given me the evidence here. It shows that it's approved by their board. They're going to build this new building. They're going to occupy part of it. They're going to become landlords. They're going to occupy part and they're going to rent part out," and we've got millions of square feet downtown that aren't occupied.

I would ask the government, in all sincerity, to go slow on this act to establish this Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. If you do establish this board—and I hope this goes to committee where we can have some input from some of the people I'm talking about in my riding, that they can come to that committee and explain to you the success they're having with the young people in Canada coming right of our high school system. We've been very critical of our education system. We're saying we should judge the teachers on their results, which are the students coming into the workforce.

I don't like to see the teaching profession just blanketed as being not of successful rating because a minority number of the graduates of school are not measuring up to what we expect them to be. I think, generally speaking, Ontario has an excellent education system, and with a little direction from the ministry it can be easily improved without too much cost.

From that education system I would like to see the responsibilities of this group that you're establishing reduced considerably. I would certainly ask that this government give a sincere opportunity to private enterprise to be on this board, to be part of this corporation. The representation that you have here is not sufficient. It's not sufficient.

We're starting out with a very unbalanced base. I can understand that, because you're coming from the base as a government that labour can do this and labour will do this and labour will supply trained people, but that doesn't say they're going to be trained, as I said before, to suit me, the business that's going to use them. I'm going to have to spend the same amount of dollars as if I got them right from high school and retrain them for the position I want.

I don't have the time and I'm sure others have more that they would like to contribute to this debate. I would sincerely ask the minister to just think about the future two or three years down the road, should this become law, the costs involved and the duplication that's going to be there. Even though we think we have a finished product that we've trained through this corporation, when it hits the actual floor of the plant, you're going to find that the student is going to be very disappointed, management is going to be very disappointed and management is still going to be looking for some assistance to retrain, which sometimes is very difficult.

#### 2100

Sometimes it's very difficult to retrain someone who really and truly believes that he came there well trained for the job in high tech that was advertised. Technically he might be, but for the equipment that plant has, from my experience, it's that two to three years of training that he gets on the job with that company that makes him part of the company and makes him an employee who's going to

be there for a long time, not somebody who's going to be in and out and on and off of unemployment or welfare.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I have listened to the member for Lanark-Renfrew and I would say that 20 years ago I might have applauded his speech. But today I wouldn't applaud the speech. Last May my office set up an OTAB meeting at Niagara College, bringing together labour, business and educators to put input into what this bill is today. I can tell you one thing: If we have to depend on McDonald's to train somebody how to flip hamburgers, that's all he'd be able to do, is flip hamburgers.

We're talking about high tech today. We're not talking about bringing somebody in with grade 12 and trying to teach him just one trade, maybe running a drill press. All of a sudden that company changes. They've got an automatic drill and they don't know how to operate an automatic drill press. What we will be able to do in this training program is to talk to business and labour, to come together on what type of trades and what type of high tech are needed in that particular area. That's why there are 22 boards—because it's around the province; there are different industries in all different areas—so that people are trained in that particular field.

A company will locate if it's already got the trained workers. This particular rubber company was looking for an area with qualified people to a certain point, grade 12. They did train them, but they were looking for the best area. There were some other elements also, such as the cost of property in that particular area. It wasn't so much education; there were a lot more factors there.

I believe there still has to be a combination of on-thejob training, and the colleges, universities and the high schools involved in the training coming up.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Questions and/or comments?

Mr Harnick: I'd just like to commend the member for a fine presentation, because he touched on, in a very limited time period, all the things that really had to be said about this bill. One of the things that really concerns me is the fact that I know, from the past performance of this government, that when this becomes law, its members are just going to be breaking their arms patting each other on the back. They're going to say: "Boy, we've solved all the problems. We have a training program in place that's just foolproof." But the fact of the matter is, we're going to have as few jobs in this province as we do right now if this government doesn't start to believe in allowing business here to be competitive.

We asked the Treasurer today, "Are you going to be raising taxes?" The Treasurer wouldn't give us an answer. We asked the Treasurer today a very straightforward question: "How big is the deficit? What is the deficit in the province of Ontario right now?" The Treasurer wouldn't give us an answer. As long as that's the climate that the government is creating, as long as it's not willing to be candid and as long as it's not prepared to embark on a direction that is going to permit business to be competitive,

then we're not going to have business wanting to locate in this province.

You can have all the training schemes in the world, but you're not going to be training anybody for jobs if the jobs are not there and available. I have some real fears that the government is just going to be patting itself on the back but, at the same time, neglecting the real problems that have to be solved in order to create jobs. Bill 40: That's not going to create any jobs in this province. High taxes: That's not going to create any jobs. High deficits: That's not going to create any jobs. You can have the best training scheme in the world, but it isn't going to work.

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired. The member for Essex-Kent.

Mr Hayes: First of all, I'd like to make one short comment on the remarks the member for Willowdale made, that this government is going to be slapping itself on the back after we get the OTAB into play. However, the way I see it, the member, and other members across the floor, like the member for Willowdale, are going to be coming back and saying: "I didn't believe it. You guys actually were able to do this, the things we couldn't do for many, many years."

The member for Lanark-Renfrew made comments in regard to how employers wanted people who had grade 12 or grade 13 and how they would train them the way they wanted to train them. That all sounds just dandy but, at the same time, the member says we shouldn't go through with this kind of program because it's going to cost us too much money. Then he says: "Let's give it to a corporation that wants to train workers exactly the way it wants. Let's give them the money. Let's not let the workers or the workers' representatives have any say in how this works." I'm sorry, I really have to disagree with that.

If you talk about OTAB, the member for Lanark-Renfrew speaks as though it's just a one-shot-deal OTAB system, "You're going to get one bid at training and then, sorry, we can't train you any more." The whole idea of this process is to train and continue to train workers to meet the needs of the changes in technology, to be competitive in the workforce, the thing we have failed to do many, many times.

It's also in conjunction with our education system. I think that's very important for the member for Lanark-Renfrew to understand. It's going to be in the colleges and also on the work floor, in the workplace, and I think it will work very, very well.

The Speaker: The member's time has expired.

Mr Curling: I listened very carefully to the member for Lanark-Renfrew and the only credit I can really give the Conservative Party is for developing community colleges. I think the infrastructure was there. I think they were rather lacking in proceeding and getting training developed at that time.

**Mr Harnick:** Not a minor accomplishment.

Mr Curling: No, it's no minor accomplishment. It was one of the backbones, as I said, the main structure of dealing with some other students who were not able to go on to university. Today, many of the community college

students stand very proud because they were very practically trained.

So I would say that although some of the comments he made—I would not take everything word for word, but I'm sure the minister is listening very carefully to what you have said and will take that into consideration. Some of the members may feel differently about that.

It is important that the contribution of the opposition here will make a better OTAB. We still have great concern about how it is structured. I have great confidence in the bureaucrats who will put it together, because they are quite flexible individuals. They are listening too, and I'm sure to convince the bureaucrats, the minister would not take such a long time to do so. They are listening and the minister is quite receptive to some of the changes put forward.

I'm looking forward to our next speaker, who will comment in much more detail on the direction in which this OTAB program should go—this is like all of his introductions—a man who has known this place, how it works; who knows about training, a previous teacher. Quite a few of them are here today. I want you to listen very carefully to one of the best parliamentarians and one of the best speakers in this House.

**The Speaker:** The member for Lanark-Renfrew has up to two minutes to respond.

2110

Mr Jordan: I appreciate the remarks from my colleague from the government side here, from the riding of Essex-Kent. He is saying, I believe, and my friend from Lincoln is telling me, that what I'm saying might be all right 20 years ago. I take objection to that, because the people who trained people 20 years ago trained them on the equipment that was the most modern at that time.

I can assure you, if you come to the riding of Lanark-Renfrew and come on tour of the plant with me, and I take you into the classroom—for these students are being taught how to design, operate and run the equipment in that plant—you won't say that was all right 20 years ago. You'll scratch your head and say to yourself, "I better go back to grade 12 and grade 13 because I don't have the basic education that these young people have who are coming forward and accepting the training from these industries."

I think these members should spend some time going out to these high-tech plants, especially the ones that have their own education system there. You can actually, in this one plant, obtain a university degree through that plant with a few night courses from one of the universities just to qualify you for the degree. All the basics are right there in that classroom. The companies are very happy, they told me, with the assistance from government.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Lanark-Renfrew for his contribution to the debate and ask if there is any more debate. The member for St Catharines.

Mr Bradley: I appreciate the opportunity, limited as it is this evening, to participate in this debate. It is now 10 after 9, and I understand this debate must terminate at 9:30 by agreement of the House leaders, so I won't be able to be as effusive in the praise of the legislation as I'd hoped. I

may have to dwell more on the negative aspects, as much as that pains me to do so.

I want, first of all, to indicate the concept is one which I think has some universal support in this House. There is a genuine need out there, despite the fact that we have a lot of trained people and well educated people, to further train many of the young people who are coming into the work force so that they will be able to compete in the years ahead.

I think a lot of people of the present generation out there, perhaps most of the people in this House at least, came out in a time when it was relatively easy to get a job, even if one didn't have a good deal of skill in terms of technical or academic skills. That has changed dramatically. Those who are working, for instance, in industrial plants find that just as a way of eliminating, I suppose, a lot of people from potentially being employed, they now say you must have grade 12. It's a way of paring down the long list of people who may be looking for a job in a particular area. It has its other benefits as well. Those who do not have that find themselves in a position where it's difficult to get employment.

There's also a need for the retraining of people of all ages. It's been said on many occasions that most people who are coming up through the system today will have, in their lifetime, perhaps five or six jobs, whether it's within one operation or whether it's with different employers. For that reason, there will be a continuous need for retraining and re-educating of people in our society.

The director of student services at Seneca College sits beside me, the former director, and also the former president of the World Literacy Council of Canada. I was reading through his remarks in the House the other day and noting how perceptive he was of the problems that exist in our province—and I suspect in many provinces today and that have existed for some period of time.

There is a need out there. A lot of it can be done within the school system, within the community colleges, within the high schools and so on, but there is a need for a lot of on-the-job training because industries tend to have the most up-to-date equipment, they have the resources to purchase that equipment and they have specialized people there to deal with the specialized equipment that is in existence.

The role that traditionally the community colleges can play and the high school technical colleges can play, for instance, is one of a general technical education, not as specific as perhaps employers would like. So there's a need for on-the-job training and there's a need for input from various people in society who in the past, perhaps, have not had the kind of input they should.

People in the trade union movement have had some experience with those who have lost jobs. They know much of what has to be done in terms of training. People in business itself know what they want, and there are a number of other people who are represented on the board who certainly would be able to provide some valuable input.

I also recognize, however, that there's a potential problem with the bureaucracy. It's always dangerous, risky some would say it's a risk worth taking—when you establish an agency at arm's length from government. Particularly, I would think the people such as the treasury board chair would be concerned about this, because the ability to control the expenditures in a way that the government of the day deems appropriate is limited by the fact that there is a good deal of independence on such a board. While to the board itself that is an advantage, and perhaps to some who are supportive of that concept that's an advantage, certainly those who sit at the Management Board of Cabinet, and now as it's called, the treasury board of cabinet, would be somewhat apprehensive that those expenditures cannot be controlled.

The other problem you have is in terms of appointments. It's my understanding, and the minister will correct me if I am not correct on this, that the government will not be able to appoint the specific people, but will take nominees from the various categories we see here. That works sometimes, and I suppose those of us in opposition could say, "Well, that's good, because the government then cannot control it."

On the other hand, if the government has a model it wishes to implement—I've never been one who's felt that the government doesn't have the right to do this—it may well want to put people who it feels have a philosophy that is in keeping with what OTAB is all about, as opposed to some people who may have another agenda. I hope that doesn't happen, and I suspect it may not happen, but that's always a danger out there when the appointment isn't directly controlled by the government.

Some people would look at the WCB, the Workers' Compensation Board, and say, "There's an example of a lot of problems economically right now," and there are a lot of reasons for that. But there are a lot of people, I'm sure, who sit in the government today and say, "I wish we had more direct control over the WCB than we have at the present time," and when they look at OTAB they say, "Here's another agency outside of government with a big budget that we cannot control." There may be a worry about that, and I'm sure members of the cabinet and the government caucus will discuss that appropriately.

There is the development of a new bureaucracy, which is always a danger as well. We know how they grow, although the Treasurer at the present time is ensuring that they don't grow any more, in fact that they're contracting considerably, much to the chagrin, I'm sure, of most of the ministers who sit around the cabinet table, who would like to see their ministries developed in terms of new personnel, not because they want to build an empire, but because they feel it will allow them to carry out their responsibilities in a better way. Certainly, that's a justification I always made to the former Treasurer of this province when I was attempting to elicit more funds for the Ministry of the Environment.

I do think there is a need for a training model, and I think this has some potential. The member for Scarborough-Agincourt, Gerry Phillips, has identified some of the problems that we in the opposition have with this and caution about it. I don't know the degree of support it has from the business community. I think there's some support out there in concept. I would think the government today,

whether it likes it or not—any government, frankly, whether it likes it or not—would have to ensure that there is considerable business support; if not unanimous, then considerable business support.

It must be difficult for an NDP government particularly, but for any government, to know that business has the upper hand in terms of being able to dictate things that business in the past wouldn't have been able to, and it's because of the economic circumstances and the competitiveness we face. I would find that a difficult position, were I sitting in the position of the minister responsible for training in this province, the Minister of Colleges and Universities.

I want to identify some of the people who have not been entirely happy with this and whom I have chatted with. Those are people in the education system, who I think have felt that this all belongs within the domain of the education system. Indeed, the community colleges and the high schools, the secondary schools, can play and should play a very significant role. I do not accept the fact that they should play the entire role.

#### 2120

I have talked to some people in the trade union movement who say: "We have to have people who know what is happening on the plant floor, as well as people who have an academic background and some expertise they learned out of a textbook. We believe there is a necessity to have that kind of input," they will tell me and others, I'm sure, and I think there is value in that.

However, I can't believe that Liz Barkley is entirely happy with the model that has been developed. She is unhappy about a lot of things right now with the government, and I don't understand why, but apparently there is some unhappiness in the ranks of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. I see Larry French out in the hallway now. Someone told me his NDP card is fading, but the minister assures me it's not. I was thinking if Wendell Fulton were out there now, that may pose a problem for the government.

But I do want to alert the minister, and I'm sure he's aware of it, that some people in the community college system and some people in the secondary school system are concerned that the role they play will be diminished considerably. Even though the funding is attractive, the role they play will be much diminished by the number of seats they have on the OTAB board, and they would certainly want me to advance the case for more of those seats. I will advance the case because I know how supportive the OSSTF can be of governments over the years and of good things in education, as well as the Ontario Teachers' Federation and others. I think they recognize as well that it's a matter of lifelong learning that we have and they feel they have a role to play in lifelong learning.

One of the reasons we need some of this retraining—and I'm going to diverge a bit with the indulgence of the Speaker, because I don't have that much time—is circumstances such as my colleagues and I from the Niagara region are facing with General Motors in St Catharines. We were all extremely saddened on February 24 when the news came forward that the foundry in St Catharines

would be closed, or at least the announcement was made that it would be closed, and one of the lines on the engine plant would be discontinued.

We were of course hit with a double whammy today, the news that 800 jobs would be disappearing if there was not a buyer found for the axle plant in St Catharines. All of us share a great concern about that, because each one of us—I know the minister has responded to the member for Lincoln and the member for St Catharines-Brock and I in one way or another—he or staff—about apprentices and the position they're placed in when we have a situation where there is an announced closing and we see the layoffs start to take place. There is a relationship there.

We are in the dilemma in St Catharines—I was speaking to the member for Chatham-Kent about this a while ago in the House—a lot of people would be aware, of having a highly efficient plant, a highly efficient foundry, and certainly the axle plant is very competitive, a well-run plant. The equipment we has been good equipment and certainly the workers have been well-trained.

There has been excellent cooperation between the CAW and General Motors in terms of the training of those people to ensure that the plant is competitive, and that's not easy. It's not easy to go to workers and say, "We're going to make these technological changes and, by the way, it may result in five people being able to do the job that it used to take 10 people to do." That's very hard. For a company, it's a business decision. For members of a trade movement union to have to convince those they represent that this is essential to keep competitive in a world market is mighty difficult.

We face a situation in St Catharines where we have very competitive plants, yet the people were told today that there are 800 more jobs to go. I'm very apprehensive, because we've seen the blood-letting that's taking place at the top echelons of General Motors, and we can anticipate there will be further closing that will be announced in the future.

We're also concerned, and I was discussing this with some of my colleagues from the Niagara region, about the fact that GM appears to be dismantling the plant piece by piece: engine plant, foundry and axle plant. Although we're hopeful that with some good luck, good management and some hard work on the part of many people, we might be able to recover some of those operations.

I'm sure the government will be working in that direction and I, as an opposition member, will be continuing to draw to the attention of the government the need to do that, as I can as an opposition member in a very public way, and the government members in a more private way are able to do directly to the Premier, members of the cabinet and those in authority.

When you look at a situation where we have a lot of pride among our workforce—again, I was discussing this with the member for Chatham-Kent, who's experienced some closings in his community—there's a lot of pride in Canada. The member for Wilson Heights, Monte Kwinter, said earlier that people overseas were impressed with the kind of work done by Canadians and I can certainly confirm

that in our community. There's a lot of pride among workers in our community.

If there's an open house at the plant, they're proud to show you what they're doing and they're proud of the quality of product that's produced, and so they are popular in other places in terms of the items they produce in the components industry in the automotive industry.

But we have now 750 people who are indefinitely off. A lot of those people are going to require retraining and the question they ask is—and I'm sure the minister runs into this constantly—"Well, if you're going to retrain me, what are you going to retrain for? Is there a job out there?" That's another role and responsibility that senior levels of government have, to try to build a good climate for investment and get the economy going again so those people will have jobs to go to.

But that doesn't mean we should abandon a retraining program simply because there are no jobs to go to. The minister has indicated in the material he's provided that the local training boards, for instance, will be identifying where those needs will be. They'll be evaluating the programs there and they'll be removing the silly duplication that used to exist between federal and provincial programs that sometimes will be competing with one another. I think that's a positive outgrowth of this piece of legislation.

The concern of all of us who represent the Niagara region and others dependent upon the automotive industry is a fear that some day the whole plant might go, and that's easier to do the more components that come out of the plant. The more parts of the operation that are tugged away, the more people become apprehensive that we will not have a plant in the future.

That would be extremely damaging to our community where I would estimate now—and I'm sure my colleagues would agree—about \$140 million a year is being lost, counting this latest layoff, in terms of yearly salary and wages as a result of the announced closings; that to our community.

That means we should be advancing the rate at which the Ministry of Transportation is moving to St Catharines; the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation is moving to Niagara Falls. All those things, all these new jobs, all the diversification is good for a community and is helpful, but the minister knows, through the OTAB program and other training programs, that it's essential we maintain our present industries as well.

I resent people who tell me that somehow we should abandon the old industries, that automatically, "We can't compete industrially and you know you're foolish to try to continue to be in the automotive industry," or whatever: heavy industry, the smokestack industries they're talking about.

Well, I'll tell you that the smokestack industries have produced a lot of jobs: well-paid jobs, good jobs, important jobs, jobs that brought pride to people in our province, and I think we can continue them if we can change and adapt quickly.

I know that's one of the goals of the board. I hope in its functioning, as it's established, that it will allow us the versatility, the flexibility that's needed, so that people

within the plant can be assisted in changing to new ways of doing things so the plant can stay open, not simply so they can say, "I've left General Motors and I now have to find something else"—some will have to be in that position—but so that within the corporation, within the auto sector, they will be able to make the kinds of adjustments that will keep us competitive in a world that is extremely competitive today.

That's the hope I have. I want to be somewhat optimistic in a very pessimistic time. I want to be somewhat optimistic that this is one of the tools that can be used to get us back on track. I want to say to the minister that one of the positive things, because we in opposition tend to be negative and that's our responsibility—the government pats itself on the back all the time, so we know we can count on you to praise yourselves—but I want to tell the minister one of the things I think that all members of the House would agree with. You made an announcement that probably didn't get that much play. Some of the announcements do and some don't, but I thought that your retraining announcement made by your government, the money that was going into retraining in the automotive sector, was a very important move.

2130

I think you recognize, as we all do, that there is a need for that out there. A lot of people don't understand that one of the things companies look for is a well-trained workforce and a government that's prepared to assist in that. One of the initiatives was at the Ford plant in Oakville, and there's a general initiative that was announced, I believe by the Minister of Colleges and Universities, which I think has potential to be helpful in dealing with this particular problem.

All of us will want to work together on this. We can be critical, and I have my wishes when I ask questions of ministers that they had done as I had hoped they would do and cancel trips and meet with high officials and so on, but I have to look at the fact that we're here now. So what do we do now? We can learn from the mistakes of the past, if we believe governments had made mistakes in this regard, and I could list those but I'm not going to tonight, but I have to look forward to the future.

I think that one of the avenues to the future is found in OTAB. If it is properly implemented, if it is carefully implemented, if some of the suggestions from the opposition and from government members are adopted and if some of the suggestions the member gets from outside government circles are implemented, I think it has some potential to be one of the components to bringing us out of this recession or at least preparing us for the future when we come out of the recession, because people are going to want to invest somewhere. One of the things they're going to look at is, what is the potential for a well-trained, well-educated workforce? If OTAB can accomplish that, it will have been a benefit to this province.

I'm pleased to have had the opportunity to participate in this debate and to wish the minister well in this and to express the hope that, as I'm confident he will—he's been a member for a long time and he and I have been friends in this House, even if we haven't agreed on some occasions, for a number of years—he will show the flexibility necessary to make this the best possible piece of legislation that we can place before the House and have passed ultimately by the House.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for St Catharines for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I think the biggest irony about OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, is the fact that it seems to have ignored that there are already in existence something like almost 200 community industrial training committees in this province, and the other thing that really upsets me is the fact that OTAB will be putting out of operation these CITCs. If that is wrong, I would appreciate the minister clearing it up once and for all.

Minister, if you are planning to have community industrial training committees continue their work, then I hope that you will have somebody in your caucus have the opportunity in this two-minute rebuttal period to stand up and say that, because it's my understanding that CITCs are out of business within a year.

When you look at the mandate of CITCs—I'll just read you briefly what their mandates are: "To increase private sector involvement in training, to promote and ensure the development of a fully qualified workforce, to identify training needs within regions, to develop solutions to support required training, to implement training through partnerships and to promote competency-based training."

I think all of those areas can be interpreted as now coming under this new government bureaucracy called OTAB. I simply say, if OTAB doesn't work better than the Jobs Ontario \$1-billion fund to produce 10,800 jobs in two years, where we already have only 683 jobs—

The Speaker: The member's time has expired.

Mrs Marland: —we're really going to be in a lot of trouble.

**Mr Hope:** Before I make a comment, I believe there are 57 CITCs, not 200 CITCs, in the province of Ontario.

But to Mr Bradley, the member for St Catharines, I enjoy his comments, because he did reflect on an important value. I also know that the member comes from a teaching background, and he made reference to the teaching profession. As we deal with one element of the retraining program in making us meet the elements of the year 2001, I'm wondering what his views may be about education reform in making the major transition that has to happen in education in order to take us to that, because we can deal with OTAB with our current situations and the continuous situations.

But I'm looking at the future growth, the future of our society, with our young people and changing the education system under major reform to put more hands-on training to get us into the year 2001 to develop those training programs. He mentioned the teaching professions. I'm wondering if he wished to comment about those individuals, what their viewpoints are about education reform in being a partner with OTAB and with their education reform system.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments. The member for Scarborough North.

Mr Curling: I just want to maybe comment about my colleague the member for St Catharines that I am not at all disappointed in his remarks. As a matter of fact, I'm extremely impressed, and he did not disappoint me.

I just want to make a comment how well Parliament can work. When you have an excellent parliamentarian who contributes very objectively, an excellent minister who will listen and good bureaucrats to whom, after listening to the member for St Catharines, the minister will pass on these very objective remarks, all those changes will come about.

It is really a wonderful time to be experiencing that. It's a part of history for me to sit and hear that. I want to commend the minister for listening so attentively, and I look forward to proper legislation because of the contribution of my colleague the member for St Catharines.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I would like to congratulate the member for St Catharines, especially for tempering his remarks in adding a positive note to them as well.

But I would like to comment on some of the opening remarks that the minister made in his statement. He stated that the present system has a confusing, fragmented array of programs, and it's confusing because of overlaps. It's confusing because of gaps.

I agree with that, because those are the questions that I get in my constituency office all the time, whenever there are programs that are administered by several government agencies or several government ministries, because it seems to me that that gives everybody in government—the bureaucrats and everybody else—a convenient excuse to fob it off on another level of government or another agency.

I would hope that OTAB would not add to the confusion and not add to the overlaps and not add to the gaps by giving the government another reason for abdicating responsibility, by giving it another excuse for inaction, and by giving it another body on which to fob off decision-making. I would hope that OTAB would work as expected, so that we can get away from our present habit of importing our expertise from overseas because, when you take a look at most of our skills in Ontario and in Canada, they have been developed in eastern Europe, in western Europe and in other countries. These people are getting long in the tooth, so to speak, they're getting elderly, and we're not producing our own, native, Canadian skills and people to take over in our economy. That will be the essential ingredient for turning things around.

**The Speaker:** The member for St Catharines has up to two minutes for his response.

2140

Mr Bradley: I hadn't intended to take this much time, because of course there's another bill to come before the House. But I want to thank the members for their interventions here this evening.

I want to specifically answer the member for Chatham-Kent about the challenge we have of bringing the education system into a circumstance where it understands the problems that are out there in society. I think one of the things we have to do is expose those of us who are teachers to the reality of the workplace on many occasions. The students have that opportunity to a certain extent through cooperative education programs, which are promoted by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Students invariably will tell you how valuable it is to be able to go into the workplace to experience hands-on the circumstances that are faced by employees in various industries and businesses and perhaps departments of government.

We were just discussing how important it is to have teachers exposed to the need for change in certain areas, that, while many of us were trained as teachers a number of years ago, it's important as well to know what the changes are in society, because what we're preparing students for in 1992, as the member for Chatham-Kent mentions, in the year 2001 may be significantly different from what people had to be prepared for in the 1960s or the 1970s or perhaps even the 1980s.

The only way we can do that is to tap into the work-place, tap into people who have that hands-on experience in the workplace, and I hope that our education system is able to do that. There's always a resistance to change. I can recall, when I was in the classroom, how difficult it was to move me out of my old ways, but it did happen from time to time. I think if it's done in consultation with members of the teaching profession—this exposure to the realities of the workplace—it can be beneficial ultimately for the students and for those who are being retrained from industry and business.

The Speaker: Further debate? Does the minister wish to wrap up?

Hon Mr Allen: I want to thank all members for their contribution to the debate this evening and the other evening when we spent a good deal of time on the same subject. Carrying people through to midnight and getting home after the midnight hour had struck, and some of us having to get up very early the next day, I'm sure we weren't in the best of humour the day afterwards. But in any case, I've appreciated the remarks that have been made all around and, like every debate in the Legislature, it has its moments. It's a little bit uneven. But I thought that the member from the opposition who concluded the opposition's contribution concluded that side of the debate on a very high note and struck some very important emphases for us all.

Given the need to move on to another piece of legislation, I am not going to spend as much time as I had originally contemplated in responding to each of the major thrusts and themes that have come forward in the course of the debate. But I cannot ignore one or two of them.

In the first place, the emphasis and the notion that we are about to create, on the one hand, a highly privatized, and on the other hand, a highly bureaucratic structure in order to deliver training in Ontario is, I think, a misreading

of where the discussion is at and where the structure in fact is pointing.

All of our parties in the 20th century have contributed in one way or another to the growth of big government and big bureaucracy. All of us, I think, have an obligation at this point in history to begin to move self-government back to people, back to the roots, back to the levels of organization that can handle those issues and affairs most effectively, close to where the issues reside, and where decisions can most appropriately be made. That is essentially the objective that we have in mind in bringing together the kind of partnership that we have.

With regard to the size and scale of things, surely when the consumers of the service in question, such as the employers, such as the workers, such as the equity groups, such as the educators and trainers even, have a major say in the operation, they will want to see the resources deployed in as maximal a fashion as possible to the end product. They will ride herd on bureaucracy if it starts to creep into that structure, and that is why I think it's critically important that they have a very important say. At the same time, that does not mean government is simply spinning this thing off into a privatized affair. This body will be handling major public resources.

In the theory that underlies parliamentary government, representative government, that there must be no taxation without representation and all that implies and therefore the taxation has to be used for public purposes and governed by elected officials, it's critically important that there be clear accountability mechanisms that maintain this instrument functioning on behalf of the broad direction of government policy. We will have put in place a body governed not only by legislation and not only by a memorandum of understanding but also by annual business plans and operational plans that will have to be approved.

This agency will have to go before estimates. It will have to be approved. It will have to table long-term developmental plans. Unlike the Workers' Compensation Board, it will not have indirect, independent fund-raising ability and therefore the control over revenues and expenditures that allows the WCB to have significant potent independence of government. There are about 10 accountability measures one can list that will keep this agency under significant legislative and governmental control, so I'm not substantially worried in that regard, but it will need to be watched, like every agency does.

With regard to the resources that will be disposed, people have used figures of \$2 billion, \$1.6 billion and \$300 million to \$400 million. In the first instance, taking on the responsibilities of some 48 programs in 10 different ministries, this agency will have at its disposal somewhere in the range of \$400 million to \$500 million. The other figures people are referring to come from federal-provincial agreements that relate to the total input of dollars from the provincial government and the federal government into all and every aspect of training in Ontario. Those dollars and those programs will not all be at the disposal of OTAB.

I can, for example, refer to the training activities the colleges undertake, but those dollars are expended through MCU and they are not going to be at the disposal of

OTAB. There's the training that the school boards undertake in terms of school board budgeting. They will not be delivered by OTAB, but they will be delivered by school boards and under the broad direction and supervision of the Ministry of Education. So there are lots of dollars out there going into training that will not be OTAB's responsibility. I think it's important to remember that and keep those other figures in the background. It's critically important for the overall federal provincial agendas in terms of training in Ontario, but not specifically OTAB's responsibility as an agency of training.

With regard to representation, this organization—this board—will speak on behalf of all Ontarians for Ontarians for the training of all Ontarians. That will be their charge, not to function as individual members and as single constituencies who will be there only to represent this group or that group or another group; not at all. They will be charged with a broad public service responsibility, and in that sense everybody on that board will be functioning on behalf of each other and of all Ontarians who need the best training possible.

There are a variety of ways in which that will happen and I won't try to go into that. We can all discuss that in other forums at other times. This bill will be going to committee in order for there to be some more systematic discussion at that point. But I want to make it clear that where we are at this point in time is the result of a very substantial consultation, not just simply a very quick back and forth, a few minutes here and there in some public meetings in various places around Ontario, but long, drawn-out debates, meetings, countless in number, between my officials, myself and each of those constituencies and between each other. There have been innumerable meetings between labour and business, between each of those and the equity groups. There have been countless meetings in the French community, including French businessmen, French labourers and French equity groups—you name it. That debate is all out there, has been taking place and feeds into this bill.

## 2150

At this point in time there is quite a substantial consensus that lies around what we have got. It's important for all of us to understand that if we are to move this forward as a creative agency for us in the future, we must respect the fact that there is that degree of consensus there now. People have said that the business community doesn't support it or that the educators don't support it. I'm sorry; there is a steering committee of representative business people which lies behind this bill. The Canadian Federation of Independent Business, for example, sits on that committee. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association sits on that committee. The chambers of commerce sit on that committee.

Mr Bradley: Friends of your government.

Hon Mr Allen: Friends of my government? Well, of course. We listen and they tell us important things. In fact, as you know, recently the Premier's Council business group advised us on how to reconstruct the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology so it can serve Ontario

better, and we're doing it. Friends of our government? They want this government to function well and we want their advice in doing it. We're getting their advice on OTAB, as we are getting it from the francophone community, from the labour community, from all the equity groups, and as we'll be getting it, if it chooses to participate through its recognized representative organizations, from the aboriginal community.

I just simply want to say to everybody again that I very much appreciate the input we've received and recognize the fact that people have bent their thinking along the lines of a structure to come that will oversee the development, in a new way in Ontario, of a new training culture that will create a new quality of workforce, a new quality of product and, as people have said, including the member for Willowdale, an agency that will spur the competitiveness of business in this province as few things otherwise might possibly do.

That is critical and that is the end point. There's no question about that. Pulling together a cooperative structure that can promote that kind of competitiveness is the purpose of this bill. But it is also, by virtue of doing that, contributing to the improvement of the lives of working people, of equity groups in this province and so on. One cannot separate those two goals because the ultimate efficiency requires that there also be equity and the ultimate equity also requires that there always be efficiency. Otherwise the morality of both is lost.

I just want to conclude by again thanking the contributors.

Mrs Marland: How many are there?

Hon Mr Allen: I'll only say to the member for Mississauga South that it is absolutely important that, in the development of OTAB and the local boards that follow, everyone who is involved or has expertise can contribute to the training culture of the future, can stay in place, can be there, can contribute and can play a role in the structures that the local level, the federal government and the provincial government together have decided will need to be there in the future.

**Mrs Marland:** Are you doing away with CITCs?

Hon Mr Allen: That will mean that the CITCs indeed will change as formal structures. There will be local boards that I hope will catch up all that expertise and local energy and help us work together for the betterment of our communities and our industries all across Ontario.

Mr Speaker, with that, let me resume my seat. I formally once more move second reading of this bill.

The Speaker: It has already been moved.

Mr Allen has moved second reading of Bill 96. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

The motion carries.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Oh, you're voting—

Interjections.

The Speaker: All right. Members were not perhaps quite as quick to their feet as they should have been, but there were five members at the appropriate time.

Call in the members; there's a 30-minute bell.

Interjections.

The Speaker: "Pursuant to standing order 27(g), I request that the vote on the motion by the Honourable Richard Allen for second reading of Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, be deferred until Monday, December 7, 1992, at 6 pm.

"Shirley Coppen, chief government whip, member for Niagara South," and signed by her own hand.

The vote, accordingly, is deferred until that time.

LONG TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Where we left off last night, the member for Hamilton Centre had the floor and indeed she again has the floor.

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): Mr Speaker, the people in Halton Centre will be, I know, interested that I be identified correctly for the record.

As we began in this debate last night, addressing Bill 101, I indicated that it is virtually impossible to separate the discussion on Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care, from other announcements which were made by the Minister of Health, subsequent to her introducing this bill, with respect to other aspects of the long-term care reform program.

The issues which I have already touched upon include those which are of some serious concern in terms of the minister's actual plans and the timetable for implementation of those plans. We note that while this particular bill is on the table and spotty other announcements have been made in her next most recent statement, the minister is also looking forward to three or four additional announcements in January and then subsequently in the early spring, followed by another conference in March, and presumably this bill will be going to committee, or at least we certainly hope it will be going to committee. We believe that there's much in it that requires examination at the legislative level.

In the meantime, given the timetable on long-term care reform as espoused by the minister, we're concerned that, even though it appears that discussion involved with the actual implementation of factors associated with the linking of homes for the aged and of nursing homes, as presented in Bill 101, the level-of-care funding, comments which are made which will affect other aspects of the long-term care reform may well not be adequately considered because of the timetable the minister has presented to us.

2200

We certainly expect and hope that if there are additional pieces of information which come forward or additional concerns which are raised, the minister will take those into account as new issues are being placed on the table, since most of the aspects of long-term care reform will not be dealt with by this chamber. They will simply be announced by the minister in the House as policy positions and program delivery issues or will be presented through the regulations associated with this bill.

The regulations to this bill are indeed significant. Maybe I can just, for those who perhaps weren't watching the coverage of the debate last evening, walk through some of the issues that this bill looks at and then where the regulations fit in.

The first aspect, of course, relates to providing a new level-of-care funding to even out and provide more equity in the funding of extended care and other services for seniors and disabled people in nursing homes and in municipal and charitable homes for the aged. It presents new rules in association with admission to those facilities and indeed requires that the home itself will have no involvement in determining who may or may not be resident in that property. It sets up a new system whereby potential residents are assessed on a basis that I will be discussing further tonight, a new classification system which will look at their nursing and a few other needs, and designates an individual, or perhaps a corporation or an agency, which will in fact place the person, determine where that person can go and when that person can go there.

If we look at those aspects of the bill, what we see, what's written in the bill, is a broad policy statement. The implementation issues, the application of those policy statements, are included only in the regulations. Now, we know how the development of regulations works. I think this is a matter of some concern because regulations aren't developed in this place, where there is major public discussion and debate. In fact, they are developed within the ministry and one day they appear in the Ontario Gazette.

Let me just walk through what will be included in the regulations under this bill.

The regulations will prescribe, first of all, the payments—that is, the operating subsidies from the province—and the timing of those payments and the method of determination of those payments to nursing homes and homes for the aged.

The regulations will prescribe all the provisions relating to service agreements.

The regulations will prescribe the amounts which can be charged by any of these facilities for basic accommodation; the amounts which can be charged for preferred accommodation; the care, the services, the programs and the goods which must be provided to residents; the amounts which can be charged for the care, the services, the programs and the goods; the grounds for refusing admission to a home for a person; the specifications that must be followed in applying for admission; the eligibility criteria for admission—that's the patient classification; the classes of approved charitable institutions, and specifying

the classes of persons that may be cared for in each class of institution; the specifications for discharge from a nursing home or a home for the aged; the placement coordinators to whom applications may be made; the frequency with which applications for admission may be made; the requirements that the minister will specify for the treatment, care and discharge of residents; the provisions concerning consent by or on behalf of a person for admission to a home for the aged or to a nursing home; the process for the collection of information and investigations regarding financial and other circumstances of residents or people who are simply applying for admission; the requirements for the assessment and for the classification of residents; the requirement that portions of a bed capacity will be reserved for basic accommodation; for various classes of preferred accommodation; for short-stay accommodation; and the amount of capacity for each type of that particular accommodation.

The regulations will even define "accommodation," "basic accommodation" and "short-stay accommodation." They will determine and put forward the requirements for audited financial statements, for proofs of costs, for information about the levels of occupancy and any other information the ministry requires. The regulations will prescribe the methods for recovery of excess payments which may have been made. The regulations will prescribe what extraordinary events may occur for which additional grants from the ministry to the home can be made available. The regulations will prescribe the specifics regarding the records and the accounts that must be kept in these places.

The regulations will even prescribe how documents must be posted and specify which documents must be posted and the information that those documents must contain. The regulations will specify additional duties of supervisors and inspectors; that is, additional duties brought under this bill, additional to those now included, by example, in the Nursing Homes Act or in the regulations to that act.

The regulations will prescribe rules governing short-term stay payments. They will specify the rules governing plans of care, including the content of those plans of care, their development, implementation and revision. The regulations will prescribe any rules regarding quality assurance plans, including their development, implementation and revision, and the regulations will prescribe any other matter which the minister deems the regulations should prescribe.

It seems to me that this list of issues which will be prescribed by the legislation, which will not be debated on an individual level in this House, is a substantial proportion of what people are going to be facing and looking at as they are perhaps assisting in the selection or looking for a placement for a parent, a spouse or, in some cases, for a child or for oneself. These are issues which will directly affect one's own involvement in one's own care.

We know, by example, if we look at the Public Hospitals Act, that if people are interested in what the obligations of a hospital are, they will look at the Public Hospitals Act. It's rare that the average person would think

to consult the regulations. Yet what we see here is that these regulations will lay out how people can apply, how they will be tested to determine if they're eligible—the tests of eligibility. They will even prescribe the person who will make those tests and will also prescribe how a person can be discharged from a home.

It seems to me that each one of those issues should be discussed in substantial detail. I hope they will be addressed in committee, because there are some issues that aren't simple issues that have to be looked at; by example, the question of the determination of how one is eligible to get into a home. Clearly, the eligibility criteria are going to make an enormous difference to the kinds of decisions that are made in a community, to volunteer efforts in a community, as well as to the individual families looking at placement.

I want to address particularly the role of the placement coordinator. In my community, we have a placement coordinator who is an extremely efficient and positive person. We also happen to have in my community, of course, as I indicated last evening, the lowest level of long-term care facilities available for those who require them. We also have very pressured community-based agencies.

## 2210

The placement coordinator, in the case of the minister's proposals under Bill 101, will have quite extraordinary power, because the placement coordinator can determine precisely who can be selected and how they can be selected under rules that are set out in the regulations, and we don't know who they're going to be or how they're going to be trained. The only information that we have on the placement coordinators is that they will be designated by the minister. That's included in the bill. In a statement, the minister said they could be individuals, they could be corporations or they could be agencies, but that's all we know.

We don't know what their training will be, what their qualifications will be or what areas the work that they do will apply to. When I say "areas," I mean the geographic areas. In fact, there's no definition of the community, whether their mandate will be limited to one geographic area, whether because they will have the power to determine whether or not a person can enter a nursing home or a home for the aged—and the nursing home or the home for the aged must accept that person—whether in fact the results of their determination will be limited to the local community.

In the 14 offices in my area, which frankly I'm glad to see go, the geographical jurisdiction of those offices included Halton and Peel. Halton residents don't see Peel as a part of their community. I think that's one issue that—

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): And vice versa.

Mrs Sullivan: Well, exactly, and vice versa. There's a very different demographic and structural social base in those two areas, and yet we were lumped together. There's a very different approach among our agencies to the way social services are delivered. It's very clear that this would

not work for our particular community, for my community, and I suspect that's the case elsewhere.

Additionally, you will recall last night that I raised the issue of the availability of facilities in geographic areas. Will the placement coordinator in Halton, by example, be able to determine that a person from Halton who may in fact have grown up and spent his life in that community be required to be placed in Sudbury, where there are four times as many available long-term beds per population than there are in my own community? I think there is confusion and a lack of information about those issues, and I hope that when the minister speaks in this debate she will clarify some of those issues.

The other aspect where there is confusion, and I suppose it comes because of statements the minister has made with respect to the placement coordinator coming in first and then the service access agency coming in latterly, is what the role of the placement coordinator will be in—

Mrs Marland: Point of order, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: Point of order, the member for Mississauga South.

Mrs Marland: Mr Speaker, if the House is sitting till midnight and we have the kind of information the member for Halton North is bringing to this debate, which I think is critical, I think at least there should be a quorum in the House.

The Speaker: Clerk, will you count for a quorum, please.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Mrs Deborah Deller): A quorum is not present, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is present.

**The Speaker:** There is a quorum present and the member for Halton Centre can continue with her remarks.

Mrs Sullivan: I was speaking to the issue of the role of the placement coordinator and I think that one area where there is initial confusion that should be cleared up, and indeed I think that there should be discussion, is that while the reform is moving along, will the placement coordinator be limited to approving the admission of people only to nursing homes and homes for the aged, or will there be a role for the placement coordinator in placing people in other parts of the long-term care continuum? In other words, will the placement coordinator in the initial stages be the single access agency?

Another question is, because the bill provides that the placement coordinator may be located in each long-term care facility, will the placement coordinator be able to be an employee of the nursing home or the home for the aged? What about the question of conflict of interest? I know that issue has been raised, by example, through the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and through other presenters who appeared or submitted recommendations, not only to the minister but to the seniors' alliance in terms of its consultation with respect to the long-term care.

I think another question that is of importance, particularly as we look at urban areas—we know that the Ottawa

area, by example, is seen to be an area, but the communities there are quite different. Nepean is a very different community than the downtown core of Ottawa, and I can't remember the particular riding name. But how will the placement coordinators be linked within a metropolitan area such as that, or will there simply be one placement centre, placement coordinator office, for an entire metropolitan area? How will Metropolitan Toronto be dealt with in this approach? Will Scarborough have a separate placement coordinator and Etobicoke have a separate placement coordinator system, or will Metro be looked at as one entity?

I think that those issues, which will all be defined, of course, in the regulations, require additional discussion and we should know what the intent of the minister is in those areas.

I want to make one point about which I am pleased to see a reference in this bill. Once again, I am concerned that the reference to this and the discussion on this particular area is again prescribed by the regulation. When we go into the discussion on the bill, I hope again to hear more from the minister on this area, but I am pleased to see in the bill the reference to the quality improvement programs, the quality assurance plans. I think that's a valuable addition.

We've certainly seen the experience in the hospital sector of increased efficiencies and increased care in the delivery of health care to patients in hospitals as a result of the introduction of quality assurance plans, which by themselves assume a multidisciplinary team whose emphasis is on continuously improving the delivery of service to the residents in a cost-effective way.

2220

My concern is with respect to the reference in the bill to the quality assurance plans. My concern is that the quality assurance plans may in fact become a technical proposal that may be limiting rather than expansive. It seems to me that these quality assurance plans should be quality improvement plans, and that should be the emphasis and the policy and regulatory surround.

In terms of that, then, that requires a flexibility in the drafting of the approach, because if the regulation is so defined that it becomes inflexible, then a quality improvement plan will not work. By definition, a quality improvement plan is a moving plan. It moves to one stage and then other targets, and a revised team approach certainly in the hospital situation and in the corporate community means there is a rolling target. I'm not sure, from the approach I see in this bill, if that kind of rolling target and the emphasis on quality improvement are fact associated with the intent of the bill, but I was glad to see the word "quality" at least included in the bill.

I want to move to the patient classification system. In the course of reviewing documentation over three, four or five years, as the discussion on long-term care reform has proceeded, with respect to the adoption of the Alberta patient classification system as a base for assessing the eligibility of residents, in the first place for admission to a home, and then later, on an annual basis, for assessing the way care is delivered to them, what additional care requirements they have and what the funding to the institution or the facility would be for that patient, several organizations, not the least of which was the seniors' coalition, but the Council of Chronic Care Hospitals of Ontario and the Ontario Nursing Home Association of Ontario, commented on the use of the Alberta patient classification system as a base for measuring Ontario residents.

I found their commentary rather interesting, as my mother is in a long-term care facility in Alberta and has benefited from their patient classification system. In my view, having looked at that and having, in visits to her, had the opportunity to examine this with people who use the Alberta tool in their circumstances, I concur with some of the reservations with respect to the application of that tool in Ontario.

As you know, it was our government that suggested the application of the Alberta tool, and subsequent to that there has been much discussion and review of the applicability of that tool here. One of the things the Council of Chronic Care Hospitals did in March of 1991 was to prepare a useful document, in association with the University of Toronto, with respect to an analysis of the use of that tool. I just want to sum up some of the comparisons that were made with respect to that tool and its applicability here.

They pointed out that because the tool hadn't been, before the classification occurred in the fall, specifically adapted first of all to Ontario's health care delivery system, and secondly to the demographics of the province, the classification tool was perhaps less than satisfactory.

They talked about it being less than satisfactory in several areas—in fact it comes to mind when we look by example at the constitutional debate—and attitudes and experiences that flow from cross-country demographic and geographic differences. In the demographic area itself Alberta is smaller and its population is younger than that of Ontario. In languages, which have to be taken into account in delivery of long-term care services, Alberta is less culturally diverse than this province.

The approach to delivery services themselves is one where Alberta has used, over a period of years, a centralized delivery system. Ontario has some 700 delivery agencies. As we know, as the approach to long-term care reform proceeds, it's clearly the intention of the government that this number of delivery service agencies will be reduced. But in terms of the use of the tool in the beginning period, that's clearly one area we have to be looking at

We have to look at the rural and urban mix. Alberta has a more rural population, with only two major population areas, as we know: Calgary and Edmonton. I suppose that Red Deer and Lethbridge and Taber would say that they too are major population areas, but I'll tell you they are smaller than my home town, which is still called a town.

In terms of the continuum of care, and I know this from personal experience, Alberta has a more limited mix of services available throughout its system. In terms of bed supply Alberta has, on a population ratio, a higher bed supply than Ontario does. In other words, they have more long-term care facilities per thousand population than we have in Ontario, and that comes from an approach taken by

the provincial government, not an awfully long time ago, to boondoggle space just before an election. New beds went into every community and they certainly are there to choose from.

The multidisciplinary approach: Ontario, I think, has really concentrated—and it's actually a mark of our excellence, even in a system which we acknowledge needs to be reformed, that there are multidisciplinary teams that work with people who need long-term care. Alberta's approach tends to concentrate on nursing services, and I think that is a substantial difference. It's a strength for Ontario, but in terms of the adoption of a classification tool, it tells a lot about what's missing.

The other aspect is the case mix difference between our province and Alberta where there is a substantial difference related to the availability of home supports. We have older patients entering homes in Ontario and we have increased chronicity in those patients who are entering our long-term care facilities.

On that last point, I just want to bring to the attention of the House a report that was prepared by the Ontario Nursing Home Association in March 1992, and this recommendation was placed to the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance For Long-Term Care Reform.

It struck me that as we're looking at the chronicity of patients, one of the things we know is that over a period of time all three of the last governments, including this one, have recognized that there is not a difference in terms of the needs of residents, whether they're in a nursing home or whether they're in a home for the aged. That's why we're doing the level-of-care funding in the first place.

2230

But what the nursing home association did in preparation for its submission to the seniors' alliance consultation was to survey 5,360 residents of 50 randomly selected nursing homes and a director of a nursing consensus conference.

In that survey, they discovered that 75% of residents in nursing homes are moderately to severely cognitively impaired; 31% are immobile, bedridden or bed-to-chair; 70% are incontinent; 71% require some degree of assistance with mobility and transferring; 76% require some degree of assistance with feeding, 100% require some degree of assistance with daily living activities; 54% have behavioural problems—aggression, they may be wandering; with Alzheimer's patients you certainly have the screaming, the hoarding; 34% of residents' families require ongoing support; 8% of residents in nursing homes are unresponsive they may be uncommunicative or they may be semicomatose; 60% have difficulty with communication; 23% are residents who refuse to participate or are unable to participate or attend activities; and the average number of prescriptions per resident per day is 6.9. That includes over-the-counter and prescription drugs.

I raise that to speak to the issue of chronicity of residents in nursing homes. Certainly the nursing home sector, because it's an older population—the average age of entry is over 80—is very concerned about the services that will be delivered, and we know that homes for the aged don't differ from that profile substantially.

In terms of the patient classification system, the documentation that I have received from Alberta indicates that chronicity is not as severe. Now, the approach we have taken here in dealing with long-term care patients is a multidisciplinary approach. As I've indicated, I believe that's a strength, but because the patients are older, they are more sick, if you like. The treatment approaches should and must be different. If we are measuring what those treatment approaches should be, we should be using a made-in-Ontario tool.

I will be very interested in discussing with the minister, now that the first round of patient classification has been completed, what the results were and how the needs for services other than nursing and personal care were addressed. I suggest to you that the need for recreational services, occupational therapy, nutritional counselling, for other service delivery, is something that has always been taken into account in defining the role of nursing homes and homes for the aged and in fact what they do, and in classifying patients as to whether they should even be there. Those issues should be taken into account.

We understand that the minister intends to freeze the number of nursing home beds. I do not have that on paper; that is clearly an understanding out there in the community.

In dealing with that issue of the freezing of nursing home beds, I again want to turn to, first of all, the urgent issue identified by the seniors' alliance itself, which said that the most urgent priority facing the ministers responsible for long-term care is to bring some stability to the existing system of community-based services. If there are fewer facilities available, if there aren't beds for people who are ill, many of them immobile—and I've read the list to you of the chronicity associated with those residents—where else are they going to receive services?

We know from demographic projections that the population over 65 in Ontario is expected to increase by 15% over the next two years. Once again, the nursing home association, in its response to the consumers' alliance consultation, made some projections with respect to the need for facility beds if there's no change on the ground in terms of services. In 1991 there were 5.86 beds per thousand and 49.2 beds per thousand over 65. I'll move on to the 10-year to match the population progression. In the year 2001, 10 years later, with a 15% increase in the target population, there will be 39.88 beds available per thousand versus population needs. That's a 10% decline.

How are we going to make up and what are the assumptions with respect to expansion or alternatives to facility care when we haven't seen any action to date? I think that's a key question. Last night I spoke to the issue of the one-time hit in terms of funding and the building of support services at the community base if this is going to work at all and if we are not going to be leaving seniors in an at-risk situation, as they are now in my own community.

I'd like to hear from the minister on that because it seems to me that when we look at the funding issues, we're looking at, as the minister has announced, \$647 million over a five-year period. She had indicated that some \$100 million would be spent in this fiscal year. We have not seen that money spent. What we're worried about is

that the minister may indeed not apportion that funding at the appropriate time, that rather than putting the funding where it ought to be heaviest—at the beginning of the program—to ensure that the infrastructure is in place for the entire system to work, the flow of the money will be delayed to the end of the period.

We've seen that clear evidence with the minister's announcement of the new funding for the integrated homemaker program, where the full effect of, I think it was, \$133 million to that program will not be seen until 1996, the end of the five-year program, when in fact those are the exact kinds of systems and the exact kind of support where the funding should flow early rather than late.

Statutorily, under the Nursing Homes Act, the Minister of Health is required to announce in this place what portion of for-profit versus non-profit nursing homes there should be. I don't recall precisely when that was put into the act. It's an unusual statutory requirement for a minister to be required to make that kind of a statement in this place, but it is an important one. We have not heard from the minister with respect to the place of the for-profit sector.

2240

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): The honourable member for Mississauga South on a point of order.

Mrs Marland: The government hasn't been able to get its legislative agenda together. We are sitting until midnight and we do not have a quorum because the government members do not have sufficient members in the House.

The Acting Speaker: Call the members in. No, I'm sorry; we need the count.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals (Mr Alex D. McFedries): A quorum is not present, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the table. Call the members in.

The Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals: A quorum is now present.

The Acting Speaker: A quorum is now present. I would ask the honourable member for Halton Centre to continue her remarks.

Mrs Sullivan: I was speaking about the issues of funding, and in addressing that, requesting information and confirmation from the minister about what her intentions are with respect to the balance of profit versus non-profit delivery within the long-term care reform system.

Let me give you two examples of why there is concern about this area. In the minister's statement of the other day, there is no reference to that issue at all. In the backgrounder accompanying the statement, there is no reference to that issue; that is, the non-profit versus profit delivery.

In a news release, however, that went not to this place but to the media, there is reference to the non-profit sector as they would be involved in the service-access agency. If the minister had intended for information to be placed where it should have been, in this House, she should have done so. We all would have appreciated that information. The fact that it was not brought here but was circulated in a hidden line in a news release outside tells me that the minister didn't want it brought to the attention of this place.

Let me also refer you to the latest issue of the OPSEU newsletter, which we all receive in our offices. The major bottom-line story of this publication says:

"There should be no expansion of the for-profit sector in health and human services, OPSEU says in a brief on long-term care services in the province.

"The brief expresses alarm that businesses have a growing foothold in institutional and in-home health and support services."

It goes on to say:

"'The government must make a clear commitment that all new services will be provided by public and non-profit organizations. This must include a ban on further contracting out to commercial operators,' says the 16-page brief entitled Building Health and Independence....

"Instead of bailing out private nursing homes, the government should convert them to non-profit organizations."

There have been realistic appraisals of the cost of taking over the for-profit sector in nursing homes alone. I haven't seen those estimates for the home care delivery services, but the estimates on the nursing home sector are over \$1 billion. The minister hasn't even committed that much to the entire long-term care reform. Indeed, there have been suggestions that the minister has underestimated what the real costs of long-term care reform will be. Even the seniors' alliance suggests that the costs of long-term care reform will themselves be \$1 billion.

But we saw what happened in the child care sector, where money that could have been used to provide subsidized spaces for children in child care was in fact moved aside and put into a fund to take over the private sector which was delivering capably operated and creative child care services within communities.

Once again, with reference to my own community, the major part of our child care spaces are indeed in the commercial sector because that's where the services exist. We need to know what the government's intention is and how many more businesses will close down and how many more operators will take their capital and their operating funds out of this province.

I want to move in the last few minutes to an issue once again that comes from my own community. To do that, I'd like to read into the record an article from the Spectator of August 28:

"Frustrated with delays to the province's plan for longterm care reform, local officials are considering taking action themselves. In the coming weeks, Halton agencies dealing with care for the elderly plan to meet and discuss ways of coordinating respite care services. Respite care is temporary relief for families who care for the elderly in their own homes. It's considered an important service in light of the provincial government push to deinstitutionalize care for the elderly and provide more community care. "'Long-term care seems to have lost momentum so we are looking at what we can do,' said Judy Donnelly, director of the Halton Placement Coordination Services. 'If we are going to be keeping more people in their homes, we will need improved respite care.'

"Under the umbrella of the Halton District Health Council, agencies such as the Alzheimer Society, the Red Cross, the Victorian Order of Nurses, nursing homes and local hospitals will be asked to meet and discuss options. Some agencies and institutions now offer respite care, but the service is scattered, uncoordinated and hard to take advantage of. In some cases, it is expensive.

"Mrs Donnelly said it might be difficult coordinating respite services, particularly since the agencies have different mandates and come under the jurisdiction of different government ministries. Still, she said something has to be done

"'We're on the front lines getting calls from people who are desperate for help,' Mrs Donnelly said. 'So, at the very least, I feel it's important to inform the people in charge of planning about what is going on.'

"Local officials have been waiting for more than two years for some concrete policy decisions on long-term care reform. Last winter, the province held public meetings to discuss its consultation paper, titled Redirection for Long-Term Care and Support Services in Ontario.

"According to Halton statistics, more than 300 seniors are waiting for one of the 880 nursing home beds in Halton. In Halton there are 112 nursing home beds for every 1,000 people over the age of 75, one of the lowest ratios in the province."

I wanted to read that in because while it speaks to a specific issue in my own area, it's not unique to my area, and I have not yet seen the minister come forward with any discussion on respite care.

We know that the family is a key part of the delivery system, and last night I spoke about many people who require long-term care services who don't have families, but there are people who do. When they do have families which are providing that support and that delivery, you can bet that a major part of the support either falls on an elderly spouse, if it's a marriage situation, most frequently a woman who may also be frail, or it's on a child who also may have other obligations in terms of work and family and that the burden still falls usually on the woman. There is no address of that situation nor of other supports to family care givers.

2250

In the estimates debate, we asked the minister if she saw compensation for family care givers as an option. She didn't answer that question. I raised it because, while we have seen one portion of the long-term care plan, level-of-care funding—which was announced as policy, as I indicated last night, by Charles Beer in 1989, and he was at that point ready to proceed with legislation—we are only now seeing it come forward.

We are only now, as my colleague the member for Northumberland indicated in her response to the minister, seeing the entire issue of long-term care reform come in bits and pieces. We do not have a picture of the package, a picture of what they can expect for themselves and for their parents and for their children if there's a disability involved.

There are all sorts of other things left out. I hope, as we go through this discussion, there will be attention paid to these issues. I have mentioned the chronic care beds and the chronic care facilities issue. That is absolutely key, and we must have some answers in that area.

We have not had answers on what the role of rehabilitation institutions and facilities will be. We don't know what the role of the residential care facilities will be, of convalescent care, where dental care and laboratory and pharmacy services and assistive devices and transportation fit in for the long-term care resident; the enhancements that are going to be required for community-based services, whether they will come up front or whether they will lag behind.

We haven't seen an adequate, in my view, exposition of where the municipalities will fit in in terms of the mix of care. We haven't seen any announcement with respect to supportive housing, and further, one of the most important areas, we haven't seen any discussion at all with respect to how we're going to judge this system in its entirety and on a continuing basis.

I look forward to committee discussion of this bill and to participation in other debates on long-term care reform as the issue proceeds.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mrs Marland: Obviously, for those of us that have enjoyed listening to the member for Halton Centre, we have heard her point out very clearly some of the gaps that exist in Bill 101. Some of those gaps I hope to address in a little more detail in a few minutes when I have a little longer to speak, about 10 minutes from now.

I see one of the minister's parliamentary assistants here tonight. I guess both of them are here: the member for Durham-York and the member for Simcoe Centre. It's very interesting because it was the member for Durham-York who said, in response to something that the member for Halton Centre said, that if there was a little less rhetoric, the government could get on with this legislation. I have a great deal of concern for those kinds of comments being made about the input by a member of the opposition.

If the government really believed there should be a little less rhetoric from this side of the House, then maybe what we should do is do away with opposition altogether, let the government have full autonomy and in no way at all be accountable to the public in this province. Of course, that kind of attitude is well demonstrated in a number of the directions of this current government. I'm not surprised to hear a parliamentary assistant say, "We wouldn't have to sit till midnight if we didn't have listen to this rhetoric."

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre): I certainly always enjoy listening to the member for Halton Centre. She always makes some comments that are provocative to some extent. Certainly one comment she made the other night I just couldn't let go by, and that is the comment that the only real change in this long-term care policy is a shift

from the Ministry of Community and Social Services to the Ministry of Health. I'd like to add that this is still a partnership between the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Community and Social Services; it was under the previous Liberal government and it is under our government. That's the same, but there are major differences.

First of all, with respect to the whole question of planning for long-term care, we've chosen the district health councils as the planning lead for long-term care. In doing so, we have also seen the need to change the long-term care subcommittees of the district health councils so they incorporate not only health but also social services and also include municipalities, providers and consumers.

In choosing the district health councils, we have also adopted a different planning perspective. Long-term care must be planned as a system including a full continuum of long-term care, health and social services, from wellness and prevention through to palliative care. Palliative care is itself a significant new approach that promotes individual choice and community focus.

Also, the comprehensive multiservice agencies differ fundamentally from the service access organizations proposed by the previous government. We've decided to break down the organizational barriers between access to the system and the provision of service inherent in the brokerage model. We have also decided to broaden the range of services accessed so as to include home support and other community services which are so critical to keeping people in their homes.

On facility resident charges, we have rejected a means test. We have only a test based on income, not based on income as assets.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member. Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): I too want to congratulate the member for Halton Centre, our Health critic, who has really touched on all the very important aspects of this bill, Bill 101. As always, she has been very, very thorough in her constructive critique of an extremely far-reaching bill that will reform the manner in which seniors, disabled and anyone who really needs to access levels of care receives it.

I think that the key to success of this bill, as the member has pointed out, is the total coordination of this whole change. The coordination is so very important. I think we have to realize that before hospital beds are slashed and chronic care beds are frozen, the community home care services have to be in place; they just have to be there for people. It seems to me that right now in a lot of areas they are not; the services are not there. It's almost like the government has been doing this backwards. It's sort of the cart and the horse syndrome. They have slashed the beds; they're making those cutbacks before those services are ready.

I know that Charles Beer, the former Minister of Community and Social Services for our government, was ready to start flowing the funds, the first moneys of that \$2 billion that had been allocated to long-term care implementation, before the hospital beds were to be cut back.

The minister did say on Wednesday that it's so important that the government get this right. I sincerely hope that they do, because seniors and everyone out there are really counting on them.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I want to thank the critic from the Liberal Party, the member for Halton Centre. I think she added quite a bit to this debate and I look forward to sitting on committee with her. She raised a number of different areas.

She did talk about the Alberta classification system, and of course the Alberta level of care right now marks a considerable improvement over the current levels-of-funding system that they have there now, which of course bears no relationship to the needs of the residents. Last year we concluded a very successful pilot study of the program and application of the system. We concluded, based on the study and the unanimous view of nurse classifiers, that this system would work in Ontario.

#### 2300

We're aware of a couple of different studies—one by the U of T, one by Lakehead University—that I'm sure we'll take a look at and discuss a little bit further when we get into committee. I guess you'll learn and take a look at some of these areas.

One thing, too, that the member for Halton Centre talked about a little bit was the need for support for community agencies, and of course the government has already committed \$440 million to expansion over the next several years. In fact, the minister just yesterday stood in the House and made an announcement of \$133 million, I believe it was, for the integrated homemaker services, which of course is going to be an immense improvement and expansion to this sector.

When the members talk, quite often we talk about needing to move on with things now, and of course this is exactly what we're talking about: trying to make sure we get the funding in place so that we can make the movements that are necessary.

I'll just leave it at that. I look forward to sitting on committee with the member for Halton Centre and getting into further debate.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Halton Centre has two minutes to respond.

Mrs Sullivan: If I can deal with the last comments first, I will try to go quickly. First of all, with respect to the funding flow, hospital beds are closing. There are a lot of people who suffer from cognitive impairment, who suffer from the problems of aging, of illness, of injury, of congenital disability, who are now housed in acute facilities, for whom there is no place else to go. There are not the community supports in place, and without an injection of early funding there will be no place for them to go. As I indicated last night, no ethical health professional can move those people out unless there is something on the ground for them to go to.

The funding line you have talked about—and, as I've indicated, I believe there are questions with respect to the

adequacy of the funding—appears to be based at the end of the term of implementation of reform, rather than where it should be, which is at the beginning, now, putting the things on the ground that have to be there, the alternative to which is leaving seniors at risk.

I remind you that your study of the Alberta patient classification system and its applicability to Ontario was done by nurse classifiers. It did not meet the particular objections which I had and which have been raised by others with respect to that classification tool, in that it did not involve the multidisciplinary approach or the complex care requirements that we face in Ontario, given an older population with increased chronicity as they're entering the institutions or as they require services in their homes or through a community-based agency.

Clearly, Mr Speaker, this will be a lively debate.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Mississauga South.

Mrs Marland: I am glad at this late hour of 11 o'clock to at least have the opportunity to speak to the second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care.

I think part of the problem that arises in the entire area of the subject of long-term care is what it really encompasses, what long-term care really means and who the people are who require it.

I think, sadly, what has been missed in Bill 101 so far is that it does not encompass all the people who require long-term care, and it doesn't identify the fact that for the majority of those users, those people who need long-term care, there's simply no option to it. There are no other choices.

I think that's one of the reasons I'm so terribly concerned about the fact that Bill 101 appears to be drafted, at least in the legislation, explicitly for people with physical disabilities. There's almost no mention at all, at least that we can find, of people with developmental disabilities. Also, as far as we can see, they're not even mentioned in the list of what is coming.

We recognize that the minister has said there will be further studies beginning next year and there are regulations yet to be drafted, and we also, thank goodness, recognize that this bill will be going out for public input through the committee process, but there is a whole group of people that is simply being ignored at this point. They are people for whom long-term care is not a choice but an absolute necessity.

The other area that is of major concern for us is the fact that, in any of the material that we have been given so far to read by this government about its policies and its direction with long-term care, there is no direct reference to children. Whether this government recognizes it or not, and I think I made this comment last night, children are not small adults. They're totally different people. The only thing they may have in common with some of these adults, of course, is that they too require long-term care. But they cannot receive their long-term care in the same environment as adults. They cannot receive it, nor should they.

I think the whole question of how the existing form of long-term care is phased out, namely, chronic care hospitals, is something this government has to look a lot more closely at before it steps headlong into some very drastic decisions.

Some of those decisions will honestly have to do an analysis about whether home care is the choice of the individual and whether what we understand is true, that home care is more costly than hospital care, and if the individual requiring that care prefers to be in a hospital setting for a number of reasons, very often reasons revolving around security and being free of other impediments that home care brings, some of those choices still have to be there. Not everybody can live in a home setting, and in that description I use group homes or community facilities. Not everyone is able to do that.

We have, in the city of Mississauga, a number of different facilities, everything from institutional settings that are non-profit, operated by the region of Peel, to our extremely well-run private nursing home facilities, and we also have some school settings for people with very special needs.

#### 2310

One of those schools is Erinoak. Erinoak is one of many long-term care facilities in its level of care that has a lot of concerns about the areas that are not mentioned in this Bill 101.

They share my concern that children are not mentioned. They also share my concern that these kinds of white paper documents and ultimately the legislation itself create artificial categories. These artificial categories label people, pegs and labels them, so that suddenly this person is one of these or one of those.

Frankly, we're concerned that Bill 101, as it is presently drafted, is not looking at some of the very costly conditions that exist today in long-term care, and those are areas of duplication and areas of outright waste.

Obviously, I feel very strongly not only because I'm the shadow cabinet person for people with disabilities; I feel very strongly about children with disabilities.

Erinoak is a facility that provides a wonderful opportunity for children with disabilities, but these disabled children need a continuum of care. Frankly, presently those services are quite fractured. These children with disabilities will require services for ever. It's not that they've become frail in later life or they've developed the frailties associated with aging or work-related injuries. They're children today who require long-term care. They're children today who will require care for the rest of their lives.

I think it's terribly important that government simply stop labelling these people. Does it really matter if people are physically disabled or intellectually disabled? They still need care. They still need care whether they're under 21 or over 21. Yet so many of these government programs are so fractured that they may be looked after in a certain program until they're 21 and then, bang, there's nothing for them, and particularly at the moment with the decisions of this current NDP government about sheltered workshops, as an example. Sheltered workshops do not fall under the category of long-term care as described in Bill

101, but they are a level of care, they are a level of opportunity for young people who have disabilities.

I don't think that it's good enough, frankly, for a government to have different categories of care at different stages in life and yet there's no connection, there's no linkage where there's a guarantee of that continuum of care, even though it's needed very much by those individuals who require that type of care.

I met last summer with a group of parents in the Belleville area who are aging. They were all in their late 60s, early 70s. They had cared for their children with their special needs, both physical and developmental, all of the lives of those children. Now, as aging parents, they were quite frightened about the future for their children.

They were frightened on a number of scores. They were frightened about the fact that their own health was failing. In some cases they were physically being weakened. Because they were aging, they were perhaps no longer able to carry or bathe or otherwise in a physical sense assist these children they had cared for all their lives. Recognizing that these children may well now be in their mid-30s and early 40s, they are still their children. They still live with them at home. Those people have never once asked a government or a government agency for a single penny. They've never once asked them for any help.

And now what? What is the future? Where are the programs for these children when these parents, who are elderly themselves, become either ill or eventually die? Their concern is, who is going to look after their children? The last thing they want is the thought of those children being institutionalized and not being looked after properly. These aging parents have dedicated their lives and spent years and years of hard work to keep their children at home. Yet now when they need a little help because of their own individual physical conditions as aging adults, there has been no help available to them. There have been no programs for their children outside of the home and there's just no opportunity for them to be cared for.

Long-term care for children—and children at any age who need help—has to be a priority for any government. Before a government starts talking about phasing out one kind of care, they had better be sure that the next level of care is available.

There is one area in the minister's announcement this week that, in fact, we were pleased to hear about and that is where the ministry is now going to give the funding that is available directly to the disabled persons. These people will be able to purchase their own care. They will be able to choose their providers, the locations etc. We feel that is a good step in the right direction.

When the white paper on long-term care was circulated earlier this year, there were a number of organizations that did a great deal of work and a very thorough analysis of exactly what was being proposed in the white paper. That document, which I can't put my hands on just at the moment—which I now have—Redirection of Long-Term Care and Support Services in Ontario: A Public Consultation Paper, came out in October 1991. When this document was circulated, these many organizations and agencies that formally and informally studied the proposals in this

document were really to be congratulated for the amount of effort they put into analysing exactly what changes were being proposed by the Ministry of Community and Social Services, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Citizenship.

#### 2320

I know that the ministers are not able to study personally many, or perhaps any, of these responses and it was up to their staff to bring the content to their attention. One of the many responses they received came from the Mississauga Hospital, in particular a group in the Mississauga Hospital which calls itself the residents' council. The prime mover behind their response from the Mississauga Hospital residents' council is a young woman whose name is Kathy Harvey.

Kathy is a registered nurse. She is a quadriplegic as a result of multiple sclerosis. Kathy has a very long list of community involvement and has been recognized provincially, nationally and internationally for her service and her ability in spite of being a quadriplegic. I have actually talked about Kathy Harvey before in this chamber, when she has been named Person of the Year and other similar recognitions.

Kathy Harvey chaired this residents' council at Mississauga Hospital. They held a number of meetings. At one of the public meetings that they held to discuss the redirection for long-term care they actually had a panel, and I was one of the people on that panel. I was very impressed when I received the final report of their response to the redirection that the government was proposing. I won't read all of the responses. I simply want to read a few of their responses, knowing how hard the members of this group worked and the fact that they came at all aspects of this subject, they came from people who themselves actually require different levels of long-term care. Of course, if they didn't require it in the hospital, they wouldn't be there. These are some of their responses and areas of concern. One was:

"The combining of the elderly and disabled, assumes a similarity of needs of these two groups. Their differing needs must also be recognized.

"There is a frightening 'grey area' regarding the qualifications of the proposed new home health care workers. The existing lack of standards of competency/reliability of service to the elderly/disabled is seen as escalating under the new proposal.

"The decision-making process for placement in a longterm care facility is unclear. The placement committee responsible to the service coordinating agency introduces another level of bureaucracy....

"Nowhere in the paper are there any cost breakdowns of community-based services. We need to see cost comparisons with the services provided in long-term care facilities."

Those were four of their responses and areas of concern. I just want to read you their four recommendations:

"(1) The standardization of qualifications, education and evaluation of all health care workers must be carefully formulated and, only then, implemented;

- "(2) The establishment of six pilot projects in the province, ranging from high-intensive to low-intensive care, for a duration of one year. This would allow a realistic assessment of dollar cost and quality of life of long-term care users and care givers;
- "(3) Need to recognize that health care users with the ability to contribute towards their health care services should be encouraged to do so;
- "(4) Sufficient funding for chronic care beds must be maintained to improve the quality of long-term care within the institution."

Those are the comments from the residents' council at the Mississauga Hospital, and I draw attention to them. I hope the minister's staff will review this brief again as we go into the public process of the committee hearings, and pay very close attention to these excellent and very important recommendations. I think the best way for the government to really understand the importance of making any changes at all in long-term care is for it to listen to those groups that are responsible for providing those services in the community today.

I think the fact that this NDP government legislation which results from its consultation paper is in fact a replica of the Liberal plan, with a few minor differences, is rather interesting. The Liberals had planned to charge a copayment for housekeeping services; the NDP plans to generate the revenue elsewhere. In addition, the Liberals proposed 14 service-access organizations to coordinate long-term care services; the NDP have proposed 40 service-coordination agencies. It's disappointing that it took over a year to brief a new government on the former government's initiatives, and a year longer before proceeding with any of the legislative changes required to carry out the reform.

I believe this legislation is by no means a complete response to reform of the long-term care system. The government will undoubtedly come under fire once the seniors' organizations and organizations providing long-term care services realize that most aspects of the long-term care system remain unchanged.

There are a number of concerns that we have, and one area that was actually announced only yesterday by the minister was the establishment of comprehensive, multiservice agencies. These agencies apparently are to be developed through the district health councils. Case management and service delivery are to be brought together through this new bureaucratic structure, but what is really a scary thought is that the ministry has no idea what the costs associated with multiservice access agencies will be. A ministry that is so desperately short of money that it's cutting back and requiring hospitals to shut down hospital beds cannot talk about introducing any new bureaucracy without knowing what the price tag is that's attached to it.

There are a number of groups that are sceptical about the genuineness of the government's consultation process. The response to the NDP consultation document has been overwhelmingly negative. A number of groups and individuals have expressed concern that persons with disabilities and children have been ignored in the report. I said that a few moments ago, but now you're hearing that there

are a number of groups that have expressed the same concern.

Three groups, representing one million seniors, formed a coalition to review the NDP long-term care paper. The group, which is called the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform, released an extremely critical response to the NDP paper in early July. The Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance fears that the closing of chronic care hospital beds will trap them in the same way that psychiatric patients were trapped when institutions closed in the 1970s. They have asked that closed chronic care beds be reopened.

The Ontario Association of Non-Profit Homes and Services for Seniors released a report in July that showed that more than 4,300 Ontarians are on waiting lists for long-term residential care. At the same time, six homes for the aged have closed since 1987 because of deficits, creating a huge burden on families that have to care for ailing relatives. The survey also found that the average age of people entering homes for the aged is 84, compared with 74 a decade ago.

#### 2330

The Ontario Hospital Association is frustrated with the staying-at-home rhetoric which is often used by the provincial government to justify drastically downsizing of Ontario's hospitals. The Ontario Hospital Association has widely distributed a study concluding that home care is more expensive than hospital care. That too is a point that I referred to earlier.

A number of groups have expressed concern that hospital services are being curtailed at a time when services are not yet available in the community, and I think that is one of the biggest worries. Almost everyone commenting on the NDP long-term care paper has exposed serious flaws with the proposed 40 service coordination agencies. Many believe that the service coordination agencies will duplicate existing services and set up yet another costly level of bureaucracy.

Some concern has been expressed that the government does not plan to increase the overall number of long-term care beds. Primary care givers are concerned that instead of being rewarded, families which take care of their elders at home as long as possible could be penalized because when they eventually need such facilities, there could be a long waiting list.

Nursing homes and homes for the aged are not at all happy with the government's announcement. Only \$209 million has been allocated to go to the residential facilities over five years. This amounts to less than \$42 million a year.

Chronic care hospitals are also unsure about their future care role. They are still reeling from a senior bureaucrat's remark in 1991 that they are to be phased out. The Ontario Nursing Home Association has asked that the government treat private sector nursing homes as it does other highly regulated institutions and sectors. The government could determine an appropriate rate of return and monitor it annually, much like telephone and cable companies and gas and utilities etc.

We have almost a paranoia with this Bob Rae socialist government, where it doesn't want anything to do with the private sector, whether it's the provision of child care, whether it's the provision of housing, whether it's the provision of care for the elderly. They have this incredible obsession with the fact that everything has to be government owned and operated. I simply have no idea how the future taxpayers, let alone the present taxpayers, in this province can afford to make that kind of ideology a reality. It's absolutely an impossibility.

They are admitting already that they are 25% over their expenditure in non-profit housing. That's been confirmed by the auditor's report. We know that what was predicted to be an \$8-billion deficit is probably going to be 50% higher, as a \$12 billion deficit, next year, and yet they still believe that they should buy, own and operate everything.

I don't know where "private sector" got such a bad name. For years, private sector facilities have been giving excellent care to people with disabilities, the elderly and the frail of any age, and the fact that this government seems to be only interested in "this non-profit sector," which has to be the biggest misnomer possible—"non-profit" simply means that it's subsidized by the taxpayers.

If we can provide care for the elderly, long-term care in nursing homes, with the help of the private sector, and the care is standardized—I'll tell you something, Mr Speaker, that you might be interested to know. Private nursing homes today in this province have far more inspections and are held far more tightly to the licence regulations under which they operate than the non-profit ones. Talk to any in your riding, and I ask you, find out when the last inspection was of a government-run, non-profit home for the aged or nursing home and you will find that it's the private facilities which are inspected far more frequently.

Now, the private facilities don't mind that. I don't mind that. I'm simply saying that I don't understand where this paranoia has developed, that private sector provision of nursing homes beds is not the direction to go in. If this government thinks that it can afford to build and operate everything from the cradle to the grave, then it is totally out to lunch. We cannot afford to own, operate and subsidize every aspect of care from the cradle to the grave for the people in this province, nor should we want to.

If the suggestion is that people are making money on the elderly or on the sick or on children who require child care and therefore it's a profit business, then we should look at that. We should look at how much it costs the user. Of course, as soon as you do that you find out that for the users, the parents who require that child care or the families who require the nursing home beds for their family members, it does not cost more in the private sector than in the non-profit sector to the users, and very often the care can be better and always it certainly is as good, if not better, as I say.

This question of non-profit everything in the provision of all kinds of services in this province has to go, because there is simply no way that we can afford it. We cannot afford those policies in this province.

2340

The Council of Chronic Hospitals of Ontario, in a release that it issued in February of this year called "Chronic Hospitals Vital To Long-Term Care," stated the following, and I'm just going to read a few of their paragraphs:

"The government's 'Redirection of Long-Term Care' fails to recognize the health care needs of the elderly and people with disabilities, the Council of Chronic Hospitals of Ontario said today in releasing its response to the Ontario government's reform proposals.

"In its push to develop stronger in-home care services, the government has stated it will downsize chronic care hospitals. 'By putting at risk the specialized care programs and services provided by modern chronic care hospitals, the government shows it doesn't know what we do and who we look after,' said CCHO chairman, Michael Boucher.

"The strength of Ontario's long-term care is its diversity—we need a balanced system of different kinds of facility care and improved services for care at home,' Boucher said. 'It appears totally unrealistic to believe our unique type of care will be needed less in face of the dramatic increase in the number of elderly which is on the horizon. In fact, the very opposite is more likely true.'"

He goes on to say:

"'We think the government is off base with its "either/or" scenario—that facility care has to be cut back drastically to improve in-home care services; or even that chronic hospitals should become nursing homes. We are far more medical and specialized than nursing homes and homes for the aged, and we take a different approach to different medical needs from the acute care hospitals. Ontario needs the range in type of care if we are to look after our citizens properly."

I think those comments from the Council of Chronic Hospitals say it all. I think it's blatant common sense that we need to continue a diversity of care. You can't arbitrarily say, "Well, we're going to phase out chronic care hospitals." Where there are specialized medical needs, I'd like to know how they are going to be provided in the community in a group home setting or at home with support services.

Another organization that I think understands better than most the importance of any future plans for long-term care is the Alzheimer Society of Ontario. In particular, I have a letter here from the Alzheimer Society of Peel, and this is over the signature of Julie Morris, the president. I just want to read you some of this letter because I think it expresses better than I can what it is that we're dealing with and what it is that people in this province are facing today in terms of long-term care.

It's far better that I read somebody else's letter, and then I can't be accused, as I was earlier by the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health, of using unnecessary rhetoric, or whatever his description was. This is not rhetoric, I say to the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Health; this is somebody who works with families and patients all the time who require long-term care. It's dated January 1, 1992:

"Dear Mrs Marland:

"Since we last wrote to you in May of 1991 regarding the issue of long-term care reform, our government has issued the revised document entitled Long-Term Care Redirection.

"We want you to know how the Alzheimer Society of Peel feels about long-term care redirection.

"January is Alzheimer Awareness Month: there are an estimated 120,000 Alzheimer patients in Ontario. Their illness directly affects their families who care for them, and it impacts on the community in which they receive their care.

"In Peel region, we have 46,200 seniors; by 2001, we will have 90,000 seniors; up to 10% of seniors have dementia, 75% of dementia being Alzheimer disease; we do not have statistics on the under-65 population.

"As you know, there are 1,184 beds (all full) legislated under the Nursing Homes Act in Peel region. There is no chronic care hospital. There are no special Alzheimer units. There are over 1,300 people on the waiting list for long-term placement; the waiting period ranges from six months to 18 months. Plans for our fourth home for seniors are on hold. Our hospitals all house Alzheimer patients in beds that cost the taxpayer \$600 per day. Long-term care in Peel region is in a crisis situation.

"We earnestly request that you examine the issue of long-term care redirection and work with the Alzheimer Society to ensure that the people of Peel region will be properly served by this proposed new legislation.

"The new document admits that certain areas are underserviced in terms of long-term care facilities. We need to ensure that Peel receives a substantial increase in the number of beds available.

"Long-Term Care Redirection continues to view community-based services as an alternative to institutionalization. It also views such services as less costly than institutional care.

"While this may be true for many kinds of health and social problems, it is most assuredly not true for Alzheimer patients, their families and our community.

"In the early stages of the disease, families can be assisted to cope with the help of community services such as vacation relief, respite care and counselling."

Interjections.

Mrs Marland: Mr Speaker, I can hardly hear myself speak. I don't know how you feel about the level of noise in this House. I think it's unfair.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mrs Marland: If the members don't want to listen to this subject, maybe they could take their conversations outside of this chamber.

The Acting Speaker: Honourable members, it is quite true that the honourable member for Mississauga South has the floor, and secondly, we cannot hear what she is saying. I would ask the honourable members to pay the respect due the honourable member who's speaking. Please, if you want conversations, perhaps outside the chamber would be best.

Mrs Marland: I will continue reading Julie Morris's letter, the president of the Alzheimer Society of Peel.

"Unfortunately, due to the progressive nature of Alzheimer disease, the care burden increases continually, sometimes suddenly, and the patient's needs outstrip the family's resources. As the patient loses cognitive functioning, neither he"—or she—"nor the family can appreciate home care as can, for example, a stroke victim.

"This problem shows very clearly in the case study developed in Long-Term Care Redirection, where part of the community-based services is a nurse showing the man how to manage his wife's incontinence. Is an elderly man the right person to change an adult's diapers? How does this enhance his quality of life? An interesting omission from this case study is any reference to a local Alzheimer society. There are 35 chapters of the Alzheimer Association in Ontario, and every one of them would probably counsel the care giver in this case that a patient as demented as this belongs in an appropriate institution, not at home.

"The amount and quality of the kind of respite services required to keep middle- and later-stage Alzheimer patients at home would far outweigh the cost of institutionalization in the appropriate facility.

"We reiterate to you our earlier concerns about the proposed long-term care reform. For the thousands of Alzheimer patients and their families whom we represent, community-based services, while helpful to early-stage patients, are not an alternative to institutionalization.

"We need special Alzheimer care units in Peel; we need to double the number of beds legislated; and we need to be proactive with this work before our entire care system is swamped with the 'baby boom' of 40- to 50-year-olds.

#### 2350

"We are also interested to know how the new service access agency boards will operate, how they will fund those of our agencies already providing community-based services, and how they will avoid red tape and bureaucratic overlap with the current services in Peel. Who will serve on these boards and how will they have the expertise to assess the continually changing and ever-increasing needs of our Alzheimer patients?

"We ask you most sincerely to work with us on these concerns which are critical to the citizens of Peel region.

"Julie Morris."

I think that letter lays out very clearly for this government, and particularly for the ministers involved in this long-term care redirection legislation, that it's not as simple as saying: "We do not need institutions. We can help people stay in their homes if we give them the home care support services."

Of course, there are many, many patients who can manage to stay at home longer with community-based services, but when people today can't even get Red Cross homemaker service with the number of people who need it today, once you talk about bringing people out of facilities where they've had intense care, there simply will not be enough help in the community to give these people the

kind of care they need and, quite frankly, the kind of support the families need.

I think we've got to remember that families whose health begins to fail because they're struggling to maintain someone who needs specialized care in their home also can become ill, and when those families themselves become ill and deteriorate earlier in their life than they would if they had not been care providers in the home, then we've actually expanded the need for care in the long run than with a single, original patient.

Frankly, I think all our care providers through all our institutions are facing tremendous difficulties. Hospitals are worried because their transfer payments are being limited, beds are closing and staff are being laid off, and the government is using home care rhetoric to justify the drastic downsizing of our Ontario hospitals, even though home care is not necessarily less expensive than a chronic care hospital and even though, the costs aside, the reality is that for many patients, it simply is not a realistic option.

The government is now poised to raise user fees for residents in long-term care facilities to unprecedented levels. More than \$150 million is to be generated through new "accommodation fees" on the backs of seniors. The government contribution will be \$50 million. The government has not released details of the new funding arrangements, and in June 1991 the Minister of Health promised to increase funding to institutions by \$200 million. Ironically, \$150 million of that promised funding is to be raised through user fees.

Long-term care facilities have been promised by the NDP, that the new levels of care funding formula would be in place by January 1, 1993. That's less than one month from now. It is unlikely that the new levels-of-care funding formula would be in place by January 1, 1993. That's less than one month from now. It is unlikely that the new levels-of-care funding formula will be in place in the new year, as the minister has indicated that the details of the implementation framework will not be available until the spring of 1993. The future role of chronic care hospitals, as I said earlier, is still in question.

The funding allocations are extremely vague in the NDP long-term care document. Redirection never explains how much money is currently spent on long-term care. Isn't that interesting? While it mentions that \$647 million will be spent on long-term care by 1996-97, it is not clear whether this is new money, and the total is never broken down. There is also no breakdown of the current spending on long-term care. So \$647 million by 1996-97 may sound great, or it may sound worse if you knew what the real costs are that are currently being spent.

I think that all of these announcements without the costs attached end up being—I hate to use an overused expression, but it's one everybody understands, and I do compliment the Treasurer for being in the House five minutes before midnight to hear me say this because, unfortunately, a shell game is something that everybody understands.

Every time a government makes an announcement without dollars attached or says, "It's this many dollars and it's going to be over the next five years"—I remember

the Liberal government making these multi-year announcements. It sounds great if you say, "We're going to give \$150 million." You think, "Oh, that's marvellous." Then you find that's spread over five years.

Then what you find is that by the second year, which is what has happened with the Treasurer's announcement a few days ago—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Haven't you ever made multi-year commitments, Margaret? I've heard you make multi-year commitments.

Mrs Marland: The Treasurer said, when he gave the transfer payments out for this year at 1%, "It's 1% this year and 2% next year and the following year." Sadly, we learned two days ago that in fact that is not going to be the case. So I think when the government makes these announcements about how much money it's going to spend on long-term care, our question is, if you really want us to believe how good it is, tell us how much it's costing today.

Hon Mr Laughren: Margaret, long-term implies multi-year. Come on, get real.

Mrs Marland: I say to the Treasurer in response to his interjection that I'm talking about long-term care. I'm not talking about long-time budgets. But the good news, Mr Treasurer, is that we probably won't have to worry about more than a couple more of your budgets, and then we'll have somebody else doing the budgets for this province. I would probably guess, with the kind of poll results that are rumbling around this province, that we may be fortunate enough to have a Progressive Conservative Treasurer next time. That's something I think everyone can look forward to in this province.

I just want to say one more thing, recognizing the hour and recognizing that my colleagues in the House are sitting with bated breath. It's kind of interesting because I'm standing here and the clock is over to my left, and most of the eyes are on the clock and it's quite—

**Hon Mr Laughren:** It should be on you. You're right, Margaret, all eyes should be on you.

**Mrs Marland:** Yes, as the Treasurer says, they should really be on me.

I think the concerns of the providers of long-term care are the most important point I want to make. I do have more comments yet to make and I notice in my time allo-

cation I have 33 minutes left. Since this is Thursday evening and it is almost midnight, with respect to the Treasurer who still has to commute to Sudbury and other members in this House who have to travel to ridings a little further away than Mississauga, I will move adjournment of the debate.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the honourable member for ending her remarks. There is no need as it is practically 12 of the clock to move the motion at this point in time. The House will rise. I would ask the honourable Minister of Financial Institutions to give a report of our work for next week.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Financial Institutions): Pursuant to standing order 55, I'd like to announce the business for the next sitting day.

On Monday, December 7, 1992, we will deal with third reading of the advocacy bills 74, 108, 109 and 110. At 5:45 pm the Speaker will put every question necessary to complete these four bills. At 6 pm the House will deal with the deferred division on Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board.

Following the divisions, the House will continue with the adjourned debate on Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care, followed by second reading of Bill 80, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act.

The business of the House for the remainder of the week will be discussed with opposition House leaders and communicated to members by way of the daily business sheet.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Just very briefly because I think it should be noted, this is a very, very precedent-setting week because, as has been observed earlier, for the first time in the history of this Legislative Assembly, we will as a matter of preordained course be meeting on a Saturday and a Sunday. I think it is a brave new world that hath such possibilities in it.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): I thank the honourable member for his comments. It now being midnight, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock Monday next.

The House adjourned at 0003.

#### **ERRATUM**

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 7 December 1992

## Journal des débats

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Assemblée législative

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

(Hansard)

Lundi 7 décembre 1992



Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Monday 7 December 1992

The House met at 1332. Prayers.

### ANNUAL REPORT, INFORMATION AND PRIVACY COMMISSIONER

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Members may be seated. I beg to inform the House that I have today laid upon the table the annual report of the Information and Privacy Commissioner, Ontario, for the period covering January 1, 1991, to December 31, 1991.

#### **MEMBERS' STATEMENTS**

#### RAINY RIVER DISTRICT COMMUNITY LEGAL CLINIC

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): Ontarians should no longer be subjected to the second-rate principles of the Attorney General. First, he permitted a nominated NDP candidate, Emily Carasco, to remain chair of the independent and important Judicial Appointments Advisory Committee for many months. Now he also engages in conduct in contravention of the Premier's guidelines, which require ministers to perform in a manner to maintain public confidence and trust in the integrity of the government.

The Attorney General appointed Mr Nick Wihnan, his constituency assistant, his personal staff, to chair the board of the Rainy River District Community Legal Clinic. This is a board established to operate at arm's length from the Ministry of the Attorney General and the clinic funding committee. How can this be done when the minister's staff sits as chair of the board? Where do Mr Wihnan's loyalties lie: to the community board, which frequently has disagreements with the Ministry of the Attorney General, or with the Attorney General?

This is unspeakably blatant. These clinics are called independent clinics. How can the community board feel comfortable discussing points of contention with the ministry when the Attorney General's personal staff person is chair of the board? This is inexcusable conduct. It is arrogance. It is disdain for simple propriety.

#### ONTARIO PRODUCE

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): Ontario is Canada's most important apple-producing province. Last year we accounted for over 48% of all apple sales in the country. Today, as we look at the apples that have been delivered to our desks and offices, it is fitting that we recognize the commitment to improving quality that apple growers of Ontario have made.

For a second year now, consumers can look for the Orchard Crisp brand identification when they buy their apples. Last year, after three years of research and planning, Ontario apple growers voluntarily committed themselves to new standards for Ontario apples. Apples marketed with an Ontario Orchard Crisp label must meet strict quality standards. These include colour and appearance standards

for the Canada Fancy grade, plus a minimum pressure test. This test guarantees consumers a crisp apple year-round.

To ensure that the orchards are maintained, Orchard Crisp apples are spot-checked at the packer and retail levels by both the Ontario Apple Marketing Commission and government inspectors. The commission and growers have done a great job in quality improvement.

A number of growers and commission members are here with us today, after making their deliveries to our offices. Today, I want to recognize Don Bonter, vice-chair of the Ontario Apple Marketing Commission, who's here with his son Brian and daughter Kristina. Howard Staff, a director of the commission, is here with his son Drew. Also present, are directors Tom O'Neil, Kirk Kemp and Bob Giffen. Thank you for taking the time to come here today and for reminding us again about the quality of Ontario's Orchard Crisp labelled apples.

Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings): Speaking along the same lines as the member for Simcoe East, members of the Legislature will have noticed the apples you received this afternoon. They were brought to you courtesy of Ontario's apple growers. And they're no ordinary apples: They are the crispest, firmest, juiciest apples Ontario growers can market, and they go by the name of Orchard Crisp.

Orchard Crisp is a brand identification and quality control program designed by Ontario growers. It is aimed at drawing attention to the quality and reasonable cost of 12 varieties of apples, including Red Delicious, Ida Red, Northern Spy and McIntosh, my favourite.

The program was launched last year by the growers themselves after three years of research. Growers and packers, who volunteer to be licensed to use the Orchard Crisp brand name, must ensure that their products meet strict quality standards, including size, colour, freshness and crispness.

I note that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and this government fully support the apple industry and this initiative. Their Foodland Ontario staff have been particularly supportive through such things as shared-cost programs, public relations, point-of-purchase advertising and more.

I'm sure the members will enjoy these quality apples. Let them be a reminder of the fine food products this province has to offer Ontarians now and throughout the year.

It's that holiday season, and these apples aren't just good to eat like this. They make great apple pie, and with a slab of cheese or maybe a little whipped cream on top, they're a great dessert. I want to tell you, Mr Speaker, we're not supposed to eat in the Legislature, and I know the Sergeant at Arms, Thomas Stelling, will be really upset, but I'm going to bite this one right here and now.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member is living dangerously.

#### PREMIER'S CONDUCT

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I want to comment again on Premier Rae and his standards. I've watched Premier Rae do things over the past few months that I totally disagree with, that were wrong and that I find indefensible. I'll mention just two things.

On September 16, Premier Rae's executive assistant wrote a letter on Mr Rae's letterhead to the chairman of the Ontario Municipal Board in support of a private development. This was clearly inappropriate, clearly wrong, and the Premier should have acknowledged that. Instead of that, he defended it, and none of us in this Legislature would support that. We all know it's wrong for the Premier to write to the chairman of the Ontario Municipal Board.

The second thing I wanted to mention is that twice in the past year or so, members will know that the official opposition has been leaked some very insignificant government documents. What happened? The government called in, twice, the anti-racket squad of the OPP to investigate the official opposition's offices. This is very dangerous, the government using the state police to silence the opposition.

Again, I fully expected Premier Rae to say that this was wrong and to stop it. But he didn't. He promised that we would have an all-party legislative committee to look into it. When we set that up, the government members and the government ministers refused to appear before it.

What is going on with Premier Rae? I really, truly don't know what Premier Rae's standards are any more.

1340

#### SPECIAL SERVICES AT HOME PROGRAM

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I would like to bring the Minister of Community and Social Services up to date on the devastating impact of her lack of adequate funding for the special services at home program on the parents and the developmentally handicapped children in my community.

Recently, three families have been forced to give up in their attempts to care for their children at home, and they have abandoned these children to the Waterloo region family and children's services. At least four more families are seriously considering taking the same steps.

These three families have indicated that their children went out of control during adolescence. Eventually, they reached the breaking point, and they can no longer cope with these children now that the funding for weekend relief and in-home support has been cut. However, the greatest frustration for these families is the shortage of group homes for retarded children.

Minister, what are you going to do for these families? Instead of spending millions to wipe out private day care operators, you could have responded to a real and desperate need and helped these families struggling to care for their children in their own homes. What the people of this province need is less ideology and a greater commitment to providing the services which keep families together in their own homes.

I urge the Minister of Community and Social Services to make this issue a priority and give the families of developmentally handicapped children what they need most this year for Christmas: the support to help them keep their children at home.

#### WOMEN IN ENGINEERING

Mr David Winninger (London South): I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words to commemorate l'École polytechnique anniversary on behalf of the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario.

Yesterday, on the actual anniversary of the tragedy, many groups and individuals remembered the deaths of 13 young female engineering students and one female staffer who died at l'École polytechnique three years ago. Our recognition of this loss has served to bring forward the resolve of many organizations to take specific action to make women more welcome in the engineering profession and to curb violence against women in society as a whole.

This year has brought such major accomplishments within the engineering profession nationally as the publication of a major study called More Than Just Numbers. To quote the study, "That single event in Canadian history jolted engineers and non-engineers alike into deep contemplation and open discussion about the very issues we were to deal with, namely, the status of women in the profession."

In this province, the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario has already acted on some of those recommendations. The association has drafted national guidelines on gender equality which have recently been approved by the Canadian engineering profession, represented by the Canadian Council of Professional Engineers. There are other initiatives, but these are the highlights of 1992.

While each year we focus on the loss of 14 women who died, their memories are kept alive with the work now being done by concerned professional engineers in this province and in Canada. We encourage the continuation of this good work in their memory.

#### **LAYOFFS**

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): St Catharines needs help. The Niagara region needs help. With the devastating news that GM intends to move forward the date of the closing of the foundry and to sell its axle operation, there were few smiling faces in the streets of our city this past weekend.

The Ontario government must employ all of its resources to rescue its modern, top-notch foundry from extinction, to gain new work for the efficient engine plant and to keep the excellent axle plant operating.

When the GM plant at Ste Thérèse was threatened with closing, the government of Quebec and the government of Canada made a strategic investment in its future and saved the thousands of jobs that were at stake. The Ontario government should consider the same kind of investment in the future of St Catharines and the surrounding Niagara region. The economic benefits of the continued operation of our GM plant are obvious for St Catharines, for Ontario, for Canada. I ask the Premier to meet with the very top officials of GM in Detroit to place our case before the new corporate regime.

The move of the MTO to St Catharines and the MTR to Niagara Falls must be accelerated. Priority must be

given to Niagara for the construction and repair of sewage treatment plans, water treatment plants, roads, bridges and essential public works.

The Niagara region, which has an unemployment rate hovering around 15% and is consistently among the highest in Ontario and Canada, must be declared an area eligible for special assistance and designated programs to spur economic growth and produce job opportunities similar to the area so specified under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

#### LANDFILL

**Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel):** Today I will be tabling a petition with over 13,000 names on it. These petitions are in opposition to the placement of a superdump to house all of Peel's garbage on two sites within the town of Caledon.

The petition was circulated and collected by many individuals from Caledon, but four stand out for their extraordinary efforts. Elma Westlake, recently killed in a car crash this fall, Luigi Romano and Albert and Junta Hinrichs spent many hours collecting names for these petitions. These tireless community volunteers stood outside of stores explaining where the dumps would be going and why it was important to oppose this decision forced on the people of Caledon by the NDP government. Albert and Junta Hinrichs from the town of Caledon today drove down from Caledon to hand-deliver additional petitions for me to present with the 13,000 other names. They are present in the members' gallery. I'd like to thank them for making a special trip to ensure that we have all the petitions.

I hope that Mrs Grier does not simply ignore these petitions, just as she has done for the thousands of others that have been presented by myself and other members of the opposition.

This government will no doubt have to make some difficult decisions before its mandate to govern the province of Ontario is taken away from it by the electorate. Until that happens, the NDP should always remember that people will remember how this decision is being steamrolled through. When their home or place of work hangs in the balance, it will take a very long time for the people of Caledon to forget the day the NDP came to ruin their town.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF FINNISH INDEPENDENCE

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): I'm very pleased to inform members in the House that December 6 marked the 75th anniversary of the independence of Finland. The latter part of the 19th century was an important period of liberalization, during which time the Finnish people gained a sense of national pride and identity. It was at that time that the Finns established their national anthem, which is called Maamme.

We wish to recognize the many important contributions of the Finnish community in Canada, and especially to the province of Ontario. Suomi-Koti, the Toronto Finnish-Canadian Seniors Centre, now has a new addition to its 88-unit seniors' apartment building at 795 Eglinton Avenue East which I visited last week. The centre offers a rich

cultural heritage and provides seniors with a sense of identity and a sense of pride.

It is my pleasure at this time to introduce Mrs Lea Pyykkonen, vice-chairperson of the Toronto Finnish-Canadian Seniors Centre, Suomi-Koti, who is sitting in the gallery today. Mrs Pyykkonen has made many important contributions to the Finnish community and has received recognition for her outstanding volunteer work.

It is a tribute to the Finnish community that they demonstrate integrity, honesty and courage. These qualities are so important to their culture that they have a word for it: "Sisu."

I urge all members in the House to join in the celebration of Finland's independence day.

#### VISITOR

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Before proceeding, I invite all members to welcome to our midst this afternoon, seated in the members' gallery east, Mr Russell MacKinnon, MLA for the riding of Cape Breton West, Nova Scotia. Welcome to our chamber.

#### **ORAL QUESTIONS**

#### REPORT ON VICTIMS OF ABUSE

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I have to say that I very much regret the fact that neither the Premier nor the Attorney General is present in the House today to be able to respond to what we believe are serious questions about the administration of justice in this province. In their absence, I will direct my first question to the minister responsible for women's issues.

Last Friday, we learned that the Owen Sound courthouse, which is administered by the Attorney General's office, made a decision to make public Judi Harris's criminal record as well as confidential counselling information. What this means is that for \$1 a page, anyone can obtain a copy of these documents. I'm sure the minister will agree that this is an absolutely incredible violation of Judi Harris's right to some degree of privacy.

#### 1350

I would ask you, as the minister responsible for advocating for the rights of women, what action have you taken, Minister, to raise this most recent and most unbelievable action with both the Premier and the Attorney General? If you have raised it with them, what response have they made to you? What do they say this means to Judi Harris and to the other victims of Grandview?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister Responsible for Women's Issues): I share the member's concern. I have not had an opportunity yet to raise this with either the Attorney General or the Premier. I certainly intend to do so, because it is of great concern, not only to the young woman involved but in fact to all those who are involved as witnesses in a case or as accused in a case.

Mrs McLeod: I've become increasingly concerned. I know the minister understands the courage it takes for women to speak up and to make public the abuse they have suffered and I know the minister realizes how absolutely critical it is that women who do come forward be

given confidence that the system is going to work for them and not against them. Yet we see the actions from this government are to suppress the 1976 report, which might have given some confirmation to the kinds of allegations these women have brought forward.

I was surprised—I am surprised today in fact—that the minister has not been actively discussing what happened last week with either the Premier or the Attorney General. I was surprised, when the Premier returned from his trip and I asked him about the Grandview report, to learn that he had not been made aware of the freedom of information commissioner's report, which very clearly said the report, that 1976 report, could be released. At that time the Premier said he would read the privacy commissioner's report and report back to this House on further steps he would take.

Again I ask the minister, as the advocate for the rights of the women involved in this situation, whether or not she knows what steps the Premier has taken; whether he has read the report; whether he has asked her for her recommendation; and whether he is now ready to follow the commissioner's recommendation that the 1976 report be released. Is the Premier ready to tell the Attorney General to stop suppressing that report?

Hon Mrs Boyd: I cannot speak for the Premier or for the Attorney General obviously. I will remind the member that the position taken in terms of appealing the decision of the privacy commissioner was on the ground that indeed the information might be of great value in terms of the prosecution of the cases, and that our real concern as a government, the concern of the Waterloo Regional Police, was that in fact this might interfere with the successful prosecution of cases in this matter. That, as far as I know, remains the concern that is there in the way of things.

I will tell the member that certainly I am concerned and I have consistently advocated on behalf of the Grandview people, including a number of meetings over the last week with the Attorney General and other people involved. It is not a question of not being concerned and not working very hard on their behalf; it is a question that the Attorney General has areas of responsibility that he alone can exercise.

Mrs McLeod: I can't help but feel the minister's response represents almost a tacit concurrence with what we see to be consistent and repeated efforts of different sorts that either silence or intimidate the women who have come forward with these allegations.

Let me just outline what these women, these victims, have experienced in these last few weeks. We've had the order from the privacy commissioner suppressed by the government. We have had the Premier's communications director and his closest adviser deliberately use his power to try and smear the reputation of one of the Grandview victims. We now have the confidential records of Judi Harris given out for \$1 a page to anyone who asks for them by the same justice system that is supposed to be in place to help these victims.

We know that as a direct result of this government's actions more and more of these victims are reluctant to participate in any investigation for fear that they too will

be publicly smeared by this government. We wonder how it is ever going to be possible to get to the bottom of the abuse of Grandview. Judi Harris herself has asked for a legislative inquiry.

Minister, again as the advocate for the rights of women, will you call upon your Premier? Will you demand an all-party legislative inquiry into the actions taken by John Piper during the course of his employment as the communications director in the Premier's office to understand how his actions in regard to Judi Harris reflect on the actions of this government and this Premier's office?

Hon Mrs Boyd: No, I will not, because I believe the actions that have already been taken in terms of Mr Piper's removal from the Premier's office, the findings of the police situation, are what is required.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mrs Boyd: I have met with the women from Grandview and have talked with them about the concerns we have around this issue. We are doing what we can with them to expedite matters and to give them more confidence in the process. I'm sure the Attorney General will be commenting on those additional plans in the very near future.

The Speaker: New question.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, I am somewhat stymied in my ability to pursue the line of questioning in the absence of the Premier again, and it seems in the absence of the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. I wonder if you could tell us whether or not he is expected, since we didn't have any indication he'd be away today.

The Speaker: I can't help the member in that I'm never informed as to who will be in the chamber and who won't be.

Mrs McLeod: If the minister is coming, then I'm going to stand down the second lead question.

The Speaker: Third party?

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I'll stand down both my questions too, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** All right. Then we move to the official opposition with a question.

#### SALARY OF ONTARIO HYDRO CHAIR

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Ottawa South): My question's for the Minister of Energy. The minister has attempted to assure us that some order's about to be restored to the chaos at Ontario Hydro, and this in particular by his appointment of his new chair and CEO, Maurice Strong, who has agreed to serve the good people of this province for the miserly wage of some \$425,000 a year.

We've heard some disturbing news, and I want the minister's assurance that what I'm hearing is completely without foundation and there's no basis for it in fact. In particular, we've heard that after turning down the job three times, Mr Strong is now agreeing to take it on condition that he work only three weeks out of four as chair and CEO. Apparently, he requires one week out of four to attend to his personal affairs and business interests.

Mr Minister, can you assure the people of this province that this is not true? Can you assure us that your choice for chair and CEO of Ontario Hydro will work full-time and not three-quarter time or anything less than full-time to earn his salary of \$425,000?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Energy): The member raises one of a series of interesting questions that have been floating around in the rumour mill for the last number of weeks, so I'm pleased for the opportunity to deal with it. Mr Strong has been appointed as the full-time chair of Ontario Hydro, and it's the government's expectation that he will be the full-time chair of Ontario Hydro.

Mr McGuinty: I am sure, Mr Speaker, you will understand why I raise that question, because neither this minister nor his Premier has the best track record when it comes to appointing chairs in this province. We understood that we had the last full-time chair for some five years, and he left after 16 months.

Let me tell you what else we're hearing, Mr Speaker. We are hearing that this minister has agreed to give Mr Strong a pension for life valued at 70% of his salary after five years of employment with Hydro. That's a minimum \$295,000 a year for life. That's \$295,000 to be added to Hydro's costs and paid for by the people of this province. I want the minister to confirm that this is not the case, that Mr Strong is not going to be given this kind of pension benefit or anything near it.

Hon Mr Charlton: I guess the member's second question just points to how ridiculous some of the things that have been floating around are, because the proposal is absolutely preposterous. Mr Strong has been given pension benefits the same as anyone else. They will accumulate at a rate, as called for by the pension plan, of 2% per year of service.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question, the third party.

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): The minister is now here, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** Okay, the Leader of the Opposition. **1400** 

#### RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question, in the absence of the Premier, is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. As we're all aware, the Ontario government's agent general in New York has resigned. The government's one-line press release stated simply that Mr Masters resigned from his post in order to return to the private sector, yet it is no secret that Mr Masters was accused last summer of sexually harassing women under his supervision and was placed on indefinite leave at that time.

Minister, I would ask you, as the minister responsible for that office, as Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, what investigations have been carried out by your government to probe these allegations, over what time period were these investigations carried out and what did the investigations reveal?

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): Mr Speaker, I'll refer that question to the Deputy Premier.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I understand that a Premier has the ability to refer to any minister, and that a minister has an opportunity to refer to another minister if the area in question is not within the jurisdiction and responsibility of that minister, but I do not understand how the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology can refer this question to the Deputy Premier.

The Speaker: While I'm not about to guess why the minister would refer any question, what I can tell the member is that in the absence of the Premier the Deputy Premier assumes that particular responsibility. The minister has the opportunity to refer a question to the Premier, and in the absence of the Premier he has referred it to the Deputy Premier.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I suspect that the leader of the official opposition knows full well that the question she asked touches on the employment relationship between government, as the employer, and an employee and that under the provisions of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act I really am prohibited from engaging in any discussion of a personal nature. I'd be very surprised if the leader of the official opposition isn't very much aware of those provisions of the act, which I believe are both sections 21 and 42.

Mrs McLeod: In this case, the allegations were not kept private. The allegations and the indefinite leave of the agent general were very much in the public eye and that's why this continues to be a matter of public concern.

I would suggest that it is common knowledge as well that last summer the government hired the Toronto law firm of Tory, Tory, DesLauriers and Binnington to investigate these particular allegations of sexual harassment, at considerable cost to the taxpayers. Yet only a few months before, in March 1992, this same government came out with a Management Board directive setting out very clear guidelines for the investigation of sexual harassment allegations.

I take the Deputy Premier back to his response, that this was a matter between the government and an employee, and I would ask, are the procedures that the government has so recently established absolutely useless for dealing with workplace harassment, and if not, why did the government order in this particular case a special investigation instead of using the government's mechanism?

Hon Mr Laughren: First of all, I should clear up one of the things that the leader of the official opposition said in her preamble. The government never disclosed any aspect of the situation whatsoever. It was not the government that revealed any allegations, nor were they discussed by government. We have followed the rules of the act as passed by this Legislature, so I don't think it's appropriate for the leader of the official opposition to ask us to violate one of the very laws that was passed by this Legislature.

Mrs McLeod: It is nevertheless a matter of public record that Mr Masters was placed on indefinite leave because of allegations that had been brought forward. I would also suggest that the Premier himself has often said that justice must not only be done, but it must be seen to be done.

To me, that means that clear investigative and reporting procedures and mechanisms should be followed in every case and applied to everyone across the board with no exceptions. Yet in this case the government has not only failed to apply its own clear Management Board directives as to how it will deal with such situations, but it has also refused now to disclose the results of the special investigation that was ordered. As a result, all that we have are rumours and speculation. If Mr Masters was found to be innocent of these allegations, he should be exonerated. If not, both the public and the individuals who made the allegations should be informed so that a clear message will be sent that this kind of behaviour will not be tolerated.

I would ask the Deputy Premier if he does not agree that his Premier's continued silence on the issue casts serious doubts on the fairness of this entire process and everybody involved in it, and if he will not now break that silence.

Hon Mr Laughren: If he or I did break the silence, which the leader of the official opposition would like us to do, we would not only be breaking the silence, we would be breaking the law, and I don't think that the leader of the official opposition would approve of that after the fact. She would perhaps prod us into it before, but condemn us afterwards, so I think the leader of the official opposition is not playing very straight with us here. The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act says quite clearly that an institution shall not use personal information in its custody, that an institution shall not disclose personal information in its custody. Then it goes on to make some exceptions, but I don't think the exceptions would apply, and if the—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Laughren: Well, I would challenge the leader of the official opposition. If she wants to bring forth to this House a private member's bill that would gut the protections under the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, then I would challenge her to do that so we can see exactly where she does stand on the protection of privacy aspects of this bill.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): In the absence of the Premier and the fact that the minister responsible for Mr Masters refuses and doesn't wish to answer, I'll go to the Treasurer and Deputy Premier. Mr Deputy Premier, the freedom of information act was not intended to be used as a secrecy act, as a coverup act for the government or for the employer.

What I would like to know, Mr Deputy Premier, since you have been put on the hook to answer for this—and I don't believe that's fair but I guess that's life in politics if everybody else wants to duck it—I want to ask you, Mr Deputy Premier, why did Carl Masters resign? Was he asked to resign? Was there any aspect of any offer,

settlement, that was made on behalf of the government to Mr Masters? If so, I would want to know why that would be the case. Or if he has resigned all on his own, can you explain to me why the taxpayers who paid his salary, why the taxpayers who paid for the investigation are not now entitled to know the results of that investigation?

Hon Mr Laughren: The leader of the third party is flanked by two lawyers, and I would ask him to consult them—

Interjections.

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I'm only the best in Parry Sound. That doesn't say anything.

Hon Mr Laughren: —two of the best lawyers in his front row. I would ask the leader of the third party to think seriously about what he's asking because he really is, in my opinion—I am not trained in the law, but I did read section 21 in particular and section 42 of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. It seems to me that as to what he is asking, if we were to respond in the way he would like us to respond, I believe we would be breaking that very law that was passed in this assembly.

I would be interested in the leader of the third party indicating whether or not he has a different reading of that act.

Mr Harris: The Treasurer and the government members can laugh all they want but I'll tell you this: Mr Masters is not laughing and no Ontarians are laughing. More important than that, women in this province are not laughing; they are not laughing. Judi Harris is not laughing. Other women who have had dealings with your government are not laughing. Bonnie Seguin up in Cochrane North is not laughing about how she has been treated by the agencies and by this government.

1410

Mr Deputy Premier, given the fact that you feel you cannot tell us whether you asked Mr Masters to leave—I don't think that breaks any confidential act, according to the two top expert lawyers in my front row that you asked me to consult with—I have to assume that you did. The Black Business and Professional Association has called your government's silence on the issue irresponsible. Until the government answers or puts itself in a position where it can answer questions about the departure of Carl Masters, people are obviously left to speculate.

In the newspapers and in the public's mind, Mr Masters is perceived now as guilty, without any statement, without any trial, without anything being said by the government. You have put him into that position. Treasurer, this is the Premier's appointment; this is the NDP appointment to this job. It was the NDP that decided it should call in and have taxpayers pay for a special investigation. It is you, your Premier, your government, his office that decided Mr Masters should be paid while that investigation was ongoing. The taxpayers and the people of this province—

The Speaker: Would the leader place a question, please.

**Mr Harris:** —including the friends of Mr Masters, have a right to know. When are they going to know?

Hon Mr Laughren: First of all, I don't think I should have to say this, but the member knows that nobody in this assembly takes sexual harassment lightly, which he implied in the preamble to his question. I think I shouldn't have to say that, but because of the way he put his question I feel I must. I simply reiterate to the leader of the third party that unless there's a different understanding of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act—I remind him of the second part of that title, the protection of privacy aspect of the act—unless there's a different interpretation of that act than I'm led to believe is the correct one and the one that we should follow, then there will certainly be no further information coming from me.

Mr Harris: Mr Deputy Premier, when you say "from me," you allege that there may be, coming from somebody else. I thought that because you were empowered on behalf of the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, who your government didn't feel was competent enough to answer these types of questions, and empowered then by the Premier, who chooses to be somewhere else on this particular day, that you were empowered to answer. Are you now telling us we should wait till somebody with a higher authority comes back? If you are truly empowered, I believe that not only has Mr Masters been done an injustice by this silence, but most importantly of all, you are doing the women who made the allegations a very serious injustice.

You say I shouldn't conclude from your joking and laughing that you don't treat sexual harassment seriously or that you think it's a joking matter. You obviously by example with Mr Piper, you obviously by example with Bonnie Seguin, you obviously by example after example after example are not treating it with the seriousness it deserves. You're not treating it with the seriousness that women are asking you to treat it with. You are now once again sending a signal out to women who have been victims that your government does not take the issue seriously. I ask you, as Deputy Premier, since others have not recognized this, other than the Premier's office, do you not now recognize that the signal, the message you're sending out to women today is that maybe they're better off keeping quiet?

Hon Mr Laughren: I think the leader of the third party has crossed the line and is being patently unfair in his allegations that we're not taking this matter seriously or that we don't take sexual harassment seriously. That is really an outrageous accusation. I think it does more to erode his credibility than it does to anybody on this side of the House.

The only thing I cannot take seriously in this whole matter is the advice of the leader of the official opposition and the leader of the third party that we should violate the protection of privacy act that was passed by this very assembly.

#### TAX CREDITS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): We will come back to how you are selectively interpreting the freedom of information act so that you don't have to disclose some of the things your government is doing, Mr Treasurer and Deputy Premier. However, I want to ask a question to you,

sir, as Treasurer, as one responsible for taxation and what not, about the case involving Mrs Ellen Stones.

Treasurer, Mrs Ellen Stones passed away. Her estate received a cheque to do with the sales tax and property tax credit. They made inquiries as to what they should do with the cheque, believing that the estate was entitled to that rebate for the portion of the year that she lived, that that would be fair since the cheque was for the living and not for those who had passed on. However, they and the family were informed that it was not the case; that the entire cheque should be returned, for the whole year, which they have done.

I would ask you, Treasurer, whether you believe that is the correct interpretation or whether in fact the estate of Mrs Ellen Stones ought not to have been entitled to that property tax and sales tax rebate for the portion of the year that she was living.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): At first blush it would seem that the leader of the third party is implying that at least part of the cheque should have been allowed to have been cashed. I don't know, to tell you the truth, where that stands, and I don't know any of the details of the situation. If the leader of the third party would send me the information, I'll certainly see what happened there and see to what extent any rules have been broken or whether it's policy or not, but quite frankly I don't know at this point.

Mr Harris: Thank you, Mr Treasurer; I would appreciate your thoughts on that as a policy. However, Mrs Stones's case then carries on, because she died four and a half years ago, in 1988, and the ruling at that time was that she was not entitled to anything for that portion of the year she was living. You would then expect that the family would have been rather surprised, her son in particular, when four and a half years later they received an application for a property tax grant and sales tax grant, much to their chagrin, after having lost the ruling four and a half years ago, and that now receiving this information would have been a little bit of a shock to this family.

I wonder if you can explain to me how this could happen: nothing for four and a half years and all of a sudden an application goes out to the estate, the family of Mrs Ellen Stones, and her son, very upset, writes quite a strong letter back explaining that his mother passed away four and a half years ago. How could this possibly happen that these applications would be sent out; what would trigger this one? Obviously I think you'd be concerned, because if one is triggered, perhaps thousands or hundreds of thousands are triggered.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** The member is absolutely correct. I would be concerned and I am concerned and I do look forward to having that information sent over and I'll pursue it as quickly as I can.

Mr Harris: You can imagine, Treasurer, the chagrin of this family, after having expressed in pretty strong terms their distaste at having received these forms and having written back, that the response back from the government, which I will send over to you—they've asked me to return it to you—is a cheque for \$50.

1420

The actual sales tax cheque gets issued. You complain because four and a half years ago your mother died, and then you get these forms to fill out. You send the forms back saying, "What is going on?" and now the response from your government is, "Oh, here's the cheque for the \$50 for the sales tax credit." If a page will come, I will give the cheque back to the Treasurer, because certainly the estate of this family has no need of a cheque for their mother, who passed away four and a half years ago.

But, Treasurer, it brings up the question of your government's ability to manage the affairs of this province. It brings up the question of your vast overspending. We now know that persons deceased for several years can get a health card just sent to them through the mail. "Go ahead; now that card is available for anybody to use." But now, in addition to that, you can get actual cheques sent to you even after you've passed away four and a half years before.

Treasurer, you are talking now about hiking taxes. I want to tell you that the people in this province are fed up with the way you're managing the money you do have, the way you're throwing it away, the way you are mismanaging program after program after program. How could your government possibly have sent out, in response to this request, a cheque for \$50 to somebody who was deceased for four and half years?

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't know how the cheque could have been sent out and I'm not justifying it in any way whatsoever. I would just ask the leader of the third party not to read too much into one incident.

#### HEALTH INSURANCE

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I have a question for the Minister of Health. It's related to a press story that appeared in the Toronto Star over a month ago with respect to doctors repaying almost \$7 million in overbilling.

That article indicated that 119 doctors had repaid these moneys. As I said, this was overbilling over a three-year period. A significant number of those doctors had overbilled in excess of \$50,000. This matter was obviously drawn to the attention of the Medical Review Committee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario by your ministry. We're not sure whether any fines were assessed in respect of these matters.

I'd like to ask you, Minister, if you have any concerns about this process, these numbers and the fact that there appears to be no ability to do a forensic review to see if there was an intent to defraud the public in respect of any of these matters. I'm wondering if you're satisfied with the process, and if not, if you intend to pursue any changes.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): The issue of forensic auditing and of verification of billings is one that I think has been troubling a lot of us in the Legislature as we've looked at the problems that stem from the original move from OHIP numbers to individual health cards and the issuance of those cards, our ability to verify and verify billings.

There are a number of things we have been doing to move to a system where we would be better able to do verification and forensic follow-up. We have instituted a verification unit, we have added more staff to that area, and we have informed the medical community that we are moving to complete the development of a system of machine-readable input relationship of billings between doctors' offices and the ministry, so that we would be in a technological position to do better verification than the manual system we have had in the past.

Mr Runciman: I'm not sure if better verification—the minister's sort of couching this. I guess I'm concerned that we're talking about significant moneys going into the OHIP system.

I know the auditor, in his last report, expressed concern about welfare ripoffs. We know this is a very difficult time for many people in Ontario society, close to a million people receiving social assistance. We're talking about a group that is perhaps the wealthiest group of individuals in society. When you take a look at the number of doctors in this province, the urban doctors—and these are OHIP figures—averaging 311 patients and billing \$250,000 for themselves, \$250,000 for lab tests and other matters, I think there are legitimate concerns out there about what's happening within the system.

I would ask the minister if she would not consider, at least with the 119 who were reported in the Toronto Star, asking the police to go in and do a forensic audit to determine if there was, in respect to those individuals anyway, any intent to defraud the public purse.

Hon Ms Lankin: I'd be glad to give consideration to that and get back to the member.

#### NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): My question is to the Minister of Housing. Minister, last week I was meeting with co-op leaders in Cambridge. They included representatives of the Highland Homes, Thorne View, Max Saltzman and Grandview co-ops. They're concerned about the level of member participation in long-term decision-making affecting their housing.

Minister, it is a fact of property management that some important renovations and repairs—fixing a roof, for example, or replacing plumbing—call for large one-time expenditures. However, current operating agreements with the Ministry of Housing do not allow co-ops to budget for more than a year for major-item expenditures.

Surely, Minister, if empowerment and control of decision-making is to be entrusted to co-ops, adjustments must be made to allow co-ops to independently plan over several years for major-item expenditures. Has the minister considered any method or means by which co-ops can plan and retain responsibility for the implementation of major-item expenditures?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): In fact, the current agreements with co-ops not only allow but encourage co-ops to undertake longer-term planning for maintenance and renovation purposes. That's by way of replacement funds, which the ministry provides in its funding stream to non-profit housing groups. We certainly encourage members of co-ops to participate in the

decision-making that goes on around such items as longterm repairs and renovations.

Mr Farnan: Minister, I hear from my constituents that in fact you have placed a moratorium on replacement reserve funds and to some extent have removed the ability to make their own decisions regarding when and what work needs to be done.

Minister, the leaders of the cooperative movement and the members of co-ops in my community are appealing for greater involvement, greater power in the decision-making process, and there is a sense within the cooperative movement that to some extent the ministry is playing Big Brother and not allowing those leaders to have that empowerment and that decision-making role within the co-op.

Hon Ms Gigantes: If I could take members of the Legislature back to the housing policy framework consultation which went on and to our response, which was the document called Consultation Counts, they will find there our plans to make sure that in the future there is more independence of decision-making by leaders in the non-profit housing groups, including co-ops, around their financial planning.

It is the case, as the member points out, that during this fiscal year we have frozen the amount of money that we flow—in fact, we put zero into replacement reserves of co-ops around the province, but we are working with the co-ops on a long-term operating agreement.

I expect that agreement to be signed, sealed and delivered by the end of this year, God willing, and we will have a framework that is both flexible from their point of view and also provides us with the kind of control and accountability mechanisms we need to ensure that moneys are being well spent.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Mr Gilles E. Morin (Carleton East): My question is to the Minister of Community and Social Services. The Provincial Auditor's report confirmed that Community and Social Services has lost millions of dollars due to fraud.

This is nothing new. Bill 154 raises issues, including fraud, that cannot be resolved without dealing with the problems found in the auditor's report. There must be an agreement between financial institutions and the government.

Last Tuesday I met with a representative of the Canadian Bankers Association. Financial institutions are waiting for a government decision regarding a guarantee for their reimbursement of fraudulent government cheques. This is not an unreasonable request on the part of the banks. The federal government has been reimbursing fraudulent cheques for years. This is a cheaper option than paying the price of fraud.

We now have proof that this government's policy of procrastination and postponement simply leads to more fraud and more dollars lost. Why is the provincial treasury refusing to guarantee its cheques, and what is your ministry's response to the treasury's lack of cooperation?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): Indemnification of the banks in terms of

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welfare cheques is certainly one of the measures I have talked about in this House a number of times in terms of dealing with the issue that this member has raised again and again around cheque cashing institutions. It is certainly one of the many methods in which we are working to prevent and detect fraud.

I would remind the member that a number of measures have already been taken that have gone a long way to redressing the issues the auditor mentioned, and the auditor himself indicated that the ministry had been taking a lot of action.

I will continue to consider indemnification as one of those measures, but we have not achieved a negotiation of that as yet on the provincial level; the member's quite right.

Mr Morin: Minister, when I look at the report, what it tells me, what it tells you, is that there's a gaping hole on the side of your ship which is getting bigger and bigger every day. If you don't fix it, your ship is going to sink.

I realize that policies cannot be implemented overnight, but before policies come decisions. Without decisions, there cannot be coherent, effective policies. The problem in this case is that too few decisions are made. Sure, we all wish problems would simply go away, but you, Minister, are not in the position to engage in wishful thinking. You must deal with reality.

The fact is that your ministry is responsible for the most vulnerable people in our society, and it can no longer meet its financial obligations. No one is asking for the moon, but we do expect consistent policies. We expect you to use whatever means are at your disposal to effectively comply with your mandate. The goals and policies aimed at helping low-income persons are being sidetracked by considerations we can only guess at, but the results are very clear: Millions of dollars are lost, vanished in thin air. Administrative change and increased staff do not suffice. How do you explain such discrepancies, and who is in charge?

Hon Mrs Boyd: We have already acted, as I told the member in answer to his first question, to plug many of the holes that were identified by the auditor in the report, which was, after all, on the 1991-92 year. A great deal of action has been taken in the meantime, not the least of which is increasing the number of eligibility review officers and increasing the number of direct-deposit cheques, which has greatly reduced the kind of fraud that was identified by false replacement cheques and that sort of thing by the auditor. We continue to work at the reform of the entire system, which is directed at resolving many of the issues the auditor raised.

I would also say to the member that if we had the kind of capability in this country, in this province, of correcting fraud at the income tax level or at the employer tax level that was identified by the federal and provincial auditors, it would come way ahead of the very minor levels of fraud that are in the social assistance system. It is really unfair for the opposition to continually define this as the major problem, when a much higher dollar amount was identified as fraud by employers in the employer tax system.

#### SEWAGE TREATMENT

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. Last week the Provincial Auditor reported that the province has a \$3-billion problem related to our sewage treatment plants. The report states that in 1990, 25% of sewage treatment plants did not comply with provincial guidelines for one or more substances such as phosphorus, suspended solids and biological oxygen demand. A 1987 study indicated that nearly one half of all Ontario sewage treatment plants did not meet the standards of the United States Environmental Protection Agency. But what is really alarming is the statement by the auditor that, "No major improvements have been undertaken since that time." Could the Minister of the Environment respond to the concerns of the auditor of Ontario and tell us what her plans are for upgrading the province's sewage treatment plants?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): Those plans fall under three categories. Of course, there are some sewage treatment plants that need to be rebuilt and need to be upgraded; primary responsibility for that lies with municipalities, which operate, I think, about 75% of the sewage treatment plants within the province. We are looking at reviewing our grant programs in order to make sure that provincial grants go to those where in fact the environmental problems are the worst, and we can begin to look at those priorities.

Second, we look at all optimization of the functioning of the existing plants. Water conservation plays a very major part in that, because if we can conserve water, we are putting less stress on the sewage treatment plants and avoiding the need to rebuild and expand those sewage treatment plants.

Last but by no means least, we hope by the end of this year that about 70% of the population of the province will be in municipalities covered by the sewer use bylaw, a bylaw that municipalities are implementing which regulates the flow of industrial waste into sewage treatment plants.

Mr Cousens: If the minister had a comprehensive policy that would begin to deal with the issue, certainly the auditor wouldn't have highlighted it as the problem it is today, and certainly the storm water problems we have now in the greater Toronto area wouldn't also be a problem. We've got a \$3-billion problem that just isn't going away.

I have a solution I'd like to ask you to comment on. Municipalities have a major problem trying to face up to the costs for them just to maintain their own systems. The auditor claims that of the \$3 billion needed for sewage treatment facilities and for the upgrading that's required, one third of it should be paid for by your ministry under current funding arrangements with municipalities. Also, I have in my hand a letter from a Mr Steve Placek, outlining ways to save money and improve the quality of service with respect to sewage treatment plants. He talks about new equipment, new procedures, new guidelines, new value engineering and looking for innovative ways of solving the problem.

What I'm suggesting, Madam Minister, is that when an independent consultant can come up with a number of

suggestions and when in fact municipalities are waiting for direction from you, would you as Minister of the Environment agree to set up a provincial symposium to bring together engineers, financial planners, municipal representatives to discuss ways of solving Ontario's \$3-billion sewage treatment problem?

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me say to the honourable member that I'm not familiar with the letter he has, but from his brief outline, it sounds like exactly what I'm putting under the catch-all phrase "optimization," making sure we get the best possible use out of the existing facilities by upgrading them, by the certification and training of the operators, by making sure that we try to deflect storm water, by detention tanks such as has happened in Metropolitan Toronto or by storm drainage plans that deflect storm water away from the sewage treatment plants, because storm water has certainly been one of the major causes of the overflow of the sewage treatment plants.

With respect to the kind of symposium that he is suggesting, let me say to the honourable member that those kinds of discussions occur all the time under a variety of auspices: public works associations, conservation authorities, my ministry, municipalities. We are in constant dialogue with the industry, with the municipalities, with the environmental groups, about how to upgrade sewage treatment in this province.

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The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The Minister of Health with the response to a question asked earlier.

#### HEALTH INSURANCE

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): Further response to the member for Leeds-Grenville: With respect to the cases he was referring to, which were over a three-year period, I'm informed by the ministry that the medical review committee had in fact reviewed those and requested repayment. Through their experience, their guidelines and their precedents, they determine whether or not they believe these are cases that have any fraudulent nature to them.

In the cases that he specifically referred to, none of the repayments ordered by the medical review committee were for fraudulent claims. Where that is the case, or where it's believed to be the case, it is in fact referred to the anti-rackets branch of the Ontario Provincial Police. That happens on a regular basis from the medical review committee, when it feels by its guidelines that there may be cases of fraud involved.

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): This is unusual, to say the least, getting another answer to a question posed earlier today. I'm not sure about the specifics of what the minister is saying to us today—I'll have to take a look at it more closely—but I would like to pose a question in response to what she has said. She's indicating that the anti-rackets squad has gone in on cases where there's suspicion of fraudulent activity. Can she indicate to us today, over the past three-year period or perhaps over the past five-year period, how many charges have been laid as

a result of those kinds of investigations, and how many investigations have occurred?

Hon Ms Lankin: To the best of my knowledge, there have been six that have involved doctors in multiple cases of requests for repayment where fraud was suspected and where investigations ensued and charges were laid.

#### RETAIL SALES TAX

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): I have a question to the Treasurer. Treasurer, last week I and the member for Mississauga West asked the Minister of Revenue a question on the new sales tax imposed by you last October 1. You now pay sales tax on the Red Book value of a used vehicle or the actual selling price, whichever is higher.

Treasurer, this is a tax that affects many people, such as students and the unemployed, who purchase used cars and do so by private sale. Your Minister of Revenue was unaware of the impact of this discriminatory tax. Will you commit today to amend this unfair tax to allow people to pay tax only on the amount they paid for the used car and not on the higher, unknown Red Book value?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer): I've been approached by a number of members of my caucus, who shall go unnamed, about this very problem. I can tell the—

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I wouldn't buy a used car from any of you.

Hon Mr Laughren: If the member for Oriole will let me finish my answer, I can tell the member opposite that we are looking at that matter now to see if there are any changes that could be made that would be appropriate. But I'm not announcing here today—

Mrs Caplan: That's as good as an announcement.

**Hon Mr Laughren:** I'm sorry; the member for Oriole wanted to complete the sentence for me.

I didn't want to leave the impression that I was making an announcement today that we are making a change, but we are looking at it because there has been some concern expressed by a fairly significant number of people.

**Mr Offer:** Last week it was brought to the attention of the Minister of Revenue that an auction was held last October 29 by the Ministry of Transportation. At the auction there were examples of retail sales tax paid on the sales price of the car and not on the higher Red Book value.

I've now been provided further information on that same auction. Item number 36 was a 1987 Chevrolet K5 Blazer. The bid price was \$4,900; the Red Book value was \$10,125. The retail sales tax paid: zero. Item number 39: a 1988 GMC Sierra Classic, 1500 Suburban. The bid price, or the sale price: \$3,600. The Red Book value: \$10,625. The retail sales tax paid: zero.

Treasurer, remember, this is a secret tax. You shake your head, but the public is generally unaware of a Red Book valuation of a car they have purchased. This tax hurts many people: students, the unemployed. I ask you again today: They need your commitment so that the people who legitimately and honestly negotiate the sale of a used car will only pay the retail sales tax on the price negotiated and not on the higher, unknown Red Book valuation,

which they have no idea about. We need your commitment and they need your commitment to that change today.

Mrs Caplan: That's only fair, Floyd. It's only fair.

Hon Mr Laughren: The member for Oriole is once again answering the question for me, and I wouldn't want that to happen because she knows not of what she speaks.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Treasurer.

Hon Mr Laughren: I'll try again, Mr Speaker. When the government introduced this particular tax, it was not the first time in the history of the civilized world that such a tax had been introduced. It's in other jurisdictions; it's working in other jurisdictions. This is the first time in Ontario, you're absolutely correct.

It's time that some responsibility was brought to the retail sales of used cars and in particular the whole curbsider operation, which the Liberals, when they were in office, chose to ignore, for what reason I can only guess. I can tell the member opposite that it is our intention to make sure that this tax works properly so that some people who pay their tax legitimately aren't doing so while others get off scot-free and pay no tax at all. That's simply not fair.

#### CORPORATION FILING PROGRAM

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Madam Minister, your ministry has been mailing out letters to all Ontario corporations, profit and non-profit, telling them they must file a corporation statement and in doing so they must pay a \$50 fee for a profit corporation and \$25 for a non-profit corporation.

Madam Minister, I've had many constituents of mine and, I'm sure, many constituents of yours call and write letters, telling me this new hidden tax is ill timed, and they have resented the confrontational style of your letter. Can you tell this House today if you intend to make this an annual fee?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): As I've said in the House before, prior to 1976, Ontario did require all corporations to file at that time. The province decided, in 1976, to remove this requirement. What happened as a result of that—and may I add that every other province, including the federal government, requires this filing to be done—is that many, many corporations did not file the information.

As a result, the file system that we have in place is badly out of order, badly out of date. Those of the public who depend on this file to be accurate and up to date have been in fact sadly led astray in some instances. So it's very, very important that we do as other provinces do and make sure that this filing is kept up to date for the benefit of the people who use the system.

Mr Tilson: My first question was, are you going to be making this an annual fee? You've given this answer several weeks ago, which you just did. My question was, are you going to make this an annual fee? You have yet to answer that.

Madam Minister, when the help line to your offices is phoned, your office is telling businesses that the Legislature will vote on whether or not this is an annual tax and that that vote will take place some time next spring—that's what your office is telling people who phone in—and that they should write their MPPs if they want them to vote against this annual fee. That's what your staff are telling the people of this province.

Will the minister stop passing the buck and make a commitment today that she will bring forward legislation to allow proper debate of this new source of revenue and not simply pass another regulation, as she did this past year, to make this hidden tax annual?

Hon Ms Churley: First of all, let me say again that this is not a hidden tax. It's a very clear indication that we in fact need to have our files updated. It costs \$50 for corporations and \$25 for non-profit organizations.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): It's a tax grab. Why do you need money?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for York Mills, come to order.

Hon Ms Churley: For the benefit of the many, many people out there who are using this system so that they can do the research they need, and that includes not only lawyers and not only corporations and banks but also small cooperatives, labour organizations—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Ms Churley: All kinds of people use this system and it is very important that the system be kept up to date as every other province is making sure its system is kept up to date.

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#### **MOTIONS**

#### **CONSIDERATION OF BILL PR83**

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): On behalf of Mr Cooke, I move that, notwithstanding any standing order, a private bill to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East may be introduced and given first reading and that the bill be considered by the standing committee on regulations and private bills on December 9, 1992.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

#### **PETITIONS**

#### POLICE USE OF FORCE

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and it reads:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the role of police is to uphold and enforce the laws duly established by elected representatives;

"Whereas the police are empowered to protect society and maintain the peace;

"Whereas the government has an obligation to provide adequate means for the police to fulfil their duty;

"Whereas society has the responsibility to support police in this duty,

"Be it resolved that we reject the new use-of-force regulations and humbly pray and call upon this House to stay implementation of this legislation."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I have a petition signed by some 1,300 people, residents of the province of Ontario, to which I've also affixed my signature as a member.

"To the honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro has not taken concrete actions to restructure its organization for increased efficiency or in light of present-day economics to reduce overheads and capital requirements to realistic and necessary levels; and

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro continues to expand its transmission facilities without due regard to sustainable development, economics and health and environmental concerns of the citizens of Ontario,

"We, the undersigned, petition the honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Order Ontario Hydro to freeze expenditures for the 1993 fiscal year at 1992 levels and to immediately begin working on a business plan that will concentrate on cutting overheads instead of raising prices to put the organization back on a firm financial footing;

"Authorize an independent study of all generation and transmission expansion programs, and in particular report on the future electrical consumption needs of the province: it should assess taking into consideration the high level of environmental damage, the economics of building transmission lines and buying and transmitting electrical power from northern Manitoba; it should fully explore the use of local independent power projects and other energy generation sources as an alternative to long-distance, high-voltage transmission lines; recommendations for real conservation programs that will reduce the need for increased high-voltage power transmission should be an important part of this study;

"Order Ontario Hydro to develop a new plan that will make the present transmission corridors between Sudbury and Toronto capable of providing dependable electrical energy for this geographical area of Ontario for the next 50 years. This will result in lower costs and less environmental damage to Ontario."

A very recognizable and well worthy petition, Mr Speaker. As I said, over 1,300 residents of the province of Ontario have affixed their signatures, and I have as well.

#### SICKLE CELL ANAEMIA

Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East): I have a petition on the letterhead of the Sickle Cell Association of Ontario and I'd like to acknowledge the hard work it has put into this. It's a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and it reads:

"Whereas sickle cell anaemia is a serious medical condition with 10% of the population of African origin carrying the gene,

"And controlled studies show a significant reduction in the number of childhood deaths by long-term treatment with penicillin, to such a degree that it must be considered an essential drug,

"We, the undersigned"—and there are about 170 of them—"call upon the ministries of Health and of Community and Social Services to ensure free provision of the drug to all affected children."

I have affixed my signature.

#### LANDFILL

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario with 13,000 signatures from the town of Caledon. It's a petition I referred to in my statement earlier today.

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has released a list of 21 sites in the region of Peel as possible candidates for landfill, 15 of which are located in the town of Caledon; and

"Whereas the decision to prohibit the regions of the greater Toronto area from searching for landfill sites beyond their boundaries is contrary to the intent of the Environmental Assessment Act, subsection 5(3); and

"Whereas the government has promised each person in Ontario the right to a full environmental assessment, including the right to a review of all options as it pertains to waste disposal in Ontario,

"We, the undersigned, protest and petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario repeal Bill 143 in its entirety and allow a more democratic process for the consideration of future options for the disposal of greater Toronto area waste where a 'willing host' community exists who is interested in developing new disposal systems for the greater Toronto area waste;

"And further that the government of Ontario remove sites C-34B and C-48 from consideration for the following reasons: (1) It is prime agricultural land and would be lost for ever to a dump; (2) the above sites are close to the town of Bolton; (3) these sites are all in the Humber Valley watershed; (4) artesian wells and all water resources are exposed to danger if a dump comes on any one of these sites, wells that supply Bolton and the surrounding area.

"We oppose any dump in Caledon."

I have affixed my signature to this petition containing 13,000 names. I will need the assistance of at least two pages.

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I have a petition to the members of the provincial Parliament of Ontario:

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposal to establish and license a permanent gambling enterprise in the Niagara Peninsula. I believe in the need of keeping this area as a place where family and holiday time will be enriched with quality of life. Such gaming establishments will be detrimental to the

fabric of the society in Ontario and in the Niagara region in particular. I believe that licensed gambling will cause increased hardship on many families and will be an invitation for more criminal activity.

"By my signature here attached, I ask you not to license gambling anywhere in the Niagara Peninsula."

They're from St Catharines, Vineland, Jordan, Fenwick, and I affix my signature to this petition.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence):** I have a petition signed by several hundred people. It's with respect to the Ministry of Transportation and it reads as follows:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injury and reducing costs, we support graduated licensing for new drivers."

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I have a petition here and it reads as follows:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injury and reducing costs, we support graduated licensing for new drivers."

This is signed by hundreds of people, and I too affix my signature to it.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by residents of Middlesex county who ask the Legislative Assembly to set aside the report of arbitrator John Brant because it does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in the arbitration hearings, there are other and better alternatives available, it awards far too extensive an area of annexation to the city of London and it will jeopardize agricultural land, the county of Middlesex, the viability of Middlesex and our rural way of life.

I have signed my name to this petition.

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#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte):** I have an additional petition which I would like to present, and it reads:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injury and reducing costs, we support graduated licensing for new drivers."

#### ONTARIO HYDRO

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): I have petition to the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro has not taken concrete actions to restructure its organization for increased efficiency or, in the light of present-day economics, to reduce overheads and capital requirements to realistic and necessary levels; and

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro continues to expand its transmission facilities without due regard to sustainable development, economics, and health and environmental concerns of the citizens of Ontario;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Order Ontario Hydro to freeze expenditures for the 1993 fiscal year at 1992 levels and to immediately begin working on a business plan that will concentrate on cutting overheads instead of raising prices to put the organization back on a firm financial footing.

"Authorize an independent study of all generation and transmission expansion programs and, in particular, report on the future electrical consumption needs of the province. It should assess, taking into consideration the high level of environmental damage, the economics of building transmission lines and buying and transmitting electrical power from northern Manitoba. It should fully explore the use of local, independent power projects and other energy generation sources as an alternative to long-distance high-voltage transmission lines. Recommendations for real conservation programs that will reduce the need for increased high-voltage power transmission should be an important part of this study.

"Order Ontario Hydro to develop a new plan that will make the present transmission corridors between Sudbury and Toronto capable of providing dependable electrical energy for this geographical area of Ontario for the next 50 years. This will result in lower costs and less environmental damage to Ontario."

It has been signed by a number of concerned consumers of the Network of Concerned Energy Consumers of the province of Ontario, and I've affixed my signature.

#### LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I've got a petition here:

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and recreational vacation land, these areas would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would disrupt the vibrant agricultural

communities. The farm families in these areas have continued to invest large sums of money in their farms. These communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump;

"Whereas most of the people of Georgina depend on groundwater for their drinking water and a dump would

threaten their clean supply of water;

"Whereas Lake Simcoe is the ice-fishing capital of the world; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe's health provides a strong draw of tourists to fish year-round;

"Whereas the affects of a megadump would destroy the local economies of the community;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and to turn it into Metro's and York's megadump:

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew its efforts to seek and entertain alternatives, like waste reprocessing, to landfill and implement progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I affix my name to this.

#### **BRUCE GENERATING STATION**

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas there is a concern in Bruce county and neighbouring communities that the Rae government will refuse to do rehabilitation and general maintenance work required to keep Bruce A functioning efficiently; and

"Whereas the detailed technical report prepared by informed and objective people has already shown that the maintenance and rehabilitation work is not only cost-effective but profit-generating; and

"Whereas there is concern in Bruce county and neighbouring areas that Bob Rae will circumvent that study by using non-objective people to restudy the costeffectiveness of rehabilitation and maintenance expenditures:

"Therefore, the undersigned request that the Legislature accept the list of signatures on the attached document addressed to Bob Rae and require the Premier to respond directly to them, indicating that he will guarantee a fair assessment of Bruce A maintenance and rehabilitation plans."

I have affixed my signature to the petition.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I have a petition addressed to the Honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro has not taken concrete actions to restructure its organization for increased efficiency or, in light of present day economics, to reduce overheads and capital requirements to realistic and necessary levels; and

"Whereas the management of Ontario Hydro continues to expand its transmission facilities without due regard to sustainable development, economics and health and environmental concerns of the citizens of Ontario, "We, the undersigned, petition the Honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Order Ontario Hydro to freeze expenditures for the 1993 fiscal year at 1992 levels and to immediately begin working on a business plan that will concentrate on cutting overheads instead of raising prices, to put the organization back on a firm financial footing;

"Authorize an independent study of all generation and transmission expansion programs and in particular report on the future electrical consumption needs of the province. It should assess, taking into consideration the high-level environmental damage, the economics of building transmission lines and buying and transmitting electrical power from northern Manitoba. It should fully explore the use of local, independent power projects and other energy generation sources as an alternative to long-distance high-voltage transmission lines. Recommendations for real conservation programs that will reduce the need for increased high-voltage power transmission should be an important part of this study;

"Order Ontario Hydro to develop a new plan that will make the present transmission corridors between Sudbury and Toronto capable of providing dependable electrical energy for this geographical area of Ontario for the next 50 years. This will result in lower costs and less environmental damage to Ontario."

This joins the hundreds of petitions presented earlier by the member for Parry Sound, and I too have affixed my name to this petition.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

#### LIQUOR CONTROL AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LES ALCOOLS

On motion by Ms Churley, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 113, An Act to amend the Liquor Control Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les alcools.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Minister, do you wish to make any comments?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): Yes. I am pleased to introduce for first reading a bill to amend the Liquor Control Act. The changes I am proposing will allow the government to complete its adjustments to Ontario's beer marketing practices in response to a recent GATT panel decision. These amendments will permit the sale of imported beer in Ontario beer stores, which currently sell only domestic beer. The changes outlined in the amendments will allow us to fully meet our international trade obligations relating to the sale and distribution of beer.

#### APOSTOLIC CATHOLIC ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST ACT, 1992

On motion by Mrs Marland, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill Pr83, An Act to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.

1510

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): Mr Speaker, I understand that we have unanimous consent to consider orders 2, 5, 6 and 7, all of them third reading, and that, further, there is agreement between the three parties to split third reading debate time equally.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is there unanimous consent? Agreed.

ADVOCACY ACT, 1992, AND COMPANION LEGISLATION LOI DE 1992 SUR L'INTERVENTION ET LES PROJETS DE LOI QUI L'ACCOMPAGNENT

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship): I move third reading of Bill 74, An Act respecting the Provision of Advocacy Services to Vulnerable Persons / Loi concernant la prestation de services d'intervention en faveur des personnes vulnérables.

I move, on behalf of Mr Hampton, third reading of Bill 108, An Act to provide for the making of Decisions on behalf of Adults concerning the Management of their Property and concerning their Personal Care / Loi prévoyant la prise de décisions au nom d'adultes en ce qui concerne la gestion de leurs biens et le soin de leur personne.

I move, on behalf of Ms Lankin, third reading of Bill 109, An Act respecting Consent to Treatment / Loi concernant le consentement au traitement.

I move, on behalf of Mr Hampton, third reading of Bill 110, An Act to amend certain Statutes of Ontario consequent upon the enactment of the Consent to Treatment Act, 1992 and the Substitute Decisions Act, 1992 / Loi modifiant certaines lois de l'Ontario par suite de l'adoption de la Loi de 1992 sur l'intervention, de la Loi de 1992 sur le consentement au traitement et de la Loi de 1992 sur la prise de décisions au nom d'autrui.

On behalf of my cabinet colleagues the Minister of Health and the Attorney General, I'm extremely pleased today to present the legislative package of the four interrelated acts, the Advocacy Act, the Substitute Decisions Act, the Consent to Treatment Act and the Consent and Capacity Statute Law Amendment Act for third reading.

The Advocacy Act is the cornerstone of this enabling legislative package. This is a very historic moment for all of us who have worked persistently in the last 20 years to see this legislative package become a reality. I'd like to take a moment to acknowledge and to thank all of those who are present from the community and representatives from the community who are here today for their great determination and vision. I will thank you more fully later on when we do our final summation.

The basic principle of this legislative package is to respect the rights and wishes of all people who are vulnerable as a result of a disability, aging, illness or accident. They must be given the opportunity to enable them to make their own personal, financial or health care decisions.

This is a coordinated approach to a systemic problem. The Advocacy Act is about empowerment and autonomy. The legislative framework is there to see that vulnerable adults get the information they need to make choices, to be able to speak for themselves, where possible, or to have an advocate to support or speak for them as they choose. By assuming ownership of their own lives, people will regain the self-respect that many of them have lost.

The Advocacy Act enshrines several fundamental principles: the rights of vulnerable persons to access advocates; independence from service providers; respect for privacy and availability of advocates in different settings, whether they are cultural or regional.

The Substitute Decisions Act promotes the rights of all Ontarians to make a living will. The framework allows people to authorize others to make personal, financial and health care decisions for them should they become incapable.

The Consent to Treatment Act incorporates in legislation for the first time the right of every capable person to make informed decisions about his or her own health care treatment.

For nearly 20 years, coroners' juries, consumers' groups and reports, such as those done by Steve Fram, Allan Manson, the late Father Sean O'Sullivan and more recently by Professor Ernie Lightman, have urged governments to bring forward legislation to support and protect the rights of vulnerable adults. Numerous committees and reports were commissioned to work on these very issues. Much of the necessary background work for this package stems from these earlier findings, and we are grateful for the contributions made by both opposition parties over the past several years.

Only two weeks ago the former member for St George-St David riding, Ian Scott, dispensed with partisan rhetoric to support this legislation and encourage its speedy adoption. He stated:

"It is much to the credit of the present government that it introduced this bill and has worked hard to bring it to a vote. Twenty years ago the concept that people with disabilities would voice their needs would have had little accordance with reality in the economic and social life of our community. It is critical that as the Advocacy Act moves through its final stages, its final amendments, it bear at the end the essentials to any advocacy system: independent delivery of advocacy services and the right of consumer groups to participate in the administration of this program."

Today we return to the Legislature after having benefited from the comments of more than 200 groups and individuals during two rounds of public consultations. A critical component in the review of the bills was the input of groups and organizations such as the Advocacy Centre for the Elderly and the Ontario Advocacy Coalition, with representation from 30 consumer and advocacy groups, including the Advocacy Resource Centre for the Handicapped, the Concerned Friends of Ontario Citizens in Care Facilities, Ontario Psychiatric Survivors, Pensioners Concerned for Ontario, Persons United for Self-Help and AIDS Action Now. Professional groups, such as the Ontario Medical Association and the Ontario Hospital Association, and family organizations, such as the Ontario

Friends of Schizophrenics and the Alzheimer Association, have brought forth concrete suggestions and helped us to clarify some of the issues.

We have listened carefully and worked diligently to present not only a principled act but a workable piece of legislation. I believe that as elected representatives we hold a common objective: empowerment and equity for disabled and frail vulnerable persons. A good balance has been struck. A strong act has evolved.

This is ground-breaking legislation. We have not had the benefit of learning from the experience of other jurisdictions. We have struggled together and our struggles have produced an act that will benefit all Ontarians.

It was almost two years ago to the day that I stood in this House to announce this government's intention to introduce this legislative package. At that time I quoted Father Sean O'Sullivan from his 1987 report You've Got a Friend. I would like to do so again.

"Regardless of physical or mental illness and/or impairment, vulnerable persons must have the power to make decisions and exercise their right of choice. People are people, whether or not they have identifiable handicaps. The advocacy system is designed to foster a vulnerable individual's sense of dignity as a valuable contributing citizen of Ontario."

I believe that the legislative package before you today brings these moving words to reality. It brings dignity and respect to vulnerable adults and therefore dignity and respect to everyone in Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I'm quite taken aback, actually, that the only minister to participate in this debate on third reading of four bills associated with the consent to treatment, substitute decision-making and advocacy bills is the Minister of Citizenship, with whom we probably had the most amount of difficulty in approaching these bills. If it's the intention of the other ministers to participate, then we'll look forward to that, but there certainly is one large gap in the debate so far in terms of ministerial participation.

#### 1520

For many months we've been considering the four bills associated with consent to treatment, substitute decision-making and the Advocacy Act, which would establish a new Advocacy Commission. Those bills are interconnected and interrelated and they will have enormous implications for every individual and every family in Ontario. But even more than that, they will have a significant impact on every health care practitioner and every health care institution.

Many educational settings, social service agencies and community organizations will have to work with these new rules, which will be new laws, and with the new parameters those laws will bring.

What has been deeply disturbing to all of us who have been through what can only be described as a monumentally frustrating process is the lack of care and attention the government has paid to these bills. I'd like to walk through with you, for a minute, Mr Speaker, some of the process we had to go through in coming to terms with what basically is developing law in Ontario.

The bills were presented to the House and the principles were accepted at second reading by all parties. You will remember that, Mr Speaker. But there was such inadequacy in the development of the legislation, such bad drafting and bad crafting that the government had to bring forward 199 amendments after the first round of public hearings. In those hearings, more groups and individuals appeared to present their concerns than had appeared in public hearings on Sunday shopping. I'd like to illustrate some of the kinds of concerns that were coming forward.

One of them relates to the Consent to Treatment Act and some of the original provisions of that act. Physicians were concerned that they would have to obtain informed consent to treatment for a procedure that would be provided in one setting but would not have to obtain consent for the same procedure if it were provided in a different setting. In other words, if a physician proposed a pelvic examination in his or her office, that physician may not have had to obtain the informed consent to proceed from the patient. But if the same examination were to have taken place in a hospital, the doctor would have had to have the consent of the patient to proceed.

I can only call that approach "stupidity." That kind of stupidity was included in the first draft as it was presented—in the bill as it was presented—to the House on first reading. One wonders, then, what kind of analysis went into considering the impact of such a law. What difference would it make, we have to ask ourselves—and we did ask ourselves—where the examination took place? The point is that the examination was intrusive, it is a controlled act under the Regulated Health Professions Act, and became no less intrusive because of the location of the place where it was to occur.

Yes, the government did bring in amendments to correct that approach, but one has to ask how it got into the bill in the first place. Why wasn't it considered to be an area that had no place in legislation presented as potential law of this province? It seems to me that it was there because of the sloppy approach in the presentation of the bill, by sloppy drafting and sloppy thinking. That's just one example.

While many of the amendments the government presented were valuable in correcting such sloppiness and, I think, in meeting the deeply held concerns not only of health care practitioners but of people representing other organizations, it was only at the instigation and insistence of the opposition that a second round of public hearings was allowed by the government.

After 199 amendments proposed by the government on complex, interrelated pieces of legislation were presented, we still had to fight in opposition to ensure a second round of public hearings. We had to fight to ensure that those who would be responsible on a day-to-day basis for living with and implementing these laws would have an opportunity to comment on the changes which were proposed by the government and by the opposition and whether those

changes improved things or might lead to the necessity for other changes.

I think the public should know the way this government operates and why we in opposition are so angry at the way the government approached these bills, because in order to obtain agreement on a second round of public hearings the government insisted on time allocation: that the government would limit time for public review and consideration of these bills and for appropriate debate. The government can characterize that—and it has tried to—as all-party agreement, but it was nothing short of blackmail.

We went into the standing committee on the second go-round to consider clause by clause. The process could be characterized as nothing short of a mess, with no ministers showing enough interest in these bills—and there are three ministers involved in these bills—and no ministers showing enough knowledge of the policy concepts included in their bills to be at committee to defend them. The government put forward amendments, then withdrew them. The government stood down its own amendments as well as those of the opposition. The government's own members on the committee were as appalled at the display as the public and opposition members were, and yet the display continued.

At one point the government proposed that advocates under Bill 74, for whom the advocacy bill sets no training standards or code of ethics, should be able to obtain, without permission, the medical and clinical records of any person in Ontario who is disabled and any person in Ontario who is a senior citizen. At my insistence, that amendment was ruled out of order. But what kind of thinking, what discipline, what amateurism was driving the Advocacy Act?

As a result of the mess in committee, I put a motion before the committee. I think it explains in some detail the kind of frustration that we, health care practitioners and people from advocacy groups felt with respect to the process that was allowed to go on. I just want to read that to you. The motion read:

"I move that the Chair of the standing committee on administration of justice, on behalf of its members, report to the Legislative Assembly with respect to Bill 74 as follows:

- "(a) That the members, having proceeded to examine Bill 74 clause by clause, are unable to complete the work assigned to them by the assembly in the time allotted by the motion of the House;
- "(b) That government motions altering the policy of the bill have been presented to the committee for consideration in the final moments available for consideration of the bill;
- "(c) That opposition and government motions for amendments have been stood down by the parliamentary assistant for clarification or redrafting and have not been brought back to the committee for reconsideration;
- "(d) That committee recesses prompted by the government's uncertainty over the policy intent of the bill have caused undue delays in the committee's work;
- "(e) That the committee is unable to exercise its legislative duties with diligence due to numerous conflicting amendments and public concerns; and further, that

"(f) It is the recommendation of the committee that, due to its deficiencies in policy and drafting, the minister withdraw Bill 74 in its current form, clarify the policy intent and introduce a revised bill for appropriate consideration by members of the Legislative Assembly."

That motion was voted down in committee. Even government members acknowledged to me that they wished they had been able to vote for that motion and that the report to the House was one that should not have been made, particularly with Bill 74 in the form in which it came back to this House. Even government members were embarrassed by the lack of policy consistency, by the sloppiness in the presentation of amendments and by the flipflopping on details of the bill.

1530

There never has been, in committee, such a shambles with respect to government legislation. It was clear that the minister responsible had not done her work and that the parliamentary assistant had no authority to make change and additions or to authorize further consideration of certain areas.

I will tell you that, subsequent to clause-by-clause consideration of these bills in committee, it was with enormous relief that the Premier's office finally understood the anxiety that was being expressed, not only by me in opposition, not only by the third party, but by representatives of every health care provider organization in the province. It was with enormous relief that the Minister of Citizenship was yanked off the job and that the Deputy Attorney General and the Premier's adviser, David Reville, were brought in to talk with the health care providers and determine the extent of the change that was needed.

But at what late date, and at what cost in human resources, in legal and other professional fees? Even then, there is something distasteful about a government that says to provider groups: "We'll give you some changes. We'll give you some of the changes you want, but you must sign off on these changes or you won't get any of them." That too is blackmail. That many of the organizations did sign a letter tells me that they believed they would get no change without a signature on a page.

The Minister of Citizenship was waving that sheet around in the House last week as if it were a big victory. Well, she should know there is no victory in blackmail, and she should know that that paper should be kept under wraps. There is only shame in it, and it's her shame.

There's also shame in the fact that by the time we reached committee of the whole House the government had put forward more than 300 amendments to these bills. That doesn't show that the government is open, as it will make claim to be. It simply shows how badly the legislation was considered and crafted in the first place; how incompetent the work was in shaping what are to be, I point out, new laws in this province.

There's also shame in the lack of public debate surrounding these bills. After seven days of clause-by-clause consideration of these bills in committee, which were a shambles, as I've pointed out, the bills came back to the House for committee of the whole consideration. We were only able to address 29 sections of one of those bills in the

House. Three bills have not been considered in this chamber in any way. In every one of those bills the government had proposed substantive and substantial change. Were proposed amendments not read into the record at the insistence of the opposition, there would be no way that anyone would have known what the government's final proposals were and what the final shape of the legislation would be.

Even with the reading in of the amendments, the bills are so complex that the final impact is still a mystery to those who will be breaking the law if they don't follow them. The bills are fundamentally different from that which was placed before the House at first reading, but many of the issues included in amendments, which were placed in committee of the whole, were never discussed in the standing committee. There was no testimony relating to them and the amendments appeared out of the blue.

I want to speak to one of these directly, because I think it is of adequate concern that the government should not proceed with it. I wish the Minister of Health were here; I hope she's listening, if she's not.

To do that I will have to return to the age issue in the Consent to Treatment Act. The intent of the Consent to Treatment Act and the principle, which we concur with, was to codify the common law with respect to consent to treatment. But Bill 109 did more than that, because it introduced an extraneous layer of rights adviser into the process. The common law, as you know, requires that if the person has the capacity or intellectual ability to reach a reasoned choice, given full information about whether to proceed with treatment, that person has the right to make that choice and to provide that consent.

For hundreds of years the common law has supported the right of children to provide consent to treatment where they fully understand the nature of the treatment, the illness or disease or condition which is to be treated, and the consequences of providing consent or refusing consent to that treatment. In practice, as parents, in most instances we assist our children in making those decisions. When the child does not have the capacity to consent, as parents we are usually the substitute decision-makers; ie, in place of the child we make the decision as to whether to proceed with the treatment or whether to refuse the treatment.

I am satisfied that the amendments proposed with respect to the age of consent truly reflect a codification of the common law. Where there is a problem, however—and I hope people understand this—is the intervention of rights advisers into the consent process. In the situation of a child, the legislation originally proposed that if a professional health care provider/practitioner had adjudged a child not to have the capacity to provide consent to a treatment, the child could have access to a rights adviser who would assist the child in challenging that professional judgement.

So we have a new actor here, a rights adviser, an extraneous third person, a stranger, inserted between child and parent and between child and physician. This intervention presents a fundamentally different view of the responsibilities and legal requirements which we accept as parents to act in the best interests of our children, to make decisions on their behalf which will ensure that they receive the most appropriate and the best care in the most timely way.

It also brings to the relationship between physician and child a new adversarial process, because what is being challenged is the physician's personal judgement about the child's capacity to make a consent decision alone, without assistance from the parent or another substitute decision-maker. It is a challenge to the professional judgement and capability of the physician, and it introduces an adversarial element into that relationship.

I want to describe a situation that was put to us in committee by practitioners from the Hospital for Sick Children who spoke about the fear which may ensue and influence a child's decision, indeed the capacity of a child to make a decision, with respect to heavily intrusive treatment. We think of a child, by example, with scoliosis, where there is more than one treatment proposed in a series of a course of treatments that will lead ultimately to a benefit in the health of the child. Each one of those treatments is a painful, excruciating process for the child. If the decision of the child is made in fear of pain, that fear alone may interfere with the capacity of the child to make an informed judgement.

At that point the parent, the physician and other people who are on the health care team, including counsellors, have been intimately involved with the child in working their way through a long, stressful and painful course of treatment. In this case, because of fear, because of the fear of pain on the part of the child, the physician may say, "At this point, I do not believe the child is making an informed, capable judgement about whether to proceed with treatment or not proceed with treatment."

The legislation proposed that at 12 years of age the child could engage a rights adviser new to the process, over and above the other multidisciplinary approach that had been taken, including involving the family, the parents and other people who have responsibility for the care of that child. The child is now able to intervene by questioning the professional judgement of the practitioner with respect to the child's own capacity. In doing so, that intervention can create a situation where there's a new adversarial relationship between the physician and child, where the level of trust which had been established between physician, child, patient and others on the health care team is put at risk. There can be delay in decision-making, which itself can be of serious and long-term concern in terms of the health care treatment of the child.

#### 1540

That's one of the instances that was put before us in committee. It's a telling one. There were others put before us that were similarly telling. After much consideration and debate, I put forward a motion that would have moved the automatic intervention of the rights adviser to age 16 from age 12. The third party placed the same amendment, and groups and organizations, including children's aid societies, strongly supported that change. It was a reasonable age to pick. I want to give credit to legal counsel for the Ministry of Health, who provided our committee with a substantial report with respect to the history of the age of consent and who, in that report indicated the kinds of deci-

sions that had been made with respect to determining when a minor can be mature for various areas of decision-making.

But 16, in terms of the rights adviser kick-in, appeared to be a time that was reasonable. It is a time when young people are reaching the conclusion of their high school years, when they're recognized as being able to make their own decisions about whether or not to stay in school, when many of them are making decisions about the kind of training, education and other choices about their future. That age of 16 was not selected in isolation from other common law treatment of the mature minor.

Yet we saw the government's final reaction in committee of the whole House on Thursday of last week. We saw that they've taken the four years between age 12 and age 16, divided them in half and changed the age for the entitlement to rights advice to 14.

What kind of policy-making is this? What kind of decision-making is it that says we'll take one point of view on the one hand, another point of view on the other hand and we'll reach a compromise by averaging? I can't tell you how outraged people are who have understood the approach the government has finally taken here. There was no testimony before the committee that suggested that 14 years was an appropriate age. There was no discussion of 14 years as a proposed change to this section of the bill. There was no public hint by government that it was considering moving to 14 years from 12, and not to 16 years. In fact, all the indications from government were that it was going to stick with 12 years for information about rights advice.

How can anyone have any confidence that other changes haven't been made because of a mere averaging of competing views? How could anyone have any confidence that the laws we are making are being made with careful thought and deliberation? No one is happy with this decision. It solves none of the problems that were raised with respect to the age issue in the first place. It's no solution and it will continue to create conflict. I'll tell you that the phones in all our offices are ringing off the hook today as a result of this decision.

But there is another area where the government has made a move on the age issue that is equally, if not more, troubling. Once again, I will have to go into some background detail to discuss this issue. The Substitute Decisions Act and the Consent to Treatment Act make provision for a person to decide in advance how he or she would want to be treated in the event that he or she is incapable of making a clear instruction at a later time. There is a process spelled out for doing so. That process would require that the person must be capable at the time an advance directive is made and would reflect the person's values and choices about future health care.

There may be many influences on that person's decision. They could be cultural, they could be religious, they could be based on a person's own family experience or heritage. But the intent is that the choice of the individual about how he or she should be treated is paramount in providing or refusing consent. Those are the instructions the health care practitioner must take into account.

In a hasty amendment which was placed in committee of the whole last Thursday and which we had no time to debate, the government has introduced an age requirement for an advance directive that it requires in no other circumstances for the provision of consent to treatment. There was no testimony before the committee on this point. There was no discussion as to whether a person who was capable of providing consent for imminent treatment might not be capable of providing consent for future treatment. There was no discussion of the common law treatment of instructions with respect to treatment which could occur at the present time, in comparison to instructions about treatment which could occur at a later time.

The fundamental discussion and the fundamental principles which were accepted were that, if one were capable and informed, one could provide consent for treatment or refuse to provide consent for treatment that was proposed to take place at the current time, or that one could provide, through a process, instructions about future consent to treatment or the refusal to provide consent to treatment.

A capable consent could be based on religious grounds. A capable consent could take into account cultural and other heritages. But the fundamental point is that a capable consent reflected the individual point of view and the individual choice of the person making the decision about consent.

It appears that in certain instances those parameters have changed, because the government is now saying that one cannot provide an advance directive with respect to consent unless one is over 16, but one can provide consent to treatment at any age. So the person who is under 16, who may profess a faith or reflect a heritage that prefers a certain approach to treatment, may not have that faith or that heritage honoured.

I'm not a Jehovah's Witness, and I disagree with many of the fundamental tenets of that religion. I'm not a Christian Scientist, and I disagree with many of the fundamental tenets of that religion. But like many others here, I joined my own church when I was 12 or 13 years old and, in doing so, I accepted certain obligations that were an integral part of my own faith and the way I would live my life. Thousands of others do the same. Many people here, and in fact I suggest most people in this chamber, have done the same at the same age. While the experience of age may mean that the full theological underpinnings of that choice of religion may be undeveloped, the fundamental values of the religion are clearly known and understood by thousands of young people.

The government has accepted an amendment proposed by a distinguished practitioner at the Hospital for Sick Children, but, Mr Speaker, there was no discussion of the ethical issues surrounding that proposal. It never came to committee at any time. Now I know and you know and other members here know how difficult it is for practitioners to deal with ethical questions surrounding treatment of a person whose religious views of treatment conflict with their own mandate as health care providers.

When you're training and your ethical code and the standards of practice require that you heal using every possible approach available to you, it is deeply disturbing when a patient places limits that may be life-threatening on what you as a practitioner are allowed to do when a person may die who with your skill, given the freedom to act, might otherwise be saved, when a person who refuses a blood transfusion on religious grounds, by example, may not recover. Yet surely it's a gross invasion of human rights to say that a person, solely because of age, can have an otherwise capable direction with respect to health care set aside.

#### 1550

There was no discussion, again I underline, of the ethical implications of this issue in committee. It would have been useful, I believe, to have had this proposal discussed by medical ethicists so that legislators could have had a clearer understanding of the practical and the theoretical issues surrounding this proposal. It would have been useful to have had doctors, nurses, children's aid societies and lawyers before the committee to explore how such issues have been dealt with in the past and the most appropriate way to deal with them in law in the future. But we had none of that.

Mr Speaker, we had a surprise amendment at the end of what you understand was a convoluted and very complex process, where not only on this issue but on many others there was inadequate time and insufficient review to ensure that the laws which are being formulated are good laws.

I am personally very uneasy about the implications of this amendment. Because of the way the time allocation has been made, I have not even had the opportunity to discuss with my own caucus colleagues the specific implications of this particular amendment. No other caucus has had the opportunity to have that discussion as well, including, I put it to you, the government caucus. But we are proceeding apace, and while there may be unease, it's very clear that the government is going to proceed with this, despite not knowing the clear implications of this amendment.

Is the government in fact perpetuating and legalizing a discrimination against a group of people that professes a certain kind of faith? That may well be the long-term implication of this particular amendment. I do not believe that it has been explored in adequate depth. I do not believe that the government has paid attention to more than one point of view with respect to this particular issue. I will tell you that the reservations which I've expressed and those which are being put forward here by the third party and by the dozens of organizations and individuals have not been frivolous, and I don't believe that in this area they've been frivolous either.

It's fair to say, I think, that we've all worked very hard on these bills. I look in the gallery, and there are many people who walk through these bills in their own organizations from morning till night. There are many people who'll be following this debate on television in their own offices and in their own places and they have worked extremely hard on these bills.

Scores of people appeared before us at an enormous cost of time and money. At various times some of them came to us and apologized that they had not been able to afford legal counsel in order to assist them in framing their arguments and in preparing their analysis of these bills. In

many cases other groups and organizations had indeed placed considerable cost in dollar terms into obtaining the services of legal counsel to deal with the issues that were before us in these bills.

In virtually all cases, people appearing before the committee, no matter how enthusiastic they were about the principles of these bills, no matter how enthusiastic they were about approaches which were being taken to an Advocacy Commission, about approaches that were being taken to codifying the common law provisions of consent to treatment, and no matter how enthusiastic they were about introducing new concepts and new ways, by example, of providing advance decision-making, saw and spoke to us about enormous gaps that existed in these bills, about implications that hadn't been analysed, about cross-referencing from one profession, from one agency or organization, from one individual vis-à-vis treatment and care versus another.

What they were saying was that the government hadn't done its homework. I think that's what we've seen throughout this process, and it's very clear, with the number of amendments that have been brought forward, with the assiduously prepared and well-documented briefs that we received, that the government has not done its homework.

I think if I can pay tribute to people, many of whom are here and many of whom are not, it would be scant tribute in comparison to the time they put into working on these bills. Whether in certain instances I was able, as a member of the Legislature, to support their point of view and to move that point of view forward or whether I had a fundamental disagreement with a point of view on a particular area, there was certainly no question about the effort that was placed into the work on these bills and the commitment that lay behind it. For that, I think with other members of the House, I am deeply appreciative.

I think in other cases, in fact as we move, by example, into issues associated with the delivery of long-term care and some of the implications that this policy will have for the disabled, we will have established a respectful working relationship, and I look forward to that.

I have to pay credit as well to Norm Sterling of the third party, the member for Carleton, who presented a private member's bill to this House—

#### Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): What about me?

Mrs Sullivan: Well, I'm not paying tribute to the member for Simcoe West. It's Mr Sterling particularly whom I now want to acknowledge because Mr Sterling's work in putting forward to the chamber a private member's bill associated with advance directives certainly influenced the shaping of Bill 108, the Substitute Decisions Act, and certainly it was with his encouragement on a continuing basis, if not his nagging, that much of that bill went forward.

I think if that underlines one thing for us here, it is that we, as private members, can indeed make a difference, and I think that even if he's from the third party and even if we disagree on many other points of view, he deserves considerable credit in this particular situation.

I'd also like to acknowledge the work of several people who have been working on these bills, not only in the term of this government but in the terms of other governments. I particularly want to acknowledge Steve Fram and Gilbert Sharpe.

I think it's fair to say that over a period of time with the last three governments—this government, the government before and the government before that—those individuals have been exploring the issues with respect to substitute decision-making with other people in their ministries and have collected an enormous amount of wisdom, knowledge and documentation with respect to those bills. That has to be acknowledged and it has to be understood that we relied on those officials for much of our learning process.

#### 1600

One of the things I feel very badly about—and I hope the government will acknowledge that it has probably destroyed much of the trust that could have been built up—was that particularly with the Consent to Treatment Act, there was a process that had been started by the past government in terms of public consultation. The principles of the Consent to Treatment Act had been distributed, and with the change in government, the process of hearing responses to those principles and in establishing the underlying approach to the development of the bill was truncated. Had that process continued, had it gone on, my view is that there would be far less of the kind of misunderstanding and last-minute decision-making, such as that associated with the advance directive for under 16s, than we are seeing now.

I further venture to say that codifying the common law, which was the intent of Bill 109, would have proceeded in that manner without the intervention of new concepts which could justifiably have been placed elsewhere.

Mr Speaker, with this legislation, you know that we have had substantial points of disagreement and extraordinary concern. We believe that many of the concerns which were addressed on second reading of the bill, in standing committee and in clause-by-clause have subsequently been answered, frankly, because the Minister of Citizenship was taken out of the process. We are pleased that some of those concerns have been addressed, but there are still a lot of questions to be answered in association with these bills.

We don't understand why, by example, when the government is establishing a new profession, it can't define within the law itself the scope of activity, the training, the code of ethics and the standards that will apply to people in that profession and who will have highly interventionist roles in other people's lives. We don't know how the work of rights advisers will be funded. We've seen immense cutbacks in health care delivery already. How will these rights advisers be paid for? We still don't know the qualifications of an assessor, who will decide if a person is mentally capable of making various decisions. We don't know if the government intends that they should be medical practitioners only or if they should be social workers or lawyers or teachers or dentists or nurses.

Most of all, we don't understand why the government is in such a rush. How can the government be in this kind of a rush when we don't know, and it probably doesn't know, how it intends to pay for or gear up to the new responsibilities, which include, I believe, 130 new statutory duties demanded by Bill 108 for the office of public trustee? The auditor's report again this year shows that the public trustee is unable to handle its existing responsibilities, that it is not meeting its fiduciary obligations with respect to trusts already within its care.

We've heard nothing from the government about what its intentions are with respect to funding to make Bill 108 work. Without funding, this entire legislative process has been merely an exercise.

As I said, most of all, we don't understand why the government is in such a rush. The common law, with respect to consent to treatment, has been around for hundreds of years. Why must there be third reading today to a law, the development of which has been most unsatisfactory?

Most people who will be affected by these laws have not seen the final shape they will take. They have yet to gauge how these laws will finally affect their families and hospitals and nursing homes and doctors and nurses and midwives and group homes and vulnerable people. That's because, as members ourselves, we've just seen the final shape of these bills this very day.

Too much of the bills, too much of the actual law is left unseen, and too much of these bills is left to the regulations, which can be, and most frequently are, developed behind closed doors.

I'd just like to underline and reiterate the calls which have been made by, I think, the majority of groups and organizations, no matter who they represent, about exercising caution in the drafting of the regulations associated with these bills. I want to underline the call that all stakeholders should be involved in that process of regulation drafting, that ministers should commit today to a process which is comparable to that which the Minister of Health has used in the development of the Regulated Health Professions Act, that people are involved in that regulation drafting, that their concerns are put on the table and that there is a sharing of the wisdom and experience of various groups and organizations.

I can't underline how much I agree with the demand that's being put that there be stakeholder participation in the development of the regulations. People have said that time, thought and scrutiny are clearly needed: the time, the thought and the scrutiny that were absent from the presentation of these bills in the first place. The hurried, sloppy process we've been through so far serves no one and may harm many. It cannot be repeated.

As I close, I want to again underline, as we have done and the third party has done in committee, that we believe there is a place and a need for legislation that will provide additional assistance to people who cannot speak for themselves, who require additional protection when society automatically doesn't provide that protection.

We worked all the way through these bills, and as I underlined, nothing we presented in committee was frivolous; none of our argumentation was frivolous. We wanted to make these bills workable. We wanted to make them implementable. We wanted to ensure that they enhanced

the dignity and provided the protection, and did not deter from the dignity, the protection or the adequacy of health care provision to anybody.

We still have enormous reservations about the bills. We do not believe, frankly, that we can support them all when it comes time for the vote, because they have not been discussed in this place with the full involvement of all members of the chamber.

As you know, Mr Speaker, and our vote on second reading showed, the principles of the bills were ones we supported. We are deeply, deeply concerned, however, on yet many occasions and in many instances about the actual outcome of what has occurred in the drafting and in the presentation of these bills.

I am told the Attorney General and the Minister of Health will both be speaking to these pieces of legislation. I hope they will answer, without invective, some of the positions we have taken through committee and through committee of the whole. We deeply regret the lack of discussion and the hurried framework and timing with which these bills have been proceeding.

#### 1610

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): At the outset, I'd like to thank the member for Halton Centre for her kind remarks regarding my involvement with this topic and these bills.

My interest in the subject started back on April 3, 1990. You may recall that was prior to the last election when I introduced two private member's bills to this Legislature: One, An Act to amend the Powers of Attorney Act, and the other, An Act respecting Natural Death.

These two bills dealt with what we now know are powers of attorney for personal care and living wills, which is the more common name with regard to the other private member's bill I introduced.

I introduced those because of an interest in this subject which was brought to my attention by my mother, Doris Sterling.

My mother is 83 years of age at this time and was 81 at that time, I believe. My mother is a fiercely independent woman who raised four children on her own because of the early death of my father. Because of that independence and because of the fact that during her lifetime she remained in absolute control over her destiny and the destiny of her children without the aid of any state or anyone else, she decided that she wanted control over her life until its end and that some of that control, even if she was not competent, would be put in her hands by making a living will.

Perhaps, if this legislation passes and becomes law, she'll be able to make a power of attorney for personal care so that her children can help make some of the decisions, on her instructions, if she is not able to. It's with that admiration for my mother and my undying love for her that I got interested in this matter and brought these bills forward.

After the election in September 1990, I introduced Bills 7 and 8, which had the same content as the earlier bills, the other, earlier bills having died because of that election. In April 1991, for the first time, a private member

had the unanimous consent of this House to hear both bills at the same time. Both of those bills passed second reading on April 11, 1991, and were referred to the justice committee. Just as we were about to start public hearings, the government introduced its own legislation, I think in part in response to the fact that I had brought this agenda to the fore, to public attention.

Realizing that my bills were in a lot of ways secondary to the government legislation—in reality, any private member should know that while his private member's bills may be of great interest to himself or herself, the truth of the matter is that it's very difficult to have those passed into law—and after having looked at the government bills, Bills 108 and 109 in particular, I found them to be superior with regard to dealing with durable powers of attorney or personal powers of attorney and living wills. I wrote a letter to the committee and indicated that I wanted my bills put on the back burner and that we should wait to have public hearings after the summer recess because people didn't have an opportunity to review the government legislation. It was complicated and it was important and they should have that time to respond.

We did get into considering that legislation in a committee of this Legislature in February 1992. After those hearings the government, recognizing that there were some serious concerns and problems with the four bills, brought forward 199 amendments to the committee, some time, I believe, in either April or May of this year, 1992. My party, and I stood in this Legislature, indicated a grave concern that the groups that had come to us in February and, I believe, in March of this year, and had expressed concerns about Bills 74, 108, 109 and 110, should be given the opportunity to look at 199 amendments and have the opportunity to come back to the committee and express their concerns over that number of amendments or what those amendments did with regard to the submissions they had already made.

In order to gain those public hearings, both opposition parties, acting in a constructive manner, agreed to some time allocation or limiting our time in dealing with debate of those bills as we went through the process. Little did we know on May 28, when that resolution was passed, that the government would subsequently introduce as many as 200 more amendments to those bills. In terms of the goodwill of the opposition in agreeing to limit the time for debate in committee and in committee of the whole House and now on third reading, we did not contemplate that the government would need to not only deal with the 199 amendments which it first introduced but introduce something like 205 or 206 amendments subsequent to that time, both in the justice committee and in committee of the whole House.

I think members of the Legislature and the public should know, on record, that before the justice committee reported these bills to this Legislature some time late in September, I suggested to the government members of the committee that it probably would be most prudent for us not to report the bill at that time. I said, and I believe it's recorded in Hansard, that it would be most logical for the government to keep the bill lodged in the justice committee just in case the government should see the need for

further amendment after it had had an opportunity to consult again with the many people who are affected by this legislation.

What happened was that the government members, as, I believe, directed by their various ministers, decided to report the bill anyway to the Legislature and lodged it in the committee of the whole House. I believe they were acting on the basis that, "Well, we've got to get on with this thing," etc. I agree; let's get on with it, but we have to be competent in what we do in this Legislature. We are affecting the lives of many people here, we are putting down new rights for certain people in our society, and therefore we must be certain that there are certain protections afforded those people who are going to be dealt with by the people who have those rights.

Subsequent to the justice committee of this Legislature dealing with these bills we had 120 additional amendments put forward by the government, I believe on Tuesday of last week. The problem with that is that, with regard to Bill 74, the advocacy bill, which is perhaps the most dangerous bill with regard to creating new rights and interference in the average citizens' lives in this province, there were 60 amendments put forward to that bill, which contains only 41 sections. So there were more amendments put in this Legislature last week than the total bill. We were only given an opportunity to debate about half of those amendments before closure came upon us, and I pleaded with the government House leader. Once again I said, "Give us a little bit more time so that we can talk about these amendments, deal with them in a reasonable fashion."

I think anyone who wants to examine the record will find that neither the Liberal Party, led by the member for Hamilton Centre, nor our party—the debate was seized by myself and the member for Simcoe West, Mr Wilson—no one could charge that either opposition party was trying to delay or stall debate on any individual sections. We were, in fact, dealing with them in a very, very timely manner. But as a consequence of the government closure on this debate, there were some 80 to 100 sections of amendments on Bill 74, Bill 108, Bill 109 and Bill 110 which have never been debated in this Legislature.

I pleaded with the government not only because I was concerned about them but because it became evident as we went through these hearings that the government was in trouble with regard to what it wanted to do in this legislation and it was having trouble with the wording of the legislation. My greatest fear is that, because of these last-minute amendments and the very, very large number—I've never been in this Legislature during the debate in committee of the whole House where there have been 120 amendments at the very last moment on a set of bills—the intent of the government, although I differ with it in certain parts, will not be carried forward in the legislation, just because of the process and the government's inability to be flexible.

1620

One of the things one learns as one sits in this Legislature for a longer and longer period is that a certain pacing is necessary with regard to legislation. I believe very strongly that the government has stepped out of line with regard to the pacing of this legislation. They would have

had much better legislation had they allowed a little bit more debate. Even perhaps a few more hours of debate would have assisted them in reaching a better bill in the end.

All of the government amendments, all 120 amendments, carried. That means that the debate either was not listened to or did not take place. There was only one amendment, in the last stages of the bill, which passed. That was an amendment put forward by myself on Bill 109, which I will refer to in a few moments.

I want to also indicate that we were as constructive as we possibly could all the way through the process. When I initiated this process back in April 1990, I was concerned and I wanted something done with regard to living wills and durable powers of attorney for personal care. We continue to strive for good law with regard to dealing with vulnerable people, with all people, so that they will have an empowerment to control their lives to their very last moment.

Of course, the legislation that was introduced by the government included many concepts which I didn't include in my bill.

With regard to the various bills, I'd like to talk about those briefly so that some of my colleagues in my party will have an opportunity to also debate it in the very constricted time frame we have been allowed here today.

Bill 108 was the bill which dealt with powers of attorney. Our party will be voting in favour of Bill 108. This bill provides a person with additional rights to control his or her life to the end of his or her life.

I'd like at this time to recognize Marilynne Seguin of Dying with Dignity, a Canadian association which has been trying to encourage citizens across this country to plan so that they can have this empowerment to the end of their lives. Marilynne and that voluntary group have been working very hard and, incidentally, have produced a very, very good living will. Anyone who would like to contact them may either look up their number up in the telephone book or telephone my office.

But the durable power of attorney or the power of attorney for personal care will allow individuals in this province to have a document signed by two witnesses that will allow them to designate one or two or more persons the right to make decisions if they should not be in the position to make those decisions about their personal care.

We are also supporting this bill because it gives greater authority and greater hope for the families of schizophrenic patients to get agreement from schizophrenic patients to have themselves dealt with or medicated or treated once they have lost capacity.

I want to say that perhaps of all of the bills, this bill was most palatable to us to begin with. Also, I must say that the Ministry of the Attorney General was most receptive to amendments as well. The bill made it much easier to sign a durable or a personal power of attorney because they lessened the requirements with regard to the witnesses. They also made some other changes which will in fact encourage people to do this. The bill as originally designed was very technical. My belief was that it would have discouraged people from utilizing this instrument to control their lives. Now they have acceded to the opposition

demands and amendments and have in fact made the document much more workable.

They have also, however, kept some of the formal requirements so that a power of attorney for personal care will only be valid when used in certain institutions, like psychiatric institutions, if validated, which will require a much more complicated process than an unvalidated personal power of attorney, which I believe most citizens in the province will in fact use.

I want to thank in particular the Canadian Bar Association, which brought forward some very pertinent points during the hearings and led to many of the amendments that my caucus colleague Mr Wilson and I put forward during the committee hearings to make the document a living document, a document that I believe will be utilized by many of the citizens of Ontario because it has been made fairly simple to do and it should not be a costly document to put forward.

I believe the Attorney General will also be putting forward a standard document so that many citizens perhaps will not feel the necessity to consult their lawyer or whatever but can in fact have it signed in front of a few friends or neighbours.

The next bill, Bill 109, deals with consent to treatment and includes within it the whole concept of a living will. The difference of a living will as opposed to a personal power of attorney is that in this case you are defining circumstances under which you would not want treatment or you would like a certain kind of treatment should circumstances arise.

This bill, Bill 109, dealing with consent to treatment, of course goes much further and wider than anything I envisaged with regard to my living will legislation. It includes, of course, treatment to vulnerable adults and vulnerable children, and dealing with them in a direct sense.

Perhaps the most concern we have with regard to Bill 109 is that while the Minister of Health was gracious enough in accepting my amendment to raise the age with regard to the imposition of this bill from 12 to 14—and I thank her for that—we were hoping she would accede to the requests of many of the people in front of the committee, particularly of those people who were psychiatrists and psychologists, and the children's aid society etc, who would have liked to have seen 16 as being the age when this bill should be triggered in.

The objection is that advocates will be involved in making decisions and could become a thorn between a family and a child. Therefore we view the age of 14 as still being an immature age. We believe the whole area of empowerment should apply to people who are 16 years of age and over, as, given in evidence in front of the committee, people under that age, while having the reasoning power in many instances to make decisions, do not have the experience component in order to make those decisions.

We preferred the common law, as outlined in legislation we already have, which required participation by the health provider or perhaps by the children's aid society, or required the family to be involved in making decisions with regard to people under that age. We think it's inappropriate for the state to be funding and putting an advocate into a family situation with regard to immature people or people under the age of 16.

Therefore, we have a great deal of difficulty in supporting the legislation as it now exists.

The last bill I want to refer to, and perhaps the most important, is Bill 74. Our intention at this time is to vote against this bill, because we view this bill to be based on the wrong assumption. Bill 74, the advocates' act, is based on a lack of trust in our institutions, it's based on a lack of trust in our health providers and it's based on a lack of trust in our families.

#### 1630

I asked for evidence from the Ministry of Citizenship as to the justification for this lack of trust and the need for this legislation to be brought forward. I was given an answer, and I have that answer in my hand. The documentation given to me as the justification for Bill 74, an unbelievable intrusion into the lives of the people of Ontario, both vulnerable and not vulnerable people, was based primarily on an Alberta study, and the rest of the documentation I was given—you can see the thickness of this file—were news clippings about one particular incident which was mentioned on the front page of the Globe, dealing with a home in Orillia.

It is not my belief that there is a prevalence of lack of care for vulnerable people in this province. There are some instances of it, and I abhor those people who would not treat vulnerable people in a fair and meaningful way. It was my government that introduced the whole concept of advocates back in 1983, in psychiatric institutions. I am not against expanding that role with regard to advocates in certain other kinds of circumstances, but I am against this act, which is an unbelievable intrusion into the lives of vulnerable people in particular, but other people as well, the families of vulnerable people more particularly.

We don't know what an advocate is yet. We have gone through this process and we have not been told yet what an advocate will or will not be. We have not got a code of ethics for an advocate. We do not know what the limitations of those advocates will or will not be. There is confusion, and I think there will be confusion, in the minds of the public because of the name of this particular act. Advocates are in many ways associated with lawyers. These people, I am told, will not be lawyers.

We have four main concerns with regard to this act. One is that there is a lack of a discipline process with regard to what an advocate might or might not do and how he or she might be called into line if in fact that advocate steps out of line.

I read to you a letter, which I received a copy of. It was to the Minister of Health from a person who was in Penetanguishene, I believe, probably in the psychiatric hospital there. This person had complained about the role of an advocate in the psychiatric institution.

"It is my opinion that the investigation conducted by X and X is completely biased, it contains improper and misconstrued facts and it is nothing less than a coverup for their advocate. Therefore, I request that my complaint be reinvestigated independently of the psychiatric patient advocate office."

I tried to get this government to understand that that same problem is going to exist with these advocates and to set up an independent discipline process. They did not listen to my concerns.

We are giving in this bill rights to advocates to obtain health care records which cannot in fact be obtained by the patient himself; in other words, we're giving to advocates greater rights to obtain records than the patient himself.

I have written to the minister and indicated to her that I find that incongruous and I find it completely confusing, that with people in the same institution, one vulnerable person through his or her advocate may have one kind of access to medical records whereas the patient sitting in the next bed or in the next room will have a different set of rules dealing with information. I suggested to the minister that she include health care institutions under our freedom of information act and that everybody be given the same rights to information, and that the advocate only assume the role of the patient. I haven't, incidentally, received a response to that correspondence yet.

Our other concern is with regard to third-party privacy. Under this legislation, we have given the advocates the right to go into health care records and to see the name of your and my medical health care records. We are not requiring that health care institution, before it hands over those records, to erase your or my name, should they be there. I consider this an infringement on the privacy of individuals. In fact, these concerns, which I have raised heretofore, were raised by the Information and Privacy Commissioner, to whom the government has not listened, on September 27, 1991, in his submission to the committee.

I have raised two concerns: the discipline process and privacy dealing with records. The third concern deals with privacy with regard to residences and with regard to the respect and dignity of vulnerable people who may be living in places like nursing homes.

I asked the minister to consider an amendment which would have forbidden an advocate to enter the private room of an older person in a nursing home. She refused to give that to me. Under Bill 74, an advocate can walk unannounced into a nursing home room where a vulnerable adult or a vulnerable person is residing. That is their home, and I don't see any reason why that advocate should have the right to walk in there without reason; he's not even required to have a reason under this act. I believe that is a gross invasion of privacy of our elderly and vulnerable people, and for that very reason alone could never support Bill 74. I can assure you that that section of this act would be changed if the government changed next time and we were fortunate enough to be there.

Lastly, our party is very much concerned, given that there are not really adequate reasons put forward for the need for this legislation at the huge cost this is putting forward.

I want to quote Dr John Cleghorn, who is the head of the schizophrenia research program at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, in his brief to the committee on page 11.

Twenty-three million dollars is going to the Advocacy Commission alone. That's not counting the money that the Attorney General and the Ministry of Health and the health care system are going to have to absorb because of the delays, the paperwork etc, involved with regard to this legislation. I have not even mentioned the public trustee's office, which said it would perhaps be expending as much as \$43 million to implement this legislation.

I don't think people in this province realize that schizophrenic patients, although they are 1% of the population, utilize 8% of the health care budget of this province. It's a huge expenditure. Half our beds in our psychiatric institutions are occupied by schizophrenic patients. Dr Cleghorn says, "That proportion of the many millions of dollars it will cost to implement these new acts would be better spent on research on the causes and a cure for schizophrenia."

Currently, this province spends less than \$1 million on research into schizophrenia, and we are probably spending in the neighbourhood of \$700 million to \$1 billion for people who are suffering from this debilitating disease. My argument is with the priorities. Why should we spend \$1 million on schizophrenia research and then turn around and spend \$23 million to set up an Advocacy Commission to help vulnerable people, which is not going to help one schizophrenic patient one little bit in terms of treatment, it's not going to help any person in terms of a meal, a roof over his head etc, etc. It's not going to provide any real service with regard to their real needs.

#### 1640

As the adult protection services workers said to the committee in their exhibit of October 28, 1991, "The perceived need for substitute decision-making legislation is a clear indication of the lack of support services available to the people who may need support in decision-making."

The problem here, as seen by the adult protection services workers, 175 of them across this province who spend 40% of their time advocating for vulnerable people now, is a problem that they recognize. Everybody recognizes the need, but nobody's filling the need. So why waste \$23 million more to recognize more needs when you're not even fulfilling what the needs are now?

In summary, we see the need for this legislation, Bill 74 in particular, not having been established. We believe this legislation is too intrusive into the lives of both vulnerable people and in particular the families of vulnerable people. We believe in the empowerment of people who are 16 years of age and more; we do not believe in the empowerment of immature young people. We do not believe that the costs, which we understand are going to be enormous, should be the first priority of this government.

Lastly, legislation which has undergone 405 amendments from start to finish leads us to the conclusion that this government has never known which direction it was going in and that unfortunately the public will suffer in the end.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Further debate?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I'm certainly pleased to contribute to the debate this afternoon in third reading with particular respect to a piece of legislation that I think will be a milestone in the history of health care in this province. Along with its companion pieces, the Consent to Treatment Act really will help support and

protect the rights of Ontarians to have their health care decisions heard and respected, even if they become unable to decide for themselves at a particular point in time.

I think the legislation we have before us here today, for really the first time in Ontario, will give us a comprehensive set of rules on consent to health treatment. It starts to clear up a lot of what has been a mystery out there for most people: inconsistency in existing laws and inconsistency in understanding of the common law with respect to the treatment of mentally incapable people.

The right of mentally capable people to make their own health treatment decisions is also reinforced in the act. What might have been a right in common law is not always one that individuals exercise if they do not have the knowledge to exercise it. We think that the kind of education that will come about as a result of the passage of this legislation and working with various health care providers in reaching out to health care consumers will in fact bring true meaning to existing rights under the common law.

The legislation certainly ensures that the principles of informed consent will apply to every person in Ontario. Until now, there has been no legislation that has dealt clearly and comprehensively with the issue of consent to health services. Both the Mental Health Act and the Public Hospitals Act contain some consent provisions, but in other health settings there has been no legislation to guide us.

Of course, as we see a shift from the institution to the community in delivery of health services, different ways of interacting with the health consumer, it is important that we have a comprehensive piece of legislation and one that brings some consistency to different health care settings.

The rules which apply now in common law are ones that have come down from past court decisions, and they're certainly not well known by the general public. That makes it very difficult for an individual to enforce his or her rights with respect to informed consent.

Certainly in recent years there has been much debate about this. Health care consumers, providers and experts in the health care field have reviewed this issue and have on an ongoing basis expressed the need in a very convincing manner for clear statutory rules on this. I think the legislation we have put forward will accomplish that.

The issue, as members of this Legislature will know, has been raised in many studies and official reports, particularly the Fram report of 1988, during the amendment process to the Mental Health Act, during consultations about the Public Hospitals Act, even very recently, and at public meetings on community mental health legislation during the period of the Graham review.

There have been Court of Appeal decisions which have stated very clearly the fact that the doctrine of informed consent ensures the freedom of the individual to make choices about his medical care. I think we all in this House believe that, accept that and are about to enshrine that in legislation.

In my remarks to the standing committee on administration of justice before the start of the public hearings, I recognized that there were some major concerns with some of the provisions of the bill as drafted. If you go back and review my comments at that point in time, I certainly

expressed that I thought a thorough airing of the issue was in order, to attempt to find workable solutions to areas where there were very diverse opinions.

I listened carefully to remarks made by the critic from the Liberal Party and certainly she gives much critical comment to the fact that during the process of committee hearings and through committee of the whole there were significant numbers of amendments to all three pieces of legislation.

Let me speak specifically with respect to the consent to treatment legislation. I think the process that we have established in the Legislative Assembly of this province is one which if allowed to work will develop good legislation. It's where people come together and bring different points of view to bear on the issues in front of the Legislative Assembly for consideration. Through that process, and through working with members of the opposition, we make amendments to legislation and we bring forward a better product at the end for having listened.

I'm perplexed by the comments that the member makes that are critical of that process, because in fact I think that if we were to take an approach in those hearings that said there would be no amendments, we would hear equally as loudly from the critic opposite concerns about that and I'm sure statements that government was just ramming through its own agenda and not listening to the people and not listening to the opposition. There are times when you can't make everyone happy, I would say.

In any event, I think that the process of amendments and the process of debate that took place and consensus development around a number of the issues of concern was a good one. I think some of the resolutions that we have found collectively, the members of the opposition and government working with concerned members of the public, are good resolutions. I think the input was invaluable in helping to us refine and improve this bill.

I want to take this moment then to thank people who certainly contributed to the process and certainly all the committee members from all the parties for their cooperation and support in shaping the legislation that's before us.

I do especially want to thank my parliamentary assistant, Paul Wessenger, who spent a lot of time and hard work in shepherding the bill through the committee process on my behalf.

There was much work that was put into this by Ministry of Health staff. I know that there's an individual, the head of the legal department, who's sitting behind the Speaker right now, who has spent many years working on this piece of legislation. I think that it's a tribute to Ministry of Health staff who have cared so much about this important rights issue in the province as well.

In spite of my being perplexed at some of the comments that Ms Sullivan made earlier, I want to thank both Ms Sullivan and Mr Wilson, as Health critics from the opposition parties, for the way in which they truly represented their caucuses well throughout the discussion and for the ideas and thoughts that have been brought forward. Their hard work certainly contributed to improving the legislation.

It's also very important to acknowledge the efforts of another legislator, and that's Mr Norm Sterling, who just finished speaking. He should be commended not only for stressing the importance of living will legislation through his private member bills, Bill 7 and Bill 8, which he has been a long-standing supporter and proponent of, but also for his valuable contribution in improving all four of the government bills.

I'm running out of the time that has been allotted to me and there are a number of issues of content that I think deserve response, from some of the comments that the opposition members have made. I think that as we enter into a public education campaign about the impact of this legislation, we will be able to allay a number of concerns and fears that are out there.

I say to the critic from the Liberal Party that I think her characterization of the effect of the age issue is incorrect and in a sense we really do need to work to allay the concerns of parents out there.

We have in this legislation effectively kept the status quo. What is at common law now is that an individual who is judged to be competent to make a decision for himself with respect to consent to treatment should be given that right. That's the common law and that is preserved through this legislation.

#### 1650

With respect to the issues of when rights advice becomes available, and that it's somehow outrageous that we should end it up at age 14, I've travelled this province, and as I met with people who raised concerns about this and talked about their children and their families, 14 was certainly an age that was brought up on many occasions, so I'm surprised to hear the member speak in such a surprised tone about that. But let me say that this is a very different issue from when the right to consent is available to an individual, and at common law that is at any age at which you are competent.

There are a number of issues of content that, I assure members of the Legislature, we will attempt to address through a public education campaign as we reach out to members of the public, because this is truly legislation that will only have life if people know about it. I think it will be far-reaching in that sense. We will be asking health practitioners to assist us with educating the public. Certainly, we will not be able to do this without them.

This legislation will improve the delivery of health care by clearly establishing the rights and responsibilities of patients, health service providers and substitute decision-makers. I believe the Consent to Treatment Act will help us accomplish a most desirable goal, respect for the dignity and autonomy of every individual when it comes to health treatment in Ontario, and will have the power of the law behind it.

I appreciate the opportunity to have contributed to the discussion today.

Mr. Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I understand that the time for the official opposition is up. However, in light of the comments made by the minister that we can all contribute in a

meaningful fashion to this, I would ask unanimous consent for a brief period to speak to an issue which I've spoken on numerous times in this House, the question of schizophrenics. I would ask for unanimous consent of the House to have three minutes to deal with that.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Brampton South has asked for unanimous consent. Is there unanimous consent for the honourable member to speak?

No, there is not unanimous consent. I recognize the honourable member for Simcoe West.

Mr Jim Wilson: I'm pleased to rise and spend just a few short minutes in discussion of these advocacy and consent bills. As Health critic for the Ontario PC caucus, I want to spend what time I have addressing concerns that have been brought to my attention with respect to Bill 109, the Consent to Treatment Act, in particular the age of medical consent.

As many people in Ontario are aware, the age of medical consent for incapable persons is being lowered from age 16 to 14. Now, I have to say that the age of 14 years is probably better than what the government had intended in its first draft of this legislation, which was that the age of medical consent be lowered to 12 years old. A number of people have written. Certainly, I think we're well over 150 phone calls to my office from citizens of the province who are very concerned about this aspect of Bill 109.

I want to again repeat at the outset that age 14—that amendment was introduced by Mr Sterling, my colleague the member for Carleton—reflects a compromise of the opposition parties with the government. The government originally set the age provision to age 12. We would prefer the common law position, which is 16 years of age.

It became very clear throughout the two rounds of public hearings over the past several months that the government wasn't going to budge, that the ministers involved and speaking on behalf of the government—or their parliamentary assistants, I should say, because we didn't have ministers at the committee hearings—had orders from cabinet or otherwise that the age of medical consent was to be lowered. Age 14 is that compromise and it is not acceptable to the Ontario PC caucus. Age 16 is our preference, which I think really reflects the common law in Ontario as it stands today.

I want to say in general terms about Bill 109 that it really sets out to correct a perceived problem in society. It's a notion that the NDP seems to have that health care providers can't be trusted to do their jobs, that the state must hire an army of advocates and rights advisers to oversee and interfere with decisions that are made by family members and health practitioners.

I think the bill sets out to correct a perceived problem, because under the common law, as the Minister of Health correctly just pointed out in her remarks, no person in Ontario may be treated against his will. What Bill 109 sets out to do is to codify the common law, and in so doing, it's dramatically changing the approach that families and children have taken to the health care system and it dramatically changes the way in which physicians interact with families and in particular children in the health care system.

What will happen now is that if a child age 14 or over is deemed incapable by the physician, that child must have a series of rights read to him by a rights adviser. The physician must inform the child in writing that he or she deems the child to be incapable. Essentially, what's happening is that a huge state bureaucracy is replacing the traditional role of the family in the doctor's office.

I'll leave aside psychiatric facilities, but in the every-day experience of most people when they go to their doctor's office, under the common law, as I said, currently no one can be treated against his will. What is happening is that Big Brother knows best. The NDP is coming in with an army of advocates and rights advisers, throwing the family out of the decision-making process, putting a rights adviser or advocate between the incapable child and the physician and setting up, very clearly, an adversarial situation in the doctor's office.

Again, I'm not aware of problems when children were presented in doctor's offices. I am aware that some children age 14 and up may refuse an injection, but under the common law now that's worked out with family members, with the physician and with the child, You don't need the whole new set of complicated rules Bill 109 sets up to ensure the child gets treatment. Under this bill, the child who doesn't want the needle can refuse it, can apply for a hearing before the Consent and Capacity Review Board, which is another huge bureaucracy that this bill sets up, and the family has no say in the treatment of its loved one, in the treatment of its child.

I want to read from a letter dated November 6, 1992, from the Hospital for Sick Children, dealing with this notification of rights advisers and the age of consent to medical treatment. It says:

"If the health practitioner finds the child incapable he/she must read and then give written notice to the child indicating that he/she is entitled to meet with a rights adviser and to make an application to the board for review of the finding. A rights adviser must then be notified if the child so requests. However, the rights adviser's role is simply to repeat the explanation provided by the health practitioner. Since the health practitioner is already required by law to read the notification, the involvement of the rights adviser would appear to be redundant, and the child may be disadvantaged by the introduction of a third party into the therapeutic relationship. Furthermore, such involvement would appear to assume ill intention on the part of the health practitioner and to presume an adversarial relationship between the health practitioner and the child. The recommended change"—this is recommended by the Hospital for Sick Children—"is that rights advice provided by the health practitioner to the child should be sufficient for individuals under the age of 16 years." This is a suggestion that was not heeded by the government.

Further in this area of age of medical consent, I want to read a letter. I think it best summarizes the type of phone calls I've been getting to my office and the letters received from concerned citizens. It's from Mrs Barbara Hiller of Cambridge. She writes to me in a letter dated December 3:

"I am still opposed to Bill 109 that will lower the age of medical consent from age 16 to 14 years. As a parent of four children, three of them over 12 years, I know children are not capable of making medical decisions under 16 years, regardless of presentations by the NDP government indicating otherwise. We parents are the first guardians of our children, and no public health official can claim to love our children more than we do. My message again to all health professionals, including doctors, is: Keep your hands off our children."

I want to say to Mrs Hiller that it's not the doctors who are trying to set up Bill 109 and the superbureaucracy that will be involved; it is the NDP government. So the message should be: Keep your hands off our children, NDP government.

#### 1700

Finally, because I only have a couple of minutes more, I want to read from a letter dated December 7 that was addressed to the Health minister, Ms Lankin, from the Ontario Association of Catholic Families. It reads:

"Please be advised that the Ontario Association of Catholic Families opposes with all possible strength the idea that the age of consent for medical procedures should be lowered. It is already at least two years too low.

"To establish in law an age of consent which permits and will encourage a child to go outside the family and to act independently of his or her parents, especially in matters which pertain directly to the family as an institution, such as human life already conceived and the biological capacity to become a parent while still legally a minor and therefore not recognized by society as having adult responsibility, is to undermine the responsibilities and to attack the rights of the family."

The point being made here by a number of parents themselves is that they're saying to legislators in this chamber that our children aged 14, in many cases—in most cases—are not mature enough to make their own health care decisions, and what gives the state the right to appoint a rights adviser or an advocate in place of the family in that decision-making process?

We know, in this legislation, that there is no clear definition of what an advocate is or who these people are to be, what their training and qualifications will be. It leads to the moral question that's contained in the Ontario Association of Catholic Families letter, and that is, what is to prevent a rights adviser or advocate in this legislation from imposing his or her own moral values on the child? There's nothing in this legislation to prevent a pro-choice advocate from encouraging a child 14 years old to have an abortion, and I find that disgusting.

There are no safeguards. The government, although it introduced some 400 amendments in the process leading up to today, refused to deal with the very crucial age question of children and the age of medical consent. Age 14 is still too low. Without clearly defining the role and responsibility of advocates and their training and qualifications, there are no safeguards to ensure that somebody else's moral values won't be imposed on your children.

The family is being thrown out of the health care treatment decision-making process, and that reason, and that reason alone, should be enough to encourage all members

and all parties in this Legislature to vote against Bill 109 and its companion legislation, Bills 74 and 110.

I conclude my remarks by saying that the government failed to listen to families. The government failed to act on the advice that was given to it from a number of associations, including medical professions, and we have before us very badly flawed legislation which will not receive my support.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the honourable member.

Let me just explain to the members of the House, there is a fire alarm presently in the building. The fire trucks are here, so we're just waiting to hear news. But we can continue at this point, I believe. Is the honourable member for Simcoe West going to continue, or is he finished?

I recognize the honourable member for London South.

**Mr David Winninger (London South):** Thank you, Mr Speaker. I hope the fire alarm you just mentioned was not attributable to the incendiary remarks of the member for Simcoe West.

I'm pleased indeed to be able to speak today on the way in which the legislation that is before us attains a very important objective, an accomplishment which is legislatively unprecedented and which is undoubtedly the most progressive legislation of its kind.

This legislation is based on two profound and fundamental insights into the human condition. It recognizes, firstly, that nothing is more crucial to the meaning and value of the life of each individual than the right to make his or her own choices, to satisfy his or her own desires, to manage his or her own property, to determine his or her own future.

When others choose for us, when others force us to conform to their desires and manage us in accordance with their goals and their future, we become a mere instrument at best and at worst an inconvenience, a nuisance. When others decide for us, we suffer not only the loss of our autonomy but also the shame and humiliation of marginalization, of not counting, of being an encumbrance.

Secondly, this legislation recognizes that our very powerful need to determine our own affairs is matched by the degree of vulnerability to which each person is subject. Illness and dying, disability and incapacity are part of life. Each one of us must live through times when our resources for ensuring that our choices, our wishes and our rights are respected are greatly diminished, yet our desire for self-determination is by no means diminished in the same way. On the contrary, it is often strengthened by the threat posed to it.

Mr Speaker, I'm sure you will agree that the legislation which can speak to these two needs, which is able to accommodate the fact of human vulnerability at the same time that it ensures the maximum of self-determination, must be held up as a pinnacle of human political achievement. These four bills before us, in my view, constitute such an achievement.

Let me briefly remind you of who will benefit from this legislation. Perhaps the most important benefit will be to those who are physically neglected or abused and are mentally incapable of getting themselves out of the situation. Governments, health and social service agencies and medical officers of health are now legally helpless to act. The deaths that arise are often the subject matter of inquests. This legislation responds to a public need identified by many coroners' juries.

It also addresses the need to stop the financial exploitation of people, often elderly, who are no longer capable of

managing their own property.

The legislation will allow many people with mental disorders, especially those who are not considered dangerous to themselves or others, to get the help they need in a timely way. The provisions for expeditive validation of powers of attorney for personal care under Bill 108, the Ulysses contract and the guardianship provisions offer a better means of serving the needs of people with mental disorders. They do this by ensuring the people with disorders have the same patient-centred motto of substitute decision-making that applies to everyone else.

By providing for advocacy services for people who may lose their rights to make their own decisions, the legislation ensures access to justice to people whose voice has often not been heard. Advocacy services will result in alternatives to guardianship being found where a person's need for decisions will be met by means less restrictive. The Ministry of the Attorney General will continue, after Bill 108 is enacted, to work with community organizations

to explore alternatives to guardianship.

The legislation will allow Ontarians, including people with cognitive disabilities, to make powers of attorney for personal care, to choose family and friends they trust to make those treatment and care decisions they cannot make themselves. The legislation, together with the Consent to Treatment Act, will permit those people who have thought about the treatment to which they would consent or to which they would refuse consent in the event of their incapacity to express their wishes and have their wishes respected. This legislation is not about treatment during terminal illness alone; it is about the right each of us has at all times to choose to accept or refuse treatment and care. It is to ensure that our living wills will govern our care and our treatment.

### 1710

There is much to be done before this legislation can be proclaimed. The Advocacy Commission must be ready to provide advocates, the public guardian and trustee's office must develop policies to govern its actions under the legislation, and staff must be hired and trained to be ready to perform duties imposed by the legislation.

The members for Halton Centre and Carleton have expressed their own doubts and misgivings about the ability of the office of the public guardian and trustee to rise to this significant challenge. I would just note, for the benefit of the members opposite, that on November 19 the Attorney General announced the appointment of Judith Wahl as chair of an interim advisory committee to plan and prepare for the impact of the new substitute decisions legislation on the office of the public trustee, and the mandate of the existing office will be expanded substantially by new legislation. In order to resolve the problems in the management of the

office in the past, such as client services and administrative procedures, the ministry has been reviewing and will continue to review a number of issues, and the current mandate of the office is being examined to ensure its compatibility with the needs of the expanded role of the office.

In addition, in closing I would note briefly that simple forms of powers of attorney must be created and a distribution network must be established to make them available to the public under Bill 108. Decisions must be made about who assessors of capacity will be and how they will be trained and the training done. Programs must be created to educate professional care givers and family care givers. But all of these tasks must be done in consultation with or in partnership with community associations, professional organizations and care giver organizations. To get these tasks under way, I would ask for the further cooperation of the House in now approving this third and final reading of Bill 108 and its companion legislation.

### The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): It's a great honour to participate in the discussion of third reading. I think this is important legislation because it is empowering legislation for vulnerable individuals. It gets them involved in the process. It's long overdue and long-awaited legislation, and finally we see that it has come to fruition and we are in fact going to see this empowering legislation in place.

Government members have taken a great deal of leadership in this, and the policies and principles of the government have always been to empower, to respect the dignity and autonomy of disabled and vulnerable individuals. The way to do that is by giving them the power to act for themselves.

During debate, during public hearings, most of the people who came out—for example, the Ontario Advocacy Coalition—talked about the hard work that went into getting this legislation in place. We had people who were psychiatric survivors who spoke to us, people who had in fact experienced neglect and were very vulnerable to abuse and feel that this will put an end to that type of situation.

There have been times when there have been very large divisions between consumers, professionals and family members. I think now is the time to work in cooperation. It's time that all members, members of the government and opposition, work together, and I think that is what we're seeing happen. The professional groups are becoming more aware and more understanding of how important it is to have the needs of vulnerable individuals met, to speak with them and to hear their point of view.

The basic principle here is that we have various groups—family members, professionals—who have to work together to support what the vulnerable individual actually wants. We're looking at a foundation being laid, by the professionals, by the family members, and this legislation will in fact be that foundation that gives the vulnerable individual a sense of autonomy, of freedom from the possibility of neglect, abuse and exploitation, which is critical.

I'd like to cite Father O'Sullivan's You've Got a Friend, and we've all read that report. I believe that now vulnerable people realize that they do in fact have a friend, that his goals have been accomplished.

What's important in terms of advocacy and in terms of this legislation is that the basic principles are those of autonomy and respect, an increased respect, for individuals who want to voice their own needs and opinions, and to make sure that people do have the autonomy and the dignity and the respect that every individual deserves.

We've seen a lot of vulnerable people in society who have been anticipating the results of this ongoing debate, and sometimes the debate is one that has pitted family members, professionals and vulnerable individuals against each other. But we've seen, as this was drawing to a close, that people are working in cooperation. Finally, I think we've seen opposition members and our own members beginning to see that what we have to look at are the needs of the vulnerable people, and it can only be done by working in cooperation.

I'm very proud of the Advocacy Act and this legislation. I think it's leading legislation in North America, and that other disabled and vulnerable people across our country and across North America are going to be looking with envy at the province of Ontario, because no longer is it going to be acceptable practice to exploit vulnerable individuals.

In closing, I'd like to say that I'm very proud to see that vulnerable people have in fact played such an important role and are now going to be able to feel that they are free from abuse, neglect and exploitation, that that's a situation that will not be tolerated any longer.

I would like to thank, on behalf of all of us, the vulnerable people who came out to speak and contribute to this legislation, people who work in the office for disability issues to provide the resources and bring together the information we all needed in order to learn about the issues. I think it's been beneficial for all of us. Finally, I would like to thank all of the members here in the House, especially the government and opposition members who sat on the committee, in working towards making this legislation a success. I'm sure vulnerable people everywhere will appreciate the efforts that will bring autonomy and dignity to their community. I think it's a remarkable symbol of cooperation that has made this happen.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre): It is a pleasure to be able to speak on this third reading of the Consent to Treatment Act. This legislation has been a long time in coming when you consider that this whole process started back in 1978. It has taken a long time because it is an area of law that is very complex and difficult; it's really an area of law reform. It is something that, as a lawyer, I'm particularly pleased to have been involved with—reforming our law—because the existing common law unfortunately did not provide adequate protections and adequate safeguards and was not really workable with respect to the whole question of consent to treatment for incapable persons.

I note the comments of the critic for the Liberal Party, the member for Halton Centre, asking, why the rush? I think at some stage in legislation you have an area of diminishing returns, and I certainly believe we have reached that stage in this legislation after almost 14 years. I think we have very workable legislation with respect to consent to treatment. It takes a very balanced position in ensuring that needed health services are provided and also respecting the rights of individuals. It's a balance we always have to do in society: protecting people and respecting their rights.

With respect to some of the comments made by some of the other members, first I'd like to correct an impression given by the member for Simcoe West that this legislation created an age of consent at 14 or a presumption of capacity at age 14. That is not the case. This legislation reinforces the common law position that there is no presumption with respect to capacity at any age. It's left up to the individual practitioner to determine in first instance whether an individual has the capacity. The law is very clear; there's no specific age in which capacity is presumed at common law.

1720

With respect to another item raised by the member for Halton Centre with respect to the advance directives, I think it's very important that we don't risk the life of a child under 16 because of the aspect of alleged prior wishes. I think it's very difficult, at the time of giving treatment for a child who does not have capacity at that time, to determine whether the child expressed those prior wishes, whether the child had the capacity at that time.

Also, this amendment is consistent with the Substitute Decisions Act, which provides that only a person 16 or more can make a power of attorney for personal care. It's very much consistent with that legislation and I think providing that consistency is an improvement, because it does not make sense to me to allow a person under 16 not to make a power of attorney for care and yet to allow the person to have his wishes taken into account for prior wishes, particularly when you weigh the question of the concern over the safety, health and life of a child.

With respect to the question of rights advice, it's very important that we have rights advice in this legislation, as without rights advice the right to refuse treatment is not really very meaningful. I think it's very clear that if a person does not have the knowledge of his rights, he's not likely to have the right to exercise those rights in reality.

With respect to the whole question of the age 14, there's no presumption as to capacity at age 14. It merely raises the right to have a rights adviser. I would suggest that the age of 14 was chosen on the basis that most children would probably have capacity at age 14 in most matters. If we look at certain recommendations, for instance, in the Weisstub report of 1990, it recommended age 14 as a presumed age of consent, of presumed capacity. The province of Quebec also has age 14 as the age of consent for medical treatment. So using age 14 for rights advice is very much consistent with setting the age of 14 for rights advice. I think it's clear that children should

have no lesser rights than adults with respect to having their rights protected.

In summing up, I'd like to thank the legal and policy staff of the Ministry of Health. I certainly enjoyed working with them on this legislation and I think it was a very fruitful dialogue throughout the whole process. I'd also like to thank the opposition members for their contribution. Again, I found it was a very open and good dialogue, and all the issues were well raised.

I'd like to thank everyone who made presentations to the committee during the course of the legislation, because all of them contributed to providing what I believe is a very workable piece of legislation, a piece of legislation that will be a significant legal reform for Ontario and will lead the way for other provinces in this regard. I am certainly looking forward to its being implemented in the future.

# The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): I'm delighted to rise in support of the Advocacy Act and its companion legislation. I support this legislation for a great many reasons. It responds to a need long identified by disabled groups, independent commissions and community organizations, as well as by several coroners' juries.

Its sole purpose is to offer assistance as wanted to vulnerable adults who do not have family or friends to support them. In particular, I welcome this legislation on behalf of those seniors who want help to exercise their rights to make choices and decisions, for that is the purpose of the Advocacy Act. It is legislation which upholds the basic civil rights of all citizens regardless of illness, disability or age.

Many seniors have told this government that implementation of the Advocacy Act is long overdue. I say to you that they are quite correct. While the vast majority of seniors are energetic self-advocates who need no help or assistance in coping, there are also those who have become vulnerable through frailty or illness. Their right as citizens to make personal and health care decisions needs to be recognized and protected in law.

That view has been expressed by many groups which independently advocate on behalf of elderly disabled persons. Included among them are Concerned Friends, which monitors the care of institutionalized seniors, the Ontario Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse and the Advocacy Centre for the Elderly, to mention a few. These organizations are devoted to preventing mistreatment of older persons. They, along with the court system, have provided ample documentation to show that frail and disabled adults need better rights protections such as those we offer in this advocacy package. They fundamentally support the extension of neutral, independent advocacy services to vulnerable adults.

Concerned Friends described the Advocacy Act in its winter newsletter as "a primarily defensive measure designed to protect vulnerable adults and enhance their independence." It states further, "The passage of this act will help right the terrible imbalance of power that currently exists."

That view was reiterated in the recently tabled report of the Commission of Inquiry into Unregulated Residential Accommodation, prepared by Professor Ernie Lightman. In his comprehensive report Professor Lightman emphasizes the need for independent advocacy services. He says that advocates are essential to the empowerment of elderly Ontario residents and he endorses the Advocacy Commission as proposed in this legislation.

The Advocacy Act is needed for many reasons. One is a simple matter of demographics. Ontario seniors now account for about 11% of the population. In 20 years' time they're expected to make up about 25% of the population. Community services to foster independence and empowerment for elderly people will therefore be increasingly important. In that respect, the Advocacy Act is an example of good future planning. It will provide important support to those who would otherwise face barriers in exercising their right to make choices and decisions.

I know a great many seniors welcome this legislative package, as I do. They look forward to the promise of support and protection which the Advocacy Act offers if they should ever need and want it. They eagerly welcome the opportunity offered by this legislation to plan rationally for their future health and personal care decisions. Until now Ontarians have not had the security of knowing that their living wills, for instance, would be honoured and upheld. This package provides for that. The legislation before us is flexibly designed to respond to the needs of vulnerable citizens who need assistance in the present as well as those who may require it in the future.

I repeat, I'm delighted to support this comprehensive package which has long been needed by the people of Ontario. I too believe it will provide a model for other jurisdictions to emulate.

1730

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): It is with regret and sadness that I rise to speak to the third readings of Bills 74, 108, 109 and 110, which will establish new laws with respect to advocacy on behalf of vulnerable persons, substitute decision-making and consent to treatment. I say "regret and sadness" because I am unable to support Bills 74 and 109 in their final form, despite the urgent need to update our consent to treatment laws and establish an independent advocacy system.

There is well-documented evidence of physical, mental and financial abuse of vulnerable persons, particularly the frail elderly and the disabled. Earlier this year, the Lightman commission found many instances of abuse of vulnerable people who live in unregulated rest homes. In a study last year by the Disabled Women's Network, it was found that 73% of disabled women have been victims of violence, and of those victims, 96% have experienced sexual assault.

Advocates who can help communicate the wishes of vulnerable persons are an important part of our society's efforts to prevent such abuse. However, this package of legislation has been rushed through to passage by the NDP government without sufficient opportunity to correct many serious errors, and even to analyse and debate the more than 400 amendments put forward by the government. The

last 120 or so of these amendments were presented to the opposition just in the past two weeks.

It is a tragedy that the NDP government has so mismanaged this package of legislation because there is no doubt that it is needed. But after the charade of token public hearings and only two days per bill for clause-by-clause analysis in standing committee, the government has managed to alienate an incredible number of families of vulnerable persons, health and social service professionals and interest groups.

For example, the Ontario Hospital Association, the Ontario Medical Association and the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario were driven in early October to appeal for the Premier's intervention so that the legislation could be withdrawn and redrafted. The standing committee on administration of justice received hundreds of submissions raising valid concerns about the legislation, many of which have not been addressed, yet this badly flawed legislation is about to become law.

The Minister of Citizenship will recall that I spoke in support of the principle of Bill 74 during the second reading debate in June 1991. My position has not changed, but it is clear after analysis of this bill that it should not be passed in its present form.

I would like to tell the House what people who oppose this bill have been telling me. These concerns fall into three major categories: (1) unmanageable cost, bureaucracy and red tape; (2) lack of accountability; (3) unreasonable powers of entry.

First, I will deal with the issues of cost, bureaucracy and red tape. The Ministry of Citizenship has not undertaken any formal costing projections for the new advocacy system. First, the ministry said it would cost \$23 million a year, then \$36 million. A leaked internal memo said the public trustee's costs alone would be \$48 million, while some parties have estimated the system's cost to be \$100 million a year or more.

The Advocacy Commission, even without the other components of the system, is a big expense at a time when the government is coping with the recession by cutting back on funding to community living associations, for instance, which provide vital services to developmentally disabled persons.

Another expensive decision is to hire at least 150 professional advocates. The number of these paid advocates will no doubt rise as the number of our vulnerable citizens also rises with the aging of Canada's population.

This use of paid advocates is contrary to the advice in the report to the provincial government by the late Father Sean O'Sullivan, who recommended volunteer advocates for many reasons. With limited government resources, it is important to have as many properly trained volunteer advocates as possible.

We must also recognize the commitment, objectivity and skills of the many volunteers who already work with vulnerable persons. As Father O'Sullivan said in his report, quoting the words of a vulnerable person, "The paid advocate would be regarded as a professional who has a job to do, but the volunteer advocate, exactly because he or she is there voluntarily, is also my friend."

I feel very frustrated. Because of the time allocation of this government, I am not able to complete my speech, and I wish to give the remaining one and a half minutes to my colleague the member for Kitchener.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Waterloo North.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I'm extremely concerned about the hasty passage of these bills, Bills 74, 108, 109 and 110, since they will have a farreaching and sometimes a potentially devastating impact on the lives of some individuals and families in the province. This legislation is badly flawed and has been badly mismanaged.

Although we need to protect the rights of the mentally and physically disabled people who cannot always speak for themselves, this is not the case with these bills. I am extremely concerned because this legislation does not respect and recognize the legitimate and necessary role of parents with respect to supporting the health needs of their children. Once children of any age are allowed to refuse health treatment as long as they are judged to have the capacity to make such decisions, families are going to find it very difficult to ensure that their children get the help they need. I am concerned because this government, through the use of advocates, has the potential to have the advocate impose his or her moral values on children. I am concerned because this government has made absolutely no attempt to listen to the many sincere concerns of families and care givers in this province. As a result, I will be voting against these bills.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): It's with great pleasure that I take the opportunity to have a few short comments with regard to these three bills: the Substitute Decisions Act, the Advocacy Act and the Consent to Treatment Act.

I would first like to deal with the Substitute Decisions Act and after that get into a little bit more detail around the Advocacy Act because that is something that hits home to me, as my sister is—I see the minister has arrived. I will just speak shortly on the Substitute Decisions Act. First of all, the Substitute Decisions Act gives for the first time the power to Ontarians to make a living will so that in the end, if something should happen to them and if they should become incapacitated, their will could be carried out based on what they've put inside that living will. This is the first time such legislation is put in place within the province of Ontario that would give people the right to do so.

At this point I take it the minister wants to make her comments, and I will give the floor to the minister.

The Acting Speaker: I recognize the honourable member for High Park-Swansea, the honourable Minister of Citizenship.

Hon Ms Ziemba: I'm very pleased today as we draw to a close on this deliberation on these four very important pieces of legislation. As we've heard for many years—for the last 20 years—this legislation is extremely important to every one of our citizens in Ontario. I'm pleased that

we've had this opportunity today to hear from everyone, and especially to thank the opposition members for their remarks. I know their remarks have been helpful to us in the last few years.

I would just like to re-emphasize one main point that my colleagues have made, and this point that I'd like to make is that this legislation is about empowerment, about choice and about dignity. Through these four interrelated acts, we will safeguard all Ontarians to exercise their fundamental rights. These are not new powers. These are fundamental rights that we all want to share and enjoy. Such rights include the right to make choices, the right to participate in shaping one's own future and the future of the community, and above all, the right to speak out for change.

This is a moment we all cherish. This is also the moment to remember individuals such as Joseph Kendall and the many like him who are still shut out and whose voices are silenced. This legislation will change that.

To the many who have worked tirelessly in bringing the concept of advocacy to life, I'd like to thank you on behalf of the government and all the individuals who shared in this act. To Judith Wahl, Orville Endicott, Trish Spindel, Mae Harman, Scott Seiller, co-chair of the Ontario Advocacy Coalition, Patrick Worth—I don't believe he's here today but I'm sure that people would extend this to Patrick—David Baker, Joan Fussell, Freda Hannah from Concerned Friends and all those individuals who, because of their tireless efforts are making sure the government heard that there was a need for this particular piece of legislation, I thank you and I thank you for making us hear you.

Also to the ad hoc coalition: Brian Harling and Barbara LeBlanc from the Ontario Medical Association; Carolyn Shushelski from the Ontario Hospital Association; June Beeby from the Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics; Debbie Wall-Armstrong; Carla Peppler; Susan Kitchener—all those I would like to thank for their open and frank discussions with us and for helping us to make our deliberations easier.

I also want to recognize the 10 years of excellent work and dedication of the Psychiatric Patient Advocate Office.

But now, last but not least, on behalf of the three ministers I'd like to thank our parliamentary assistants, who carried the legislation through the hearing stage and who helped us immensely, coming back to us every evening to share with the ministers the comments that were made, the deliberations they heard, and on behalf of my own ministry I'd like to thank my parliamentary assistants, Gary Malkowski and Jenny Carter, for their hard work and striving to make sure this happened.

I thank, of course, also the team of people who worked in our ministries, often late into the night, often on the weekends—more often than not, into the weekends and late into the night—who one night, I know, had only two hours of sleep. I thank you very much for helping me through this process and helping us make sure that this legislation happened.

The government is proud of this legislative package. Today is the beginning of a new era of empowerment, and again Ontario is at the forefront of the legislative agenda, where we will show not only the rest of the provinces in Canada but the rest of the world about dignity and making sure of people's self-worth and empowerment.

I look forward in the coming months to working very closely with all the community organizations and with all the members in this House to make sure that this legislation works, that it does the job it's meant to do and that all our citizens of Ontario are respected.

Mrs Marland: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I understand that it is in order to rise in the House and correct one's own record. I referred to my colleague as being the member for Kitchener and I would like to correct that statement, as she is the member for Waterloo North.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the honourable member.

Ms Ziemba has moved third reading of Bill 74, An Act respecting the Provision of Advocacy Services to Vulnerable Persons. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour, please say "aye."

Those opposed, say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

We will defer the vote for a moment.

Ms Ziemba, on behalf of Mr Hampton, has moved third reading of Bill 108, An Act to provide for the making of Decisions on behalf of Adults concerning the Management of their Property and concerning their Personal Care.

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour, please say "aye."

Those opposed, say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Ms Ziemba has moved, on behalf of Ms Lankin, third reading of Bill 109, An Act respecting Consent to Treatment.

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Those in favour, please say "aye."

Those opposed, say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

We shall move to the fourth bill.

Ms Ziemba has moved, on behalf of Mr Hampton, third reading of Bill 110, An Act to amend certain Statutes of Ontario consequent upon the enactment of the Advocacy Act, 1992, the Consent to Treatment Act, 1992, and the Substitute Decisions Act, 1992.

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour, say "aye."

Those opposed, say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members; a 15-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1744 to 1759.

The Acting Speaker: Will the members please take their seats.

Ms Ziemba has moved third reading of Bill 74. All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

### Ayes

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Dadamo, Duignan, Farnan, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martin, Mathyssen, Morrow, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

**The Acting Speaker:** All those opposed to the motion will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

### **Nays**

Beer, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Chiarelli, Conway, Cordiano, Cousens, Cunningham, Eddy, Elston, Eves, Fawcett, Grandmaître, Harnick, Henderson, Jordan, Kwinter, Marland, McClelland, McGuinty, McLean, McLeod, Miclash, Morin, Offer, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Poole, Ramsay, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes being 61 and the nays 37, I declare the motion carried. Resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

Mr Hampton has moved third reading of Bill 108.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: During the taking of the earlier voice vote, we had understood that there were some negatives in the House. I wonder if we might ask for unanimous consent, because I understand there is not necessarily a need to take a roll call for this vote, that it is going to be unanimous. If we could refer back to that and then not have to go through the calling of everyone's names, I think it would help.

The Acting Speaker: Will the member of the official opposition indicate that 98-0 would be acceptable? Agreed. Would that have the unanimous consent of the House? That being the case, Mr Hampton has moved third reading of Bill 108, and it has been accepted in a unanimous decision by this House that there should be 98 ayes and 0 nays. I declare the motion carried.

Resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

Ms Lankin has moved third reading of Bill 109. All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

Mr Sterling: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I believe the vote will be the same for 109 and 110 as it was on 74, and by unanimous consent I ask that we record the vote as it was for 74.

The Acting Speaker: With unanimous consent? With unanimous consent, the ayes are 61 and the nays are 37. Ms Lankin has moved third reading of Bill 109, and the motion is carried.

Resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

Is it agreed that in the fourth and final bill, Bill 110, the same be done? Agreed. As there is unanimous consent, then the vote for Bill 110 is 61 ayes and 37 nays. I declare the motion carried.

Resolved that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

ONTARIO TRAINING AND ADJUSTMENT BOARD ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR LE CONSEIL ONTARIEN DE FORMATION ET D'ADAPTATION DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board / Loi créant le Conseil ontarien de formation et d'adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): We now move to the deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 96.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Mr Speaker, I wish to raise a point of order about this vote. The fact of the matter is that the power of the House to defer a vote can be carried from any time after routine proceedings on the day following the vote first being called for up to 6 o'clock of the following day. It now being past 6 o'clock, I ask that you rule that the vote has been lost and that the ballot cannot be taken as it is violation of the standing orders and asking us to do something the standing orders does not allow us to do.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order. As the honourable member for Bruce knows, that vote was to follow immediately upon the votes that have just been taken in this House, and nothing—

Mr Elston: No, sir, Mr Speaker, that is not true.

The Acting Speaker: I'm not finished. The honourable member will be please be seated until I'm finished.

The votes have been taken. We are moving immediately to that vote, and therefore nothing is out of order and we will proceed with the deferred vote.

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, I'm sorry to stand on this, but I don't quite understand how you can say it was to be taken immediately following, since it is quite clear in the standing orders that we cannot defer a vote past 6 o'clock in any case, and the clock is well after 6. I don't understand how you can confront that very clear and honest fact.

The Acting Speaker: Very simply, I'll say to the member for Bruce, according to the order we had for this House today, at 5:45 we moved immediately to vote on the four bills we voted on. Immediately following that bill, we could not do anything other than to have the vote when it followed.

The Chair has ruled that we will move now to the deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. Call in the members.

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): On a point of order, Mr Speaker.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): The vote has been called.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): The House isn't in session.

**Mr Eves:** The mace is on the table, David. The House is in session.

The Acting Speaker: Might I say to the honourable member for Parry Sound that the bells are ringing and we are bringing in the members now for the vote.

The divisions bells rang from 1809 to 1814.

The Acting Speaker: I would ask the honourable members to take their seats, please.

Mr Allen has moved second reading of Bill 96. All those in favour of the motion will please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

## Ayes

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Dadamo, Duignan, Farnan, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martin, Mathyssen, Morrow, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rae,

Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

### Nays

Beer, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Chiarelli, Conway, Cordiano, Cousens, Cunningham, Eddy, Elston, Eves, Fawcett, Grandmaître, Harnick, Henderson, Jordan, Kwinter, Marland, McClelland, McGuinty, McLean, McLeod, Miclash, Morin, Offer, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Poole, Ramsay, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes being 61 and the nays 37, I declare the motion carried.

Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Skills Development): Mr Speaker, I would like to have this bill referred to the standing committee on resources development.

The Acting Speaker: The bill will be referred to the standing committee on resources development.

[Report continues in volume B]

### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjointe et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	aux Affaires autochtones Chair, standing committee on general government/
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre responsable de la Stratégie de prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementale
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	vice i resident da Conna permanent des artanes gouvernementale.
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative,
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	législative parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	sociaux et communautaires parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for
			francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre
			du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire
	•		du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Minister of Education/ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable
D D 1	T1 . D. 11	DC	du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Dufferin-Peel Durham Centre/-Centre	Tilson, David White, Drummond	PC ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	de loi privés parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/
			adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Peter	ND	
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/

Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology,
			acting Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
			ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie,
			ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs par intérim
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	Loader of the Opposition/short de l'apposition
Fort William Fort York	McLeod, Lyn Marchese, Rosario	L ND	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to
OIL TOIR	William Control	110	Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire
			du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires
			intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/
7	Maria de Dill	DC	ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey Guelph	Murdoch, Bill Fletcher, Derek	PC ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial
Juciph	recenci, beick	ND	Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation
			et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/
		NID	Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre Hamilton East/-Est	Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David		Minister of Correctional Services/ministre des Services corrections
Hamilton Mountain	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Energy/
iaitiittoii wiouiitain	Charlion, How E non Brian	ND	ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills
	•		Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre
			de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/
Link Dorle Courses	Ziamba Han/I than Elaina	NID	ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre
			des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne,
			aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personne
			âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture
Kenora	Mioloch Eronl	L	et de l'Alimentation
Kenora  Kingston and The Islands/	Miclash, Frank Wilson, Gary	ND	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/
Kingston et Les Îles	windon, dary	140	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
itchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General; deputy governmen
			whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/
			adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général, whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administrati
			de la justice
ake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone
			affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires
			francophones
ambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/
			Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets
anarla Danfray	Torden W. Lee	DC	de loi privés
anark-Renfrew awrence		PC L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/
	Coramito, a coopii	_	Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
eeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/
			Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
incoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/
			Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires
ondon Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	économiques  Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for
ondon Centre/-Centre	boyu, nome marion	ND	women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires,
			ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
1 27 11/27 1	Cuminaham Dianna	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/
ondon North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	rc	Flogressive Conservative emer winp/

Constituency	Name of member	Party	<b>Other responsibilities</b>
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones Progressive Conservative deputy House leader/
Middlesex	Mathyssen, Irene	ND	chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga North/-Nord Mississauga South/-Sud	Offer, Steven Marland, Margaret	L PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses opposition chief whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	de l'Économie leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	et de la Technologie
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole Oshawa	Caplan, Elinor Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	L ND	Solicitor General/Solliciteur général
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud Ottawa West/-Ouest	McGuinty, Dalton J.P. Chiarelli, Robert	L L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND .	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/
			Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Port Arthur Prescott and Russell/	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley Poirier, Jean	ND L	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott et Russell			
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	* /	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord Riverdale	Conway, Sean G. Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	L ND	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/
S-D-G & East Grenville/ SDG. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	opposition deputy House leader/chef parlementaire de l'opposition
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St. George-St. David	Vacant	+	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie, Vice-Président
Sault Ste Marie/	Martin, Tony	ND	du Comité permanent du développement des ressources parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Sault-Sainte-Marie Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	adjoint pariementaire du ministre de l'Education
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/
Bemborough condo	o wond, btophen	112	adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	1*
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/
Simona Foot/ Fot	Mol oon Allon V	PC	adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	Boutomonum
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/
,	, ,		adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/
			ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman;
			Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman,
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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 7 December 1992

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35e législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Lundi 7 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

# Monday 7 December 1992

[Report continued from volume A]
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LONG TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): I believe when last this bill was before us, the honourable member for Mississauga South had the floor.

Interjections.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): It's going to be interesting to speak when everybody else is speaking. I think I'll just wait.

The Acting Speaker: To the honourable members, please, if you're leaving the chamber, the honourable member for Mississauga South is about to begin her remarks on this bill. Order, please.

Mrs Marland: Thank you for your help, Mr Speaker. When I finished my comments on second reading of Bill 101 the other evening at about two minutes before midnight, I was about to read something to the House which I think better than anything else expresses why I'm concerned that this bill has no reference in it to children.

The assumption, I think, as I said last Thursday evening, is that long-term care is a provision of service primarily to adults, to the aging population, to the frail elderly, and unfortunately, and in some cases tragically, the long-term care of children starts very early in their lives.

For that reason, I wish to read into the record a letter that was written by very special parents. It's an open letter they wrote because they wished to share with other parents, and I think particularly different levels of government, what their life is about with their child who has very special needs. The letter reads as follows:

"Today when I went to my mailbox I found a notice to Community Living Mississauga's clients re leisure cutbacks.

"I am left shaking my head and wondering how I will cope next summer with the possibility of little relief and no leisure programs for our daughter who is now eight years old.

"Up until our daughter was four and a half years old, her life and ours was fairly typical. She was fully functional and speaking in six- to eight-word sentences.

"She was born with tuberous sclerosis and we were well aware that she could 'grow into' problems associated with this disease, problems such as seizures, mental retardation and tumour growth in the major organs. "In January of 1989, before her fifth birthday, our daughter suffered a grand mal seizure which took doctors over an hour to stop.

"She lay in a hospital bed for three weeks after, before she could even open her eyes. Because of the prolonged insult her brain had suffered, she lost all of her development including her speech. Eight weeks later, when she was discharged from hospital, she had the mental abilities of a newborn baby.

"My husband and I have worked constantly as well as relentlessly with her and a full three and half years later she has the mental abilities of an 18-month-old, and we have been told that this will probably be as good as it gets.

"As I said earlier, our daughter is eight years old, weighs approximately 85 pounds, has the mental abilities of an 18-month-old, relies totally and completely on my husband and myself for her needs, has poor seizure control, is not and never will be toilet trained, she is non-verbal and she is extremely active, requiring supervision 100% of the time.

"As dependent as she is, we have grown so much in love and as a family because of her. We are quite prepared to accept whatever comes and whatever is required. We love her to bits! She is the happiest child you could ever hope to meet and, fortunately for her, she will never come to understand her limitations. Again, our goal is to keep her as happy and productive as she can be.

"We are infuriated to read yet again about more funding cutbacks. Our lives for ever changed in that hour of our daughter's seizure. It was also no one's fault. We wonder why the very people who require assistance continually get the shaft and are somehow 'punished' by all these cutbacks.

"My husband and I are trying to manage and balance a very difficult and demanding lifestyle. I haven't even mentioned the endless array of doctors' appointments, assessment and tests that are part of our everyday lives.

"It is unfortunate that these cutbacks are made by people who probably would not be able to take a step in our shoes, let alone walk a mile in them. It is also unfortunate that the people who make these cost-saving decisions don't consider for a moment what effect their decisions have on already overstressed, overtired and overworked parents.

"I would like to make it perfectly clear that our daughter is very much a part of our family and will be as long as we are physically able to care for her. Part of the reason we are able to 'keep going' is because of our regular respite care and the leisure programs. We are very much in need of these programs to help us cope.

"Perhaps some of these decision-makers would like to spend a day in the life of our daughter. I would even put them up for the night so they could experience first hand the joys of getting up six and seven times a night to put her back into bed and monitor the length of her seizures.

"I would like them to come and see how active she is. My husband recently chained our console TV to the wall because she almost tipped it on herself. I would like them to watch her 100% of the time with barely enough time to go to the bathroom or have a hot cup of coffee or even a lukewarm dinner. I would like them to watch her seven days a week, for nine weeks during the summer holidays and maybe, just maybe, they would begin to see the value of these programs. At the very least, I would hope that they might see the reality of caring for a special child, and ours is certainly not the worst-case scenario.

"Without sounding vain, parents of special children should be commended for the job that we do! Instead of attacking the people and programs that make a difference in our lives, I think a long, hard look has to be taken at what is happening.

"We are truly annoyed at this latest notice. Whatever happens, we will find some way to cope. We have no other choice. Despite everything we have lived through, we still have much to be thankful for and it's just a shame that someone in the government can't wake up some morning and smell the coffee.

"We're two disheartened parents."

That's the end of the letter from which I was reading. I think this letter, in all its poignant comments, illustrates better than anything I can say what the situation is for these families who depend on respite programs at this point in their lives and, who knows, ultimately some form of long-term care for their loved ones.

When I get up and speak, the government members automatically assume I'm saying what I'm saying because I'm in the opposition. I can assure you that whether I was a backbencher in opposition or a backbencher on the government side of the House, I would still be standing up saying the same things.

#### 1830

I guess I must be very naïve because I fail to understand how a government cannot prioritize in terms of human need. I guess I fail to understand, when you are sitting as a cabinet member around the cabinet table and all the different ministries are there asking the Treasurer for their individual funding and the importance of their program versus somebody else's program, why it's so difficult to say: "Well, look, folks, right now we're in a recession. Right now we're very short of money. We haven't had the revenues this past year"—or two years or whatever—"that we predicted, and you're not all going to get the same budget allocations that you're asking for or that you had last year. But we are going to start by looking after the people who need the most help first."

What would be so difficult about that? What person couldn't stand on a public platform as a politician, anywhere in this province—and people have heard me say this before—and say to a group of people at a public meeting, whether it's 10 people, 15 people, 500 or 5,000 people, "I'm sorry, we don't have money for that program because we have to have the money for this program in terms of human need"?

I've gotten into trouble before saying things about where I think there are examples of government wasting money, so I might as well get into trouble again.

I have said in the past year and a half that in spite of the French Language Services Act, I am appalled that this government has committed \$16 million to bilingual signs on our Ontario highways at this time. If this was a perfect world and we weren't so desperately short of money in Ontario, then I think if the Minister of Transportation wished to implement that aspect of the French Language Services Act—which is optional, by the way; it's not a requirement under the act, but an option that the minister has to interpret the act to make the provision of those bilingual highway signs—I wouldn't object to it and I wouldn't talk about it, because I would feel that it was a program that was affordable and everything else had been looked after.

But when I think of a family such as the family whose letter I have just read, and hundreds of other families like them—we saw some of those families about 10 days ago on the front lawn here at Queen's Park. In fact, we saw over 4,000 of those families, their friends, their relatives and their health care workers coming down here in a public demonstration to say to this Bob Rae socialist government, "Please have compassion on us."

This is the party that when it was in opposition, you would have thought had the sole licence to compassion. They were the party in opposition who claimed they were the only people who cared about people. Well, as the saying goes, something happened on the road to Damascus. Certainly, between sitting on this side of the House in opposition and walking whatever it is—I guess maybe 14 feet—across the floor of this House to sit on that side of the House on the government benches, this New Democratic Party did something for which I will never forgive it. In my opinion, they betrayed the people who thought they could count on them.

They have betrayed the people who thought they were a party that cared about the underdog, the individual who suffered in many, many different ways and many, many different forms. But the fact is that they don't. Their Agenda for People is full of promises. Their record in the past two years is full of broken promises. So while they had an agenda for the people in this province, their actual record is totally different.

When I think about these families, I can give you all kinds of examples of families like this that I'm personally aware of, the families who have children who when they turn 21 no longer have access to any kind of daytime program in the form of an educational program, so that when they're 21 they don't have the option of being picked up on a bus in the morning to go out for a program of stimulation and challenge and motivation by professionals. Those children now, when they turn 21, fall completely between the cracks and there is nothing available for them to do. With the shelter workshops now cut out, there's another option that has been reduced and eliminated.

These parents are an example. They're talking about their child who is eight years of age. I could come in and read similar letters from parents of all ages of children. I have letters from parents. I can tell you right away of one mother who's 67; she's a widow and she's looking after her 42-year-old developmentally disabled son. There is no

help now available to these people. In a lot of these cases, they've never, ever asked the government to take their children and be wholly responsible for them.

This family isn't asking for that. This family is simply saying: "We need the summer program. We need the leisure program and the respite program." That's what they're saying. In this case, it's hard to forecast, but I'm sure that this little girl would not be able to go to a sheltered workshop in the future.

But many of the parents of children of varying abilities have been perfectly happy to look after those children at home as long as there were some intervals from time to time where they had the respite and the relief, as this mother says, from being up six or seven times a night to put this little eight-year-old girl back into bed and to monitor the length of her seizures. These people aren't saying: "Take my child. I can no longer look after him. I no longer want him at home." That isn't what these parents are saying.

Many of these parents—and again I can think of three at the moment who happen to have sons who either are 21 or will be turning 21 next year and for them June 1993 means the end of their access to the school day program. Those parents, for 21 years, have looked after this child who can't walk, can't speak, is in diapers and needs constant care and supervision for every one of his needs. But those parents have never asked the government for a penny. They've never said, "I can't cope. You have to take my child and put my child in an institution," hospital or whatever facility was needed.

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No. They have said they want their children at home. They want to look after them at home, where they know what kind of care they are given, where they know those young people, and sometimes eventually of course middleaged and older but still their children, are surrounded by a loving, caring environment because they are in their home and they know what their needs are and their wish is to meet them.

But what happens when a government makes cutbacks to organizations like the community living associations in this province? As far as I'm concerned, it demonstrates that that government has no heart at all.

When you look at the aging parents, as I mentioned the other night, who've looked after people with special needs all their lives and they are now becoming ill because of their age and they've been worn down by their responsibility, they are so frightened and so concerned about who will look after their children after they have gone, as they are physically becoming weaker and less able, week by week, to do the job themselves.

When you look at Bill 101 and we talk about long-term care, there are many, many areas of service that come under that title of long-term care, and many of those areas are areas for which there are no alternatives. There are no choices for the individuals who require that care.

My concern is that when this government thinks it's okay to cut back programs that are for our most frail and vulnerable people, then I really wonder how it can make decisions in the overall picture of provision of care for anyone.

I feel very strongly about the fact that this government today, as I've said many times, simply doesn't seem to be willing to prioritize. I would emphasize that I have not said this, but there are many people who have said to me, "Is it because in the overall scheme of things there are not as many of us in the overall population as voters as, say, their union friends who are voters, or larger groups, constituency groups, whose intimate need for survival isn't as great but there's more of them?" In the crass world of politics, what they're asking is, is it because there are more votes for them if they do something for these larger constituent groups and they're not as concerned about the few votes that fall under the category of these families in extreme need?

I don't choose to answer that question, because I feel it's up to the government to answer it. I'm not going to answer that question on their behalf, but I'm quite confident that the electorate will answer that question on behalf of the government at the next election, because a government that does not look after its most frail, vulnerable people, as far as I'm concerned, has to be the worst kind of government possible.

Some people will survive no matter what the economic climate, no matter how deep a recession, no matter how bad a depression. If you have your health, you are able to survive. If you have your health, you're able to look after your family members and help them to survive.

I'm a daughter of a family that immigrated here in 1930, and I can assure you that in those next nine years of the Depression of the 1930s that my parents were here, there were many times when my parents went hungry. Not my three brothers and I, because that's how parents work: They make sure their children are fed. But when I think back to the 1930s in Ontario, to the Great Depression, as we refer to it, and recall the accounts of what my mother and father did, I often wonder whether even I could do that today or whether our society has changed so much that none of us is willing to make sacrifices today—except when we don't have any choice, of course.

My parents were hungry and they lived apart. My father was living in Toronto, in fact living at the YMCA, because he couldn't afford to live anywhere else doing the menial job he had. He was thrilled to have a job in Toronto. It was a concern for him, but it wasn't something they couldn't live with, that he had to leave his wife and four children in St Catharines on their own for the winter months.

When I think of what that kind of experience meant in my own family, it teaches me a lot. It teaches me the fact that if you are healthy physically and mentally, you can endure unknown amounts of change, you can always adapt. In that case, my family did adapt. In retrospect, I never heard my mother say that she suffered through the Depression; she just said they lived through it. Every time they had to do without something else they accepted it, but the point was that my family was blessed with health in those years. They weren't blessed with anything else except health and each other.

The people who need long-term care which is covered by Bill 101 are people for whom none of those options is a choice. Why should long-term care be planned around forcing people to make choices that may

be totally inappropriate? I placed concerns on the record the other night that areas of this bill are not in reality looking at the options for some patients, some people requiring different levels of care in institutions.

It always sounds great to say: "We're going to bring everybody home. We're going to take everybody out of an institution." All I can say is that if that will work, that's great; but where it will not work, then it's not something where a government can arbitrarily say, "We're going to do this because it's best for everybody." It's got to be something that's realistic for the people who are involved. I really feel that if this government were planning long-term care reform, I would have expected that the first area it would look at is the people who are in that kind of care for the longest period of time. That's why I'm concerned about the fact that Bill 101 has not addressed the needs of children in any way at all.

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In closing, I simply say that if this government has any money to spend on making these changes—because it's surely going to cost millions and millions of dollars to make the changes it is proposing, because it's going to have to set up this whole infrastructure in community-based resources—if it has the money to do that, which is the goal it must have by introducing Bill 101 in the first place, then why in the meantime would it cut back funding to the community living associations, as an example, and its triministry funding, which were developing programs that looked after these people, the examples I've given, who fall between the cracks now because there are not programs in existence for them?

There's a lot more that can be said on Bill 101 and future planning for long-term care in this province, but we also have a government that believes in silencing the opposition, so we are limited in the amount of time we can speak, and I'm down to my last two seconds. For that reason and that reason only, I have to relinquish the floor.

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): Just a few comments to the previous speaker. I want to thank her for her participation. She raised a number of areas, and it's hard to recall everything from—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Questions and comments.

Mr O'Connor: That's right. It's hard to recall some of the issues from last week, but I'll try to recall a few of them. One aspect of the long-term care facilities and homes for the aged was in terms of accessibility and accountability for funding. She said there was not any mention of the developmentally disabled as far as accountability is concerned. This also deals directly with the funding for adults with disabilities and the amendments that would permit the Ministry of Community and Social Services to proceed at some date with direct funding for the developmentally handicapped, in addition to the pilots being planned for the physically disabled. Other aspects of the relationship with the long-term care reform agenda for developmentally handicapped of course will be set out later on in January, with a policy statement to come out.

I would like to reiterate the fact that last week the minister did make an announcement of \$133 million for the integrated homemaker services, which will be essential in ensuring that care for the residents of facilities will be able to take place in the community in which they live. I think that's a very important aspect of the long-term care, and I'm sure we'll get much further into this as debate proceeds.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or comments?

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I too would like to make comments about the statement of the member for Mississauga South. I think she has brought very poignantly to the floor of the House—certainly in the reading of the letter in which she presented, the very personal case she brought to our attention—that there is a great deal of concern in the community that deals with disabled people, particularly developmentally disabled people, regarding this whole long-term reform that's presented in Bill 101.

We have had, from the government member who has just spoken, "funding at some date," he said, and pilot projects that are planned. That's what's making people nervous. We don't have any real commitment. We've known this legislation was coming for almost two years, and the pilot projects that were supposed to have taken place so that the legislation could be implemented tout de suite have not happened. That's why people are worried, that's why people are concerned, that's why they have no faith in the hopes they had dreamed for.

Respite care is not mentioned. The \$133 million that was mentioned last week by the minister—I've looked all over in every document that's been presented, including the Hansard of her remarks we don't know how long that \$133 million is guaranteed for. Is it base funding? Is it a one-time grant? What does it cover? It's just thrown into the wind, and people are to buy that as a great commitment. I'm sorry, but we don't.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or comments? If not, the member for Mississauga South, you have two minutes to reply.

Mrs Marland: Community Living Mississauga capped or closed its waiting list almost a year ago now. In a city of half a million people, which the city of Mississauga is, and the region of Peel is almost three quarters of a million people now, you can imagine what a devastating effect that had on the clients of Community Living's programs.

The reason they closed the waiting list wasn't because there wasn't an increasing need; it was the fact that they think five years on a waiting list is inhumane. I think so too. For the member for Durham-York to stand up and say, "We are addressing disabled adults, handicapped adults"—I think he used that word—he obviously hasn't heard a word of what I've said because the point I've been concerned about and I'm expressing is that there's no mention of children in this long-term care legislation.

Frankly, policy statements and regulations and all this stuff that you're talking about, that you're promising for January, February, spring, goodness knows when, I'd like

to know how you think that is helping those people who are on five-year waiting lists today. It's the same all over the province. I happen to know the figures in Community Living Mississauga.

What I want to say to you, as a representative of this Bob Rae socialist government, is that my dream and my vision for the future of this province is not five-year waitings lists that are closed because there is no money to fund these programs that are for vulnerable, frail people of all ages.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Tony Rizzo (Oakwood): I'm delighted to have the opportunity to advise the House on the positive impact Bill 101 will have on elderly persons and their families.

Bill 101 will have a special significance for those Ontarians who may have found themselves in the difficult and stressful position of trying to find a suitable nursing home or home for the aged for an elderly family member.

Although some communities have volunteer placement coordinator services, as a general rule the family must identify potential homes to determine whether a bed is available and whether the home can meet the special needs of an elderly person.

At a time when emotions and physical strengths may be exhausted from having borne the burden of care at home for many months or even years, families must become experts in care levels, payment schemes and eligibility criteria.

Bill 101 will change all of this. The amendments will enable the minister to designate placement coordinators across the province who will be responsible for determining eligibility, identifying potential homes, assessing whether a home can meet individual needs and authorizing the admission. Placement coordinators will ensure that elderly persons have access to the home of their choice to every extent possible.

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In addition, the amendments will establish a uniform set of eligibility criteria and the mechanism through which consumers may appeal eligibility decisions. Homes will be permitted to accept only persons who have been found eligible and who have been authorized for admission by designated placement coordinators. Homes will be permitted to refuse to admit an eligible person only if the grounds for refusing admission are set out in the regulations under the act. The amendments create a power for a director under the act to order the placement coordinators to a home if the home demonstrates a pattern of refusing admissions that would be in violation of the regulations.

The establishment of a province-wide network of placement coordinators will enable the government to manage access to scarce long-term care facilities more effectively and to ensure that persons with the greatest needs are admitted to an appropriate home. Most significantly, elderly persons and their families will have the help they need to find a home that will provide the quality of care and service our senior citizens deserve. But I want to add that we have to be very prudent in how we deal with the private sector institutions. Reading the proposed amendments to the Nursing Homes Act, I had the impression that placement coordinators will have in their hands not only the future of nursing home applicants but of the nursing homes as well. Placement coordinators will have the power not only to judge the eligibility of an applicant, but also to authorize the admission of the person to the nursing home.

In other amendments, placement coordinators receive immunity from damages. Furthermore, I haven't been able to find a section addressing the possibility of an appeal process initiated by the institution, whereas appeals initiated by applicants are going to be reviewed by the appeal board, operating under section 23 of the Health Insurance Act.

I see one major risk in this approach, that is, that we will create a new group of powerful mandarins. These public sector employees will have almost life-or-death power over private institutions. We even make sure that these employees will not be held accountable for their actions either by the courts—which is right, I think, because not every matter should be dealt with in a court of justice—or by an independent body.

We appreciate the private sector's contributions to long-term care in our province, but the time has come to introduce a system that is more user-friendly, more individualized and better able to give the patients what they really need. With this bill, this new system will allow us to accomplish the difficult goals of giving better accountability and better services at a reasonable cost to both clients and taxpayers at large.

Placement coordinators responsible for private institutions must have a role slightly different from their colleagues responsible for public or non-profit organizations. I do not believe that in the present form the interests of the private, for-profit organizations are as well protected as those of the public and non-profit organizations.

I hope Bill 101 will be amended, for more than one reason:

First, to give eligible applicants the right to enter a private, for-profit nursing home at his or her will if space is available. Placement coordinators' counselling will be welcome but not required—at least, should be welcome but not required;

Second, to give institutions the right to appeal the decision of a placement coordinator in cases where they feel unfairly treated; and

Third, to set up an independent board of appeal whose members shouldn't be employees of either the government or the private sector.

My approach in selecting the board of appeal members would be to identify experts in this area who do not have a direct professional link with these services. Such a board would guarantee to everyone, including the general public, that the review process would be totally impartial. There are a number of professionals presently not directly involved in this sector who are competent enough to be members of such a board.

Bill 101 is only the first important step towards redirecting the entire long-term care system. I praise the minister's effort in achieving one of our government's major policy objectives; that is, to give people a greater opportunity to be independent and a greater chance to live in their homes or in the environment of their choice.

From now on, disabled people will have direct access to grants. Only a totally reliable and user-friendly system of public and private, profit and non-profit institutions will enable us to give users the freedom of choice they deserve, but these objectives will only be accomplished if we can guarantee that the taxpayers' money will be well spent.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or any comments?

Mrs O'Neill: I'm pleased that the member for Oakwood has brought forth to the floor of the Legislature two of the concerns that have been expressed to me over and over on Bill 101.

The role of the placement coordinator is indeed powerful. I think the member for Oakwood talked about a powerful mandarin, and that is true. We have nothing in this bill that talks about the qualifications of this powerful person.

There is no definition in the legislation that talks about the community that the placement coordinator will serve. We don't know whether that is to be the communities that we know as towns and villages or whether they're to take in surrounding areas, and how broad those surrounding areas are.

All of that is going to be left and we're going to take a leap of faith. I will speak more about that in my own remarks.

The other area that is extremely weak and nebulous in this piece of legislation is the appeal process. We are talking here about vulnerable people, and in many cases we are talking about people who have had a crisis thrust upon them by accident or by sudden illness or by old age, and all of a sudden they have no recourse except to finally end up in Divisional Court, according to Bill 101.

We are talking here about families that need some sensitivity, families that need to know they're going to be treated justly and fairly and that the process is as easy as it can be under the circumstances.

I feel very strongly that these issues have got to be brought forward in some form of an amendment, an amendment that is going to attend to the people's needs in this province.

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The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or comments?

Mr O'Connor: I want to thank the member for Oakwood for his comments. I know that he talked very eloquently about the independence it will offer seniors, and I think that's an important aspect of it.

I know he's certainly concerned about a number of areas. I guess one of the areas he would be concerned about would be that some of the consumers do not have care givers who are willing to support the provision of care within their homes. However, where there is a willing care giver available in the home to support the provision of care

provided under the health and personal support program, it is conceivable that a consumer would be cared for in the home.

Within the long-term initiative, it has been suggested that the consumers with heavy needs would be discharged back into their homes. We would have to recognize that facility placement for some consumers may continue to be the most appropriate alternative. He has talked about independence, and sometimes that's not possible. We will have to take a look at all the aspects.

He talked about the appeal boards, and I'm sure that we'll hear a lot of different opinions around the boards during the course of this debate. I look forward to hearing further discussion, and I thank the member for Oakwood for his fine contribution.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for York East.

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): I'd like to participate in response to some of the comments by the member for Oakwood.

I'd like to say that I think he's been very clear when he talks about the concept of empowering people with disabilities and senior citizens to make sure that people get the appropriate services in terms of community services and support services by the people who take care of them in their homes. It's very, very important and must be very clear.

The member for Ottawa-Rideau talked a little about qualifications and criteria and the role of the placement coordinators. I appreciate that, but I'd like to reinforce and clarify that concern by remembering that as we look back at statements by the Minister of Health, Frances Lankin, who talked about placement coordinators and their responsibilities to ensure that senior citizens' requests are met and that the appropriate support services will be chosen by the placement coordinators to provide comfort and cooperation, I believe that's part of a major role of placement coordinator. The design of this is to provide empowerment and the concept of consumer participation in making sure they get what they want. That's part of the role of placement coordinator. I wanted to clarify that.

With Bill 101, the whole purpose, I believe, is to reduce tensions and conflicts between the placement coordinators and professional service providers and the consumer. I think this provides a clarity and as much information and resources as possible to senior citizens and disabled people to allow them to develop a clear understanding and idea of what their options are before they make a decision, to make sure that they have everything available to them and to make sure that everything works out as smoothly as possible, the goal being, of course, to reduce tension and to reduce concerns.

I just wanted to raise that and to clarify that this whole thing is to empower disabled people and senior citizens. It's very, very important. This process, the whole concept, like I said, is to empower, to give that to people who are now vulnerable.

I believe the member for Oakwood has been very clear and brought beautiful points in his speech. This is a real first for our senior citizens. This is good and it will be a good environment for our seniors. The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or comments?

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): I'd just like to place a few thoughts on this, especially in the area of the placement coordinators.

The member certainly extolled the virtues and abilities of these people to make good judgements with the best interests of the clients in mind, but I'm just concerned. Will these people be placed in their own communities? We don't know what this region is going to contain and it would be sad if people were placed out of their communities, away from families and friends. I think this is a real concern of people who may have to be placed in a home for the aged or a facility of that kind.

Also, a concern placed to me was by the director for a home for the aged in my riding. She was saying that she has different levels of care in her facility, and should there be a vacancy in one particular area but the client who is going to be placed in her facility is not of that kind—for instance, maybe she has a vacancy in a real chronic care area and yet the person isn't ready for that yet—is she going to be forced to take this person and then disrupt the whole area in her home?

These are questions that are coming forward, and really the bill does not answer those and we haven't heard any answers. So I hope that very soon some of these things will be sorted out, because I know people are very worried about how the operation of this bill will take place.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Oakwood, you have two minutes to reply.

Mr Rizzo: I'm pleased by the attitude of the opposition party regarding this bill, and there are many points where I agree with them. I think all these concerns will be addressed by the minister at a time before the first reading in the House.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? The member for Ottawa-Rideau.

Mrs O'Neill: I am pleased to participate in the debate on the Long Term Care Statute Law Amendment Act. This complex bill amends seven separate pieces of legislation, among them the Nursing Homes Act, the Charitable Institutions Act, the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act, the Ministry of Community and Social Services Act, the Health Insurance Act and the Ministry of Health Act.

The minister, in her statement of November 26 when she presented this bill, announced that she was introducing "a new integrated long-term care health and social service system for seniors, their care givers, adults with physical disabilities and those who need health care services at home."

This statement is another in the long and growing list of feel-good announcements by this government which often turn out to be very short on details, very vague on time lines and misty at best in committing to financial funding. The details for the implementation framework are promised for next spring—another time line I feel may not be realized. The changes to income-based subsidies and indeed the very costing of this program is still very far

from being determined. In fact, we can't get any answers to that question of cost.

While the minister has the luxury of procrastinating on these very important issues surrounding this legislation, the district health councils are being asked to begin immediately, and I repeat immediately, to restructure their operations so that they are in line with this government's long-term care strategies. They are being requested to get busy with little real leadership or direction and with little real, and I emphasize real, commitment. While the minister postpones the release of the report and the implementation framework, the district health council partners are ordered to immediately begin an implementation of a yet-to-be-released framework.

This bill is most striking for what it does not say. A quick scan immediately reveals that there is no mention of plans or policies concerning municipal responsibilities, the role of rehabilitation institutions and those facilities, the provision of respite care, convalescent care, or laboratory or pharmaceutical services. I'm just scratching the surface. All that I have suggested above are important components of any responsible policy of long-term care, and I know that most Ontarians would agree with me.

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Nor in this long-awaited legislation do we see any reference to patient classification guidelines to identify residents who need complex multidisciplinary care. Facilities, whether they be homes for the aged, nursing homes or charitable institutions, have waited and waited for this announcement, and now they find that their list of questions is just growing and growing and growing. They all look in vain for a framework or even a mention of the components of one of the most complex transitions that they have ever been asked to face in this province, and they find almost none. They are asked to wait for the spring of 1993—or will it be summer? A member tonight said, "God alone knows when."

Many, many details of the concepts outlined in this legislation are left to be specified in regulation, requiring a very, very large leap of faith on the part of the government's health care partners, the health care professionals of this province and providers who are expected to implement this package. Vulnerable Ontarians whom this legislation is meant to serve and the families that support them are also asked to risk their journey into the future without a map.

I ask, will the minister alone determine the duties and qualifications of the placement coordinator? Who will draw up the details of the service agreements? What will be the eligibility criteria and procedures for admission and discharge? What is the frequency with which applications for admissions may be made? What are the criteria for determining bed capacities for specific levels of care? Who will provide the new definitions that there will be for extended care and nursing care?

Who will mandate what programs and goods are going to be available to residents? Who will determine the maximum amounts that may be charged for particular classes or levels of care, services, programs or goods? What will the staff-resident ratios be? What are the provisions for in-service training for staff? Who determines qualifications of personnel? What are the criteria for the quality assurance plans? Who will establish a complaints procedure for patients?

These questions are accountability issues. Service agreements, plans of care, quality assurance standards, and powers of inspection are all issues of accountability, and yet the answers to each and every one of the questions I have just enunciated are that they will be found in the regulations.

Regulations, I remind this House, are the exclusive prerogative of the government's executive council. Don't demand accountability in either the legislative forum or the general public. You and I, the people of Ontario, must just wait and see what the NDP government decides to do about each of these important issues that affect your life and mine and those of our families. I ask, will it be possible, with such important decisions resting with the minister and the cabinet, that the local district health councils' process will be real consultations about real local needs?

Madam Minister, do we really know your plans for the role of the district health councils? I say not. I remind that this government's record on consultation is anything but golden. In fact, the march of November 26 of some Ontario citizens—those with the greatest need, I may add—to Queen's Park indicated that, in many minds, the consultation process in this province at this moment is non-existent.

Another major concern of many is the role and responsibility of the designated placement coordinator. The member for Oakwood has just brought that to our attention. The person or persons who fill this position, we are told in section 5 of the bill, will be chosen by the minister.

The person chosen by the minister for this position will wield enormous power over the lives both of applicants for long-term care and their families and the people who operate and work in long-term care facilities, yet we see not even one mention or hint, in any document I have seen on this issue or in this legislation to this point, of qualifications; and neither do we find, as I said earlier today, the definition of "the community" that is mentioned in the legislation. What does "the community" mean? The community that will be served in the decisions of the placement coordinator is yet undetermined—another accountability issue.

We on this side and, more importantly, the families seeking long-term care for their loved ones, are being asked to trust that whoever is designated to this powerful position of control over the delivery of long-term care in Ontario will have the appropriate qualifications, whatever they are, and appropriate background, whatever that is, with no such assurance given in this nebulous legislation.

I want to read from the bill about the placement coordinator role:

"Admissions to nursing homes, charitable homes for the aged and municipal homes will be controlled by placement coordinators designated by the minister. A placement coordinator will determine whether an applicant for admission is eligible for admission and will determine whether to authorize an applicant's admission to a particular home. All determinations by placement coordinators must be made in accordance with the regulations"—those yet-tobe-determined regulations, I remind.

A fallout from this direction is that facilities will be mandated to accept anyone deemed by the placement coordinator to be admissible. The facility cannot refuse any admission—I repeat, any admission—deemed by the coordinator to be acceptable. Their only recourse and the only recourse of families who are refused placement is an appeal process that leaves many Ontarians very insecure.

I remind you and this House, Mr Speaker, that we are talking about families who are making difficult decisions, often for the first time, in difficult and strange circumstances: families in crisis, families undergoing major stress, families often full of fear and sometimes full of guilt. If placement is considered unsuitable or is refused, these families, these patients, must become entangled in a complex legal proceeding.

I urge the minister to remember and protect the relationship with health care professionals that patients have, providers of choice. Many patients often have a practitioner—and I know the minister knows this—who has been a care giver throughout most of their lifetime. I also remind the minister that a facility's inability to refuse an admission tends to test the history that has developed in this province along ethnic and religious traditions in the care of the aged on Ontario. This direction comes, I remind, from a government that claims to be socially and culturally sensitive, that claims to be the true champion of the vulnerable. This concern has been brought to me by many groups.

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I turn now to the issue of home care. The minister is quoted in the December 3 edition of the Toronto Sun as saying: "There will be someone who can come in and can help them take a bath, if that's what they need, or help them get their meals ready or perhaps do a little bit of light housekeeping in order to help that senior remain in their home with independence."

Those services are now available in communities, and it's not nearly as simple as the minister stated on December 3.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): You don't know what you're talking about.

Mrs O'Neill: The minister is stating that I don't know what I'm talking about. I happen to have a father who has these services, and they're very limited services, and they're not warm and cosy and soft and cuddly, as the minister states. And it cannot be done on the ad hoc basis the minister talks about. If the minister knows so much about this issue, she knows that people at this time can have 60 hours per month, 15 hours per week or three hours per day.

Hon Ms Lankin: Right across the province, Yvonne?

Mrs O'Neill: In many locations of this province. If the minister would listen, instead of interfering, until her time arises to respond, she would know that what I'm saying is that this does not satisfy all needs of all people in home care. There's much more to home care than getting a little meal or a little housekeeping or a bath.

Madam Minister, your statement is extremely idealistic. It doesn't attend to real needs of real people, and it sets in

motion a whole series of false hopes and impossible dreams. What exactly does the \$133 million stand for that you announced last week? We can't find out over what period of time. We don't know whether it's folded into base budgets. We don't know all the communities it will attend to. You've named several. Do other communities have to stand by and wait?

Your idealism in this Bill 101 is unbelievable. The services you are outlining to the seniors, who really need them, are daily needs. They are continuous needs, week after week, year after year, and Bill 101 does not present to them the security they need.

Moneys for these purposes must be guaranteed in base budgets of the agencies that will administer the programs. Madam Minister, I'm sorry that I do not find that kind of definitive commitment to the seniors of Ontario in this legislation. My question to you is, how will Bill 101 change the services that are there now, and will they serve real needs?

This year, we've seen almost every municipality in this province freeze funding for their home care programs, and you suggest that by adding \$133 million you're going to extend this program right across the province. You've stated that home care will be available in many communities that at this moment do not or cannot provide the service. I remind you, Madam Minister, \$133 million is not a large amount of money.

My question remains: Are we really talking about more service or less service for seniors in Ontario with real needs? Placement coordinators and comprehensive multiservice agencies must be designed to really improve community services for the seniors and the disabled and must give them the opportunity to access the quality of life that is rightfully theirs.

I would like now to turn to the section of the bill that deals with the disabled, section 19 of the bill, which amends the Ministry of Community and Social Services Act to allow the minister to make grants in accordance with the regulations to or on behalf of persons who have a disability and who are at least 16 years of age to assist them in obtaining goods and services that they require as a result of their disability.

It's very curious that the minister is so enthusiastic in making this commitment when she hasn't even begun a pilot project in this province to examine how such a program would be administered. Without a pilot project, it's next to impossible to assess the process or guidelines for accessing these funds. It's impossible to determine what real resources will fill what real needs, the necessary components of the new contracts for service or regulation of services. I ask, how can we begin such a new initiative without specifics or without any real leadership? Where, I ask again, as I have throughout this entire bill, is the accountability?

What I believe we are left with in section 19 is another announced policy, policy direction which will be very slow in delivery. I think this is a shocking omission if this minister expects us to believe in her commitment to empowering disabled adults.

I get very nervous when the ministries of this government talk about major departures from the way we've been doing business, or a massive overhaul, or a major restructuring. It often means cutbacks, centralization, alternative approaches to service, reallocation, and new definitions for such crucial terms as "chronic" or "high-risk care."

All of that makes me and Ontarians right across this province very nervous. A question they continue to ask is: Can we trust that our real needs will be met, and when will we know the answer to that important question? This long-term care legislation must emphasize an enhancement of services to fill real needs, not a mumbo-jumbo of administrative red tape.

I finally ask, why does so much of the substance of this legislation remain to be determined? We've waited two years to hear this government's policy on long-term care and now we are being asked to wait until January for details, then spring for others, and the minister indicated next year for others. We are just told to wait and see, the details will follow. I urge the minister to send this bill to a legislative committee for public discussion.

In conclusion, I'm disappointed that although a longterm care policy is desperately needed in this province, we are again being given only platitudes and promises lacking in detail and commitment. What we need is a guarantee that there will be no gaps in patient services. What we really need, we need to know that the quality of care that this bill promises is provided to the seniors and disabled in this province.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Hon Ms Lankin: I welcome the opportunity to move off second reading and refer this to committee and I think the member will have an opportunity—I hope she's there and participates—to have many of her questions answered. I think it is important that people have that opportunity to explore legitimate questions.

I would have to say, though, that the comments made by the member really show a profound lack of understanding of much of what is there. I have only two minutes so I won't be able to answer everything she put forward, but let me just say the announcement with respect to integrated homemaking made it very clear that it was 133.5 million new dollars. That's an addition to base budget.

If the member knows anything about integrated homemaking, that's not simply home care. Home care has to do with home nursing; integrated homemaking is a different program. I think the member should know that. Her government was around when it was introduced. She should also know that there are 17 areas of the province that do not have it at all presently and this is a major expansion. It is new money and it is new service. It is only one of the basket of services that have been identified in terms of long-term care.

Your comment about consultation just floors me. We were out and we met with over 70,000 individuals. We had a major consensus developed about the direction that needs to be taken and I think we're responding to that in a

very positive way. I hope that the consultation response document and others will assure the member of that.

The legislation that is before her is not comprehensive long-term care; it is the changes that need to happen to the Nursing Homes Act, the Charitable Institutions Act, the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act to bring about levels of care funding and the kind of accountability measures that she is talking about.

I think we have built in new accountability measures in terms of development of service agreements around individual residents that never existed before, guarantees that residents will be made informed of that, guarantees that those things and other financial documents will be posted in the homes. I mean, there is more accountability than we've ever had in the system. If we can improve on it with suggestions from the member, we'll certainly look at that.

With respect to individuals with disabilities, I point out to the member that you can't have pilot projects when the minister doesn't have the ability under legislation to flow the funds. The changes in this would allow the minister to flow those funds and we will establish the projects.

The Deputy Speaker: Your time has expired. Thank you.

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Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I'd like to address one of the issues that my colleague touched on. I have never seen an act, in the eight years I've been in the Legislature, that had more regulations. I think the people of Ontario, particularly the seniors who deserve better, should be aware of the fact that regulations are done, as my colleague said, by the cabinet, by whatever the number of cabinet ministers they've got right now.

I tell the people in the government, all you back-benchers who care very dearly about our seniors, that you should care about them, because our seniors have paid, paid and paid and now are 80 and 90 years of age and are going to have to rely upon a cabinet to make regulations that could be changed every time Floyd Laughren or the Treasurer of the day decides that this is the way they are going to do it.

I think that's a totally unacceptable way to deal with seniors. These people have given long, hard years in earning and desire to have a decent accommodation when they become old and feeble. What you in fact have done is you've just simply told them, "Well, you've got to wait."

If you look through this act or any meaningful person looks through this act, they'll find that everything is done by the cabinet, those 12 or 13 people or 20 people who are in the cabinet, plus all those spin doctors down the hall, who are going to decide from time to time how to deal with senior citizens. I find that totally unacceptable, I find it totally irrational and I find it a piece of legislation that's not supportive of anybody in this House.

You're going to let your cabinet ministers and the Treasurer of the day decide what we should with our seniors? We already have difficulties. It's already been documented by my colleague in terms of trying to find places for these people. Minister, you're not doing anything for them.

You're giving them a road map, which is nothing more than a road map to what I suggest is pure communism.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or comments?

Mr Malkowski: I've listened very carefully to the comments from the member for Ottawa-Rideau and the member for Brampton South, and my goodness, I think they show clearly a very profound misunderstanding of this legislation. I believe both members have failed to understand the proposals, the amendments to Bill 101 and the concerns expressed.

The member for Ottawa-Rideau says that she's concerned. She talks about, where's the accountability, where's the definition and where is the responsibility? What does community mean? What does region mean, and process and regulation? But let me tell you the proposals under here are very clear and the guidelines talk about the importance—the basic objective of the bill is to be more effective, quality assurance and also to enhance and empower the residents and the families, and government has a clear role in this.

To hear the member opposite talking about just pejorative criticisms, standing on her feet and criticizing without one word of recommendation, without one positive thing to say by the member for Ottawa-Rideau and also the member for Brampton South, that, I think, shows real irresponsibility. I don't accept that for one minute and I believe it's a real concern. I believe senior citizens deserve better.

The senior citizens of my riding certainly wouldn't appreciate that kind of pejorative criticism. Opposition members should be more clear and should find out more the facts to provide constructive criticisms and constructive recommendations to this bill. I would encourage the members opposite to make positive recommendations, to be more positive in their approach to long-term care reform, to be logical and to be with the community instead of trying to point out fictitious fallacies and misunderstandings that would just upset senior citizens.

I'm here to help clarify the misunderstandings and to challenge the opposition members to think carefully about what they have to say when it comes to long-term care reform. Let's work together on this for the quality of care that our senior citizens deserve for effective and quality control. Maybe the members opposite are scared of us, maybe they're scared of the kind of leadership we're showing. Maybe that's why they're being so pejorative in their criticisms.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions or comments?

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): From another room I caught the remarks of my colleague and I want to stress that her comments were indeed positive. All the way through the discussion of long-term care reform, we are looking for movement ahead. We're not looking to stand still in one place, but more information is required and more decision-making notations are needed in order to make positive contributions to the discussion and the debate, so that we in the opposition can assist in formulating what is a rational approach to long-term care.

The member has discussed issues relating to personal choice. We are very concerned, as are many people whom we have spoken with, that Bill 101 will in fact limit personal choice, the choice of an individual to decide which home or which particular place he wants to enter, whether or not the placement coordinator says he is eligible for that particular place. I think the member spoke logically about the necessity of a personal choice to be very much on the table and for the minister to take into account, as the issues are discussed and the final determinations and the regulations surrounding the placement coordinator are put into place, what limits will be placed on the placement coordinator to override a person's own preferences and what protection a person will have with respect to making a personal choice about which home and in what geographic area he or she will want to live.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Ottawa-Rideau, you have two minutes to reply.

Mrs O'Neill: I rise very discouraged. The minister has said she's willing to go out to public hearings. I brought forward questions that have been presented to me, and I've been shot down, told I don't know what I'm talking about, that I'm negative and that I don't really have any interest in the seniors of this province. This is the way they're going to enter the hearing process. I think many of the questions I presented tonight will be brought forward in the public hearings. We're being asked to take a giant leap of faith. Every single issue of accountability that I brought forward tonight is by regulation. I remind you that regulation does not give any direct accountability to anyone in this province, including the people who sit in this Legislature.

The minister refuses or will not tell us what the \$133 million is for. Is it going to be folded in? We know that the home care programs and integrated homemaking programs in this province are all being frozen and cut back. If the agencies are not going to be guaranteed those as a part of a base budget, they are useless.

To be told that we must do it as it's presented, that this is all wonderful, is exactly what I said when I began: a warm, cosy feeling, again without very much commitment, without much guarantee, and certainly the consultation that's going to take place does not seem to be meaningful.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. There are 10 minutes available after the member for Simcoe—

Mr Callahan: I know what goes on.

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): In 1995 we will use your regulations. We will regulation you guys to death. Change the law because of your regulations.

Interjections

The Deputy Speaker: Order. Would you like me to ask you to leave the House, the member for Brampton South and the member for Ottawa West? It's okay if we start now?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I'm pleased to enter into this debate with regard to Bill 101. The reason I'm doing it is I've been concerned with regard to health

care, long-term care, the most vulnerable people in the province of Ontario, for many years. I've talked about it on many occasions, and I've made statements in this Legislature with regard to our seniors and with regard to the homes for the aged.

With this Long Term Care Statute Law Amendment Act, 1992, I thought it would be a good opportunity for me to be able to enlighten myself as well as learn more about this act that's being presented here. Having the opportunity to get up and to say a few words on it. The Minister of Health may not agree with them all and I respect that, but I hope she also respects what I have to say, because this is a learning process for us all. On a major bill such as this Bill 101, I'm sure there will be disagreement between parties with regard to it.

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A lot of people have indicated that this bill is flawed because it will have a profound financial impact on senior citizens while virtually ignoring people with disabilities, children and primary care givers, and lastly, because it is designed to eliminate private sector involvement. We look at what happened to day care in this province. We look at the private day care that has been provided for many years at a very reasonable cost now being changed to the public sector.

The number of those aged 65 or over will rise significantly from 1.132 million, 11.6% of the population in 1990, to 2.169 million, which is 16.5% of the population in the year 2015. The population aged 75 or over is expected to more than double from 452,000, 4.6% of the population in 1990, to 957,000, 7.3% of the population in the year 2015. It has been projected that the number of individuals aged 85 and over will increase 185% by the year 2015. Statistics also indicate that by the year 2006, Ontario will have approximately 1.5 million disabled people living in the province, an increase of about 36% over the current level.

Bill 101 is an example of the NDP government's willingness to impose user fees on vulnerable adults, those people who are struggling to survive on fixed incomes, in order to reform Ontario's health care system.

When this bill was introduced, the government confirmed its plan to charge seniors up to \$300 a month more for nursing home care. The NDP government will raise \$150 million from the user fee increase, something that was unacceptable to this administration when it was in opposition. Bill 94 got rid of those fees and now they're being reinstated by this present administration.

It is interesting to note that at the same time as this government's Health minister is paying for her long-term care proposals on the backs of Ontario's frail and elderly by raising nursing home user fees by \$150 million, the same government's Municipal Affairs minister is giving away \$150 million worth of housing on the Toronto Islands and driving the public sector out of providing day care, to the tune of \$100 million.

I rose in the Legislature on October 27 to tell the Minister of Health about her government's shabby treatment of Ontario's vulnerable senior citizens who are unable to care for themselves. At that time, I told the minister that since

September 1990, 20 nursing homes in Ontario have closed. The 94-bed Bestview Health Care Centre in Orillia has never had any new beds allocated by the provincial government since it first opened its doors. Bestview alone has a waiting list of over 100 vulnerable senior citizens waiting for beds. It has been indicated to me that other nursing homes in Orillia, as well as those in Penetanguishene and Elmvale, also have lengthy waiting lists.

I asked the minister what I was supposed to tell people like Nancy Crisp of Big Cedar Estates, who was in desperate need of a nursing home bed for her husband. So far, the only answer I have received from the minister is the introduction of Bill 101, which does nothing for vulnerable senior citizens except to raise their user fees to up to \$300 per month.

The minister's treatment of vulnerable adults is deplorable. She does not seem to be concerned about sending out more health cards than there are people in Ontario. It was only about a week ago that I had a health card brought into my office that had just been mailed out to an individual who had been dead for two and a half years. I have no idea what's going on with regard to the scheme in the ministry of allocating these cards when people turn 65 without any application to indicate that it's needed. She doesn't appear to be too concerned about wasting more than \$39 million on that scheme to reduce medicare fraud when the same scheme itself is open to abuse.

I would suggest that the time is long overdue for the Minister of Health to live up to her responsibilities. She should get her spending priorities in order so that vulnerable seniors in Ontario can have access to nursing home beds and receive the dignified care and treatment they so rightly deserve. I would suggest that it also goes for her colleague the Minister of Community and Social Services, whose cutbacks could very well mean the end of sheltered workshops, like ARC Industries in Orillia, Collingwood and Midland. Both the Minister of Health and the Minister of Community and Social Services have seriously misguided spending priorities that will leave vulnerable children and adults in an untenable position.

So I would urge the government to send this bill to public hearings—I understand the minister has indicated that she will do that—because I believe the minister has left out many components of long-term care, including palliative care, rehabilitation, regulation of retirement homes, support for primary care givers, and human resource management and training.

I'm also concerned that the funding allocations are extremely vague on this long-term care document. For example, Redirection of Long-Term Care and Support Services in Ontario never explains how much money is currently spent on long-term care. The document mentions that \$647 million will be spent on long-term care by 1996-97, but it fails to explain if this is new money, and the total is never broken down. So we don't really know what the figures are.

Mr Chiarelli: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Surely the member for Simcoe East is deserving of a government quorum. I don't believe there's a quorum in the House.

The Deputy Speaker: I'll check with the table. Is there a quorum?

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals (Mr Alex D. McFedries): A quorum is not present, Speaker.

The Deputy Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals: A quorum is now present, Speaker.

The Deputy Speaker: A quorum is now present. The member for Simcoe East.

Mr McLean: There's also no mention of the breakdown of the current spending on long-term care, while the document claims that \$200 million is to be allocated to institutions. It also maintains that \$150 million of this funding is to be raised from consumers. So I guess that partially explains the increased user fees for senior citizens in nursing homes.

My party is extremely concerned about the future action against the private long-term care sector. We fought tooth and nail for the private child care sector, and you can count on us to do the same thing for the private long-term care sector, if the need arises.

It is rather ironic that this government goes to great lengths and expense to designate, proclaim and promote one month out of the year in recognition of our senior citizens. It is the same government that continues its discriminatory policy that requires senior citizens over the age of 70 to undergo automatic driver licence testing in the event of an accident, regardless of the circumstances.

It has been brought to my attention on more than occasion that if a senior over 70 is parked in a parking-lot and somebody hits his car, he has to go and have a driver's test after that accident happens. I've talked to the Minister of Transportation about that, and would hope that it would be changed. I can see that if it was the individual's fault that the accident happened he should have a test, but not when it's somebody else's fault. Clearly such testing should be restricted only to those charged with causing an accident or those who have displayed a lack of competence in operating a vehicle.

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This is the same government that penalized senior citizens on June 8 when it increased the costs of several civil court actions such as real estate and mortgage transactions, wills and estates, divorces and family law. At that time, I made a statement in this Legislature explaining those increased fees that were brought in. It's the same government that's penalizing senior citizens in a government ripoff that will see their nursing home fees increased, as I said, by up to \$300 a month if Bill 101 is passed.

This legislation is by no means a complete response to reform of the long-term care system in Ontario. I expect the government will undoubtedly come under fire once seniors' organizations and organizations that provide long-term care services have an opportunity to study this legislation and realize that very little in the long-term care system has changed for the better.

Senior citizens fear that the closing of chronic care hospital beds will trap them in much the same way psychiatric patients were trapped when institutions were closed in the 1970s. They are demanding that closed chronic care beds be reopened.

I have indicated on many instances in this Legislature, with regard to the cost, that the Huronia Regional Centre in Orillia, which has been a facility for the mentally handicapped, is a large facility, that there's lots of room there and that you could have a homey setting for people who are in the hospitals in our chronic care beds. Get them out of the hospitals. Put them into a setting whereby it would be more compatible and thereby the people who look after them would be in a nicer setting.

On many occasions I have talked about the people in our nursing homes and homes for the aged. My indication is that this ministry, under the direction of Bill 101, wants to keep them in the homes as long as they can, which most people and I agree with. We should keep them in their homes as long as we can. But I don't think that we should keep them in the home and provide 24-hour care for those individuals. Wouldn't it be better to have them in a setting of some of the beautiful nursing homes that we have and homes for the aged that we have in the county of Simcoe, so to speak, whereby they can get out? They have a bus to take them out. There are places that we have to look at which are more appropriate than some of the cases we have.

Only this morning I had a call from a lady whose child who is handicapped. This single parent is having problems getting help through the Ministry of Community and Social Services. She has to have a special car seat for this child. This individual is not on mother's allowance, not on welfare, she is working, and I commend her for that. But this individual needs some help because she's a single parent for this child who is partially blind and needs a special car seat to take her to the hospital to see the doctor. It disturbed me when I got that phone call from that individual, because here we have a person who is working in the community, paying her own way, and she is having trouble getting somebody to help her with this special car seat. The dollar has got to be close, but I commend her for working and for paying her way. Comsoc, through the ministry office in Barrie, would not deal with the problem. My office has been in touch with community groups within the city, indicating that perhaps the Kiwanis Club or the Rotary Club could help this individual.

So in section 19 of this bill, where we're dealing with social services, I believe it is important that there be something there by which we could help individuals such as this who want to continue to work. This individual could very easily say, "I don't want to," and stay home and draw mother's allowance, but I commend that individual for continuing to work.

I want to touch briefly on district health councils. I was in this Legislature when they were first initiated, first formed. District health councils, in my estimation, were to get information from the community, to compile that information and to help the Minister of Health in terms of some of the decisions she would make with regard to long-term care.

I'm not so sure that process has worked very well, because I've watched and I've indicated where ministers of Health have made decisions based not on recommendations from those district health councils but on what the ministers felt was appropriate at the time. So I have to ask, are the district health councils there to serve as an excuse for a minister who wants not to do something, or are they there for a purpose?

When we look at some of the costs affiliated with the district health councils, the studies they're doing—they're in phase 2 in the Simcoe County District Health Council. I think the work they do is important and I encourage them to continue to do the work. But I have a concern with regard to the ministry. Are they accepting those recommendations and is the Minister of Health looking at those recommendations through the consultation process?

I remember when the home care program was initiated. It wasn't that many years ago, but it has certainly turned out to be a great benefit to help many people stay in their own homes. I encourage the ministry to continue that program and to build upon that program, so people can stay in their own homes longer. The other side of that is our nursing homes and our homes for seniors, where they provide care that is badly needed.

The other aspect of the bill that concerns me a great deal is the aspect of regulation by cabinet, where cabinet can make decisions to change whatever it likes within that legislation.

The concerns that have been raised here with regard to Bill 101, I think are important. As I said earlier, the reason I wanted to speak on this bill was so that I could become more familiar with this legislation the government is putting through, because of the many people who are involved in it.

When we look at some of the satellite health care clinics we have in the province, at the health care clinic over at Wellesley and Bay, where you can walk in and immediately be treated, I often wonder if some of those health cards we have that are floating around are not ending up in the wrong hands.

I wanted to raise the responses of the interest groups to the long-term care paper. A number of groups are very sceptical of the government's consultation process. That's not what we're saying; this is what the interest groups' response has been. The response to the NDP consultation document has been overwhelmingly negative. A number of groups and individuals have expressed concern that persons with disabilities and children have been ignored in this report.

Three groups representing one million seniors formed a coalition to review the NDP long-term care paper. The group, Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform, released an extremely critical response to the NDP paper in early July. The senior citizens' consumer alliance fears that the closing of chronic care health beds will trap seniors in the same way psychiatric patients were trapped when institutions closed in the 1970s. They have asked that closed chronic care beds be reopened.

The Ontario Association of Non-profit Homes and Services for Seniors released a report in July which showed that more than 4,300 Ontarians are on waiting lists for long-term residential care. At the same time, as I said earlier in my remarks, six nursing homes have closed since 1987 because of deficits, which creates a huge burden on families who have to care for ailing residents and relatives.

The list goes on of what this group and the responses to the long-term care paper have brought before us.

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A number of groups have expressed concern that hospital services are being curtailed at a time when services are not yet available in the community. Almost everyone commenting on the long-term care paper has pointed out serious flaws with the proposed 40 service coordination agencies, and many believe that the service coordination agencies will duplicate existing services and set up another costly level of bureaucracy.

There's been some concern expressed that the government does not plan to increase the overall long-term care beds. Primary care givers are concerned that instead of being rewarded, the families who take care of their elders at home as long as possible could be penalized, because when they eventually need such facilities, there could be long waiting lists. The list goes on of the concerns that have been raised.

In responses to long-term care, the Ontario Nursing Home Association sees the new levels-of-care funding in place by 1993. The new accountability framework may make it that much more difficult for private sector survival. The private nursing home sector will not be impressed with the amendment to the Nursing Homes Act which allows the government to provide capital funding for non-profit nursing homes, and this could very well set the stage for the government to take over privately operated nursing homes.

Is that the aim of the government, to take over privately operated nursing homes? I hope not, but it would not surprise me if that were part of the overall response. The private sector is still reeling from the minister's speech to the senior citizens' consumer alliance in July 1992, which confirmed the NDP preference for not-for-profit service expansion. The private long-term care sector has watched the demise of the private care sector and is concerned it is next on the hit list.

The direct funding model will be extremely popular with persons with disabilities, as it will allow them to manage their own care.

There have been many concerns raised in the public consultation that has taken place across the province by people who are looking at the 17 new areas of the province and the current program, which services 21 areas of the province at the present time.

When we look at the overall assessment of this Bill 101, I'm pleased that I had the opportunity to be part of the discussion and to learn a little more about it, because the nursing homes, the homes for the aged and long-term care are going to be looked at in a very serious manner.

On many occasions, I have indicated that it costs about \$350 to \$400 a day—and I may be low—to keep an individual in a chronic care unit in the hospital. Why would it not be more appropriate to try to place that person in a nursing home? It would cost a lot less money and they would get better care.

I remember going to the hospital, not that long ago, to visit an individual who was in the chronic care unit. This individual was sitting in bed, and her window looked out upon the roof of part of the hospital. You could not see a

tree, you couldn't see anything but sky and a roof. Psychologically, that individual was not very comfortable to be unable to see even a tree, or the sun, for that matter, because of the side of the hospital she was in.

I would urge the minister to look at cases such as that. I ask the minister, why is not more appropriate to provide more nursing home care and get people out of the chronic care units in our hospitals? I don't know why. I've been at this for a long time and nobody has given me an answer yet, and I want somebody to do it.

Is Bill 101 going to solve this problem? I don't think so. I think I know what the aim is. Part of it is to keep them in their homes longer. There isn't anybody here who doesn't agree with that. But it is a responsibility of the medical profession to make sure there is a cost analysis; that's got to be part of it. You can't keep somebody in a home and have three different shifts of people looking after that individual. You've got to have it so that person can enjoy life in the dignity of her own home, as well as having the health care that is needed, within reason.

Mr Speaker, I thank you for the opportunity to say a few words, and I hope the minister will have some of those answers for some of those very good questions I asked.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Hon Ms Lankin: The member raises a number of very good questions and I appreciate the opportunity, although brief, to respond to a couple of them.

Particularly in the latter part of his statement he spoke about being unable to get a good answer as to why we have people in chronic care hospitals who perhaps could be taken care of in nursing homes or other locations, and why we couldn't do that, and would Bill 101 help us in any way? The answer is, yes, Bill 101 will help us.

The fact that we're moving to assessments of funding on the basis of levels-of-care requirements means that some of those homes that were reluctant to take heavier-care patients into their homes because the funding wasn't equitable for them will be able to do that. Also, some things that were considered heavy care, medical intervention of types, which by law and regulation could only be done in hospital settings, will now be able to be done with the appropriate training and support in homes for the aged or nursing homes, so in fact we will be able to move some of those people.

Similarly, the kind of supports we hope to put in place through the other announcements that will be involved in long-term care, which are not part of this legislation in front of us in terms of community supports, we hope will help keep more people independent and in their homes and not having to go to a facility because there's no other choice. We want to provide that issue of choice.

The issue you raise with respect to waiting lists in different parts of the province is obviously troublesome. We have a very bad distribution of the resources we do have. It's not that we believe we have insufficient numbers of nursing homes or homes for the aged beds, but we don't have them well distributed, and we hope through the process of locally led planning and regional planning that we

will be able to do some of that redistribution as new beds come on or beds that have previously been awarded but haven't been built come to be built, that we can address those areas.

The other thing we hope is that through placement coordination—and I agree with people who have raised concerns around issues of choice and concern for cultural sensitivity, and that will be built into this program—we will be able to help the people who require the service the most get into a bed first, and that we will be able to manage waiting lists in a way where we don't have people's names on multiple lists and we're not sure how many people are actually waiting in any given area. We think we can have a better management system that will serve the people in your area of the province and across the province.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I want to congratulate the member for Simcoe East. I think he raised a lot of very important points, a lot of concerns that constituents in my riding have certainly expressed. I happen to represent a riding that has a fairly substantial number of seniors and people who are looking after seniors in their homes.

Some of the concerns I have with Bill 101 are the things it doesn't cover. It seems to me that as the population ages—and the demographics show that we are an aging population—there are going to be greater and greater demands on the system, particularly when it comes to long-term care.

My concern is that the government, in its zeal to cut costs and expenses to deal with the health care problem, may be making some of the wrong choices. I have a great deal of concern, and I hope this will go out to a public hearing and, more importantly, that the public hearings that are held are meaningful. It's sad, the number of public hearings I have attended over the time this government has been in power that are really nothing but shams. The decisions are taken, the decisions are made, they go through the motions of listening to groups just so they can say, "This has been the most extensive consultation ever."

There's an opportunity for people to speak, but unfortunately there doesn't seem to be an opportunity for anyone to listen. What happens is that the government, with its majority, comes in and says: "We've listened, we've responded, we've made some changes around the edges, but basically this is the decision. We are here, we have been given the right to make these decisions, and we're going to make them." It would seem to me this is something that really is going to create some problems, and I hope the minister will be responsive to those people who take the time to come and make worthwhile suggestions.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

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Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre): I'd like to respond to some of the comments from the member for Simcoe East, in particular his comments with respect to the change in the charging of fees to residents.

I'd like to point out to him that at the moment we do have a problem with respect to our homes for the aged; that we have persons who are in the capacity of residents of the homes for the aged and who pay the full cost of their care and their accommodation, while we have other people there in extended care beds who are treated differently. One of the purposes of this legislation is to ensure that this inequality in treatment is changed.

Second, I'd like to point out that we're changing the method of determining ability to pay. The question of accommodation fees will be based on ability to pay. Under the existing legislation, ability to pay is based on an asset test as well as an income test. That's going to be changed so there's purely an income test. We're also ensuring in the legislation that each senior would have \$112 per month, I believe, as a personal needs allowance for discretionary spending. So I believe we're making major improvements with respect to the method by which residents pay.

Also, with respect to some of the general comments concerning long-term care, it sometimes seems to be an assumption that people are in either nursing homes or homes for the aged or chronic care hospitals or in their own homes. What we have to think about is that the community can deliver care not only to people in their own homes but to people in residential senior homes, which exist now; also, this government has been very supportive of supported housing units, which also provide another choice of supported living for our seniors.

I think the whole approach very much addresses the needs of seniors with respect to long-term care, and certainly this legislation is only a small part of it; that is, as an institutional role.

Mrs Sullivan: Once again commenting on the remarks of the member for Simcoe East, I had hoped that the minister, in her two-minute response, might have addressed the first issue raised by the member, which related to the funding of the initial steps of long-term care.

The member has rightly raised them as issues of concern to the facilities across the province. We know there has been a commitment that \$200 million of the \$647 million will be made available to long-term care facilities; that \$150 million of that money will come from patients themselves as co-payment for the accommodation portion of their residence.

We have been told that the \$56 million which is promised to nursing homes for January 1, 1993, will not be paid, and that was to accommodate the level of care funding; that homes are now being told, we understand, that they've already received some of that money and that a lot more, which is due and which has been promised, will not be paid. In fact, the homes will not receive the funding for which planning for patient care, for services and for staff within those homes has been under way since the minister made the announcement recently.

The member spoke with respect to regulations affecting the cost to taxpayers of providing services. We hope that in committee we will have an opportunity to review the issues of the income test which the government has chosen and to compare its viability versus an assets test and to explore the reasons for that choice.

We're also concerned with the issue of the right of a home not to charge or to charge above specified government limits, which will be disallowed under this bill. The member began to touch on it, and I hope that as we go through hearings this issue will come forward in greater depth.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member has two minutes for a response.

Mr McLean: I want to thank the members for their comments with regard to the statement I made, about 25 minutes' worth, and they've raised some of the issues that I had. I want to thank the members for Halton Centre, Simcoe Centre and Wilson Heights and the minister for their comments.

I want to speak a little longer with regard to the 4,200 Ontarians on waiting lists for long-term residential care. That has been a great concern of mine for a long time. When we have had six homes for the aged close down since 1987, I'm wondering what we're going to do to find a placement for those people. For a long time, I have indicated in many statements in this House and in many different speeches the availability of the Huronia Regional Centre for a long-term care facility for many of those people who are in hospitals in chronic care wards. That facility is there; it is a beautiful setting. Many of our elderly people who are in hospitals on the chronic care floors would be served well if this government would look at that as a long-term care facility.

The member for Simcoe Centre talked about the homes for the aged and the ability to pay. I have to wonder, is this another form of user fee being applied, with regard to the ability to pay? I thought everybody was treated equally and fairly, not based on whether you could pay or whether you couldn't. When the member makes that statement, it leads me to believe that there are going to be user fees implemented within Bill 101, and I think I'd indicated other sections of the bill where I thought there would be user fees as part of it.

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): I would like to outline for the honourable members how Bill 101 will ensure that funding provided to nursing homes and charitable or municipal homes for the aged is directed appropriately to resident care and services. Hopefully, this should answer some of the questions raised by the member for Ottawa-Rideau.

The amendments to the Nursing Homes Act, the Charitable Institutions Act and the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act will require homes to be accountable to residents, their families and the government on behalf of the people of Ontario. These amendments will go a long way towards achieving fairness for all residents and the best possible value for money spent.

All homes will be required to enter into a service agreement with the province as a condition of receiving provincial funds. Becoming a party to a service agreement will also be a condition of a licence or approval to operate a nursing home or a charitable home for the aged. Municipalities have a statutory obligation to operate, and therefore

having a service agreement cannot be made a condition of approval to operate in their case.

The service agreement will outline what care programs and services and accommodation are to be provided to residents and what measures the home must take to correct any deficiencies. The agreement will contain certain mandatory provisions, including a requirement that the home comply with the act, the regulations, the service agreement and the standards and criteria set out in the program manual.

Program supervisors and compliance advisers will use this service agreement, as well as the acts and regulations and the program manual, to monitor and evaluate the homes provision of the required programs and services. The home must provide a written agreement to each resident or the resident's representative, indicating what services are to be provided to the resident under the province's service agreement with the home.

In addition, the annual budget developed in partnership with the home will be incorporated into the signed agreement. The budget will specify the types and amounts of service that the home is to provide to residents in relation to three components: first, nursing and personal care, including nursing staff costs; second, programs and support services, including quality of life programs such as therapy services, spiritual care coordination and recreation and activation services; and third, accommodation, including costs associated with the operation of the building and items such as housekeeping, laundry and dietary services.

Homes also will be required to post the service agreement in the home, as well as certain financial statements, as required by the regulations, to ensure that staff, residents and their families are informed of what services are to be provided in the home in exchange for provincial funds.

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Bill 101 will establish new requirements for more rigorous financial reporting and accountability based on a quarterly reconciliation process. Homes will receive funds on a monthly cash advance basis and will be required to submit proof that moneys have been spent in accordance with the terms and conditions of the service agreement. Most important, the province will be able to recover funds not spent appropriately through the quarterly reconciliation process.

Finally, the amendments will empower the province to reduce or withhold payments, place restrictions on or freeze admissions and suspend or revoke approval to operate if the home is in contravention of the service agreement, the act or regulations.

The amendments to the Nursing Homes Act, the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act and the Charitable Institutions Act, as set out in Bill 101, will result in a consistent approach to accountability for all three types of homes and greater financial accountability for public funds.

I urge all members of the House to support this bill so that Ontarians can be assured that public funds will be spent on providing the care and services that elderly persons in nursing homes and homes for the aged need and deserve.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Callahan: I want to go back again to the issue that all of us in this House should certainly be concerned about, seniors and their care in the future, because many of us are fast approaching becoming seniors.

Hon Ms Lankin: We're getting there faster every day.

Mr Callahan: Faster than ever. I think the concern, as I expressed before and perhaps a little more vehemently, is the fact that this bill, and I've looked through it, deals in a very real sense by regulation. I think all of us have to be clear, and I think everybody watching this accountability session should be aware, that regulation has a nice name; it's by order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council. It's done by the cabinet, and the cabinet consists of whatever number of cabinet ministers are the government of the day. The backbenchers, and more often than not the backbenchers who represent the good people of this province, don't have one word to say about whether or not things change.

There are all sorts of things in here that can be changed. They can change the fees; they can change the services available. It can all be changed at the whim, really, of the guy or the woman who pulls the purse-strings of the treasury and says, "The treasury's having a tough year, so we're going to change it back." I think seniors deserve more than that. They deserve to have a fixed plan to be able to know, in the golden period of their lives, that they're not suddenly going to have the entire game plan changed on them by the people in cabinet.

I think the reason they elect people of this Legislature is to be able to have a say in how they're going to live and how they're going to live out the latter years of their lives. As members of the Legislature we should be aware of that. In fairness to the minister, maybe through the public hearings that will come about. But I certainly hope it will fill in the gaps and that it won't be simply, "That'll be done by regulation." Regulations are the silent laws of this province. They never come through this Legislature. They're never debated. They are at the whim of the people who are in power, be that the Liberals, Conservatives or NDP.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mrs O'Neill: A pattern has been developing tonight, and maybe the audience in Ontario will see it. When the members of this side speak, the minister rises to her feet and she talks in an arrogant, pedantic and condescending way about all our remarks. When a member of the government speaks, that does not happen. Maybe it's the apples on our desks today that have made that happen.

From the remarks of the member for Peterborough we have, "We hope we will put in place," "will outline," "it's all in the future." Everything the member for Peterborough talked about tonight is going to be guided by regulation. It's going to be part of this highway of broken promises this government has had.

The people in Ontario, including the taxi drivers who sometimes take me to the airport, talk about government auto insurance, the tuition fees that weren't to be. These are the things our people are judging you by. And all regulations: Personal choices are going to go out the window. We're going to have consistency right across this province;

the care of the vulnerable is going to be consistent. Isn't that what we all want?

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Hon Ms Lankin: I appreciate the comments of the member for Peterborough. I know she has long worked on these issues, and she has been an advocate within government ranks for us to move ahead with long-term care redirection. Of course, I know that all members of this House share an interest in this issue, that many people have within their constituency sizeable populations of seniors and nursing homes and chronic care beds and are worried about these services and are worried about the continuum of care being provided in a way that is accessible, that is culturally sensitive and that maintains quality of care.

The issues of hopes and desires that the member has raised are ones we hope we will be able to deliver on as we continue through these debates and answer questions in the process of public hearings, as well as addressing a number of the concerns that have been raised. I point out that in fact I have indicated in response to members opposite a genuine appreciation of their questions and have attempted to answer some of them. Where there have been members who put forward rhetoric and empty criticism, perhaps I've been critical of that as well.

Throughout the course of this, however, the kinds of legitimate concerns that have some foundation in reality when you look at the legislation are ones we will work with members opposite to try and deal with. If we can build more assurances and accountability into the legislation, versus regulation, then that is something I favour in the long run as well. With the kinds of desires the member for Peterborough has put forward and her commitment and the commitment of the members opposite, we'll be able to build a good piece of legislation which is but one part of what will be a comprehensive long-term care system.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr O'Connor: I just wanted to make a couple of brief comments on some of the things the member for Peterborough has spoken on, and maybe even thank her for coming to my riding to speak to some of my constituents about long-term care. It's often quite easy to get involved with only what happens in the Legislature and not go out and meet people in other people's ridings. Being parliamentary assistant for the minister responsible for seniors' issues, she's really gotten quite involved with this; in fact, she's gone out of her way to come to the riding of Durham-York and meet with some folks in Cannington. We had a small meeting in a building, predominantly seniors, and talked about long-term care and how it will affect them.

She's very well versed, and she's shown that again tonight in her comments, because she's talked about the need for consultation. She's even gone beyond what her role is, I think, and made sure that other people would understand this. So I want to compliment her on her comments this evening and take this opportunity to thank her for coming into my riding.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Peterborough has two minutes to make response.

Ms Carter: I thank the honourable member for Durham-York for his kind comments. He came to my riding and repaid me in kind, and that was much appreciated too.

With regard to the statement by the member for Mississauga West and his fear that this is all going to be done by regulation, I think it's worth pointing out here that we're looking at the outcome of one of the widest and most thorough consultations with the people of this province that has ever been carried out by an Ontario government. I believe 75,000 people were consulted in something like 3,000 meetings.

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As was pointed out by a member opposite, there were criticisms, but the final version of this legislation has taken account of a lot of the criticisms that were made, and I think the feeling out there is that we all want to get this new long-term care put through and under way in our province.

The member for Ottawa-Rideau insulted the minister by calling her irrelevant, which doesn't seem a very high road to take in arguing this Legislature.

Personal choice is exactly what we are going to get as a result of this legislation. The assessment of individuals who need long-term care is going to be much more personalized, their individual requirements and wishes are going to be taken into account much more than they have been in the past, and instead of going from one place to another being assessed at each one, it will be done all at one time and will be much less of a hassle and a nuisance to the people concerned.

### The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mrs Fawcett: I welcome the opportunity to participate in the debate on long-term care. I would like to open by saying that the pressures for reform of the long-term care system in Ontario are definitely great. The changing demography of Ontario's population, consumer expectations and inadequate funding, coupled with the inappropriate use of resources, represent, I believe, the major pressures.

To maintain the status quo would mean a continuation of unmanaged access, of blocked acute care beds, of light-care clients in high-cost facilities, of the uneven distribution of services, of continued consumer confusion and a fragmented systems management structure. I think we were slowly going towards that in a chaotic way, in that nothing has been happening. We seem to have been ready to begin the long-term care reform two years ago—well, almost two and a half years ago now—and we have waited this long, so there are further gaps in necessary services to enable cutbacks to be made in hospitals and so on.

There is a lot of fear and there is a lot of anguish out there among those who really need long-term care, but the pressures are not new. In fact, if the NDP government had implemented instead of revisiting many of the issues, issues identified and agreed upon by the previous administration and the consumers, their families, friends, volunteers, care givers and professionals across this province, many seniors

and physically disabled persons would now be benefiting from long-term care reform instead of anxiously awaiting it.

Perhaps the biggest concern I have with this government's attempts at the redirection of long-term care is its piecemeal approach. Every time they think they have found a piece to the puzzle, then the search is on to try to put it in place, but what concerns me is that they haven't got the whole picture in front of them, so they really don't know how or where the pieces fit.

Last week we had an announcement on nursing homes and homes for the aged. Well, these are certainly two institutional settings that play a major role in the delivery of long-term care services. Where do chronic care hospitals and rest and retirement homes fit in? Speaking of rest and retirement homes, there has been little or no mention of this kind of seniors' living. Many residents of rest and retirement homes have been asking that regulations be put in place to govern such things as maybe the monthly rate increases that occur and the support services that should be available at reasonable or no cost. Very often this is not the case for people living in these kinds of facilities, and those seniors really need the extra services as well. Possibly they should be given the ability to choose some of these kinds of services, because there does seem to be an inequity here.

Can the minister continue to cut hospital beds and staff and have no idea where the patients and care givers are to go? The answer to that seems to be that when the next piece of the puzzle falls into place, which is the chronic care role study expected in January 1993, then she'll let us know. In the meantime, though, seniors are suffering.

Another piece of this puzzle announced last week was the establishment of the placement coordination services, and of course we've heard quite a few references to this. We heard that there's going to be the establishment of a comprehensive multiservice agency and the continuation of the 135 bureaucrats involved in the Ministry of Health long-term care regional office who will facilitate and administer—this is yet to be announced—this funding and the programs.

It really does sound confusing, and I think it is rather confusing, as to just how all of this is eventually going to get coordinated. While the minister espouses the benefits of a continuum of care services, she continues to create layers upon layers of bureaucracy that will make the idea of one-stop access obsolete before it's initiated.

Indeed, many of the pieces of the puzzle the minister has discovered and announced have created more questions rather than alleviated concerns, and much of this can be attributed to the yet to be prescribed regulations, which will directly affect the way homes for the aged and nursing homes operate. A lot of mention has been placed here on the regulations, and I hasten to say that regulations will not be discussed in this Legislature. We will not have a chance to debate these regulations. They will just happen.

A few examples: Under the Charitable Homes Act, regulations that will be prescribed will be types of accommodation and care services; programs and goods to be offered to residents; requirements governing assessment and classification of residents; required bed capacities to be set aside for residents requiring certain care and service programs; maximum amounts that may be charged for particular classes or levels-of-care services programs; short stay accommodation that may be required in a facility; financial systems to reconcile funding mechanisms; methods of recovering excess payments; provisions for service agreements; filing requirements for financial statements, reports that must be posted and filed with the ministry; requirements for quality assurance plans, including development, implementation and revision and monitoring system; requirements for plans of care, including content and development, implementation and revision; and so many others that will just be brought forward and regulated. And that's only one segment.

Homes for the aged and rest homes: These regulations are going to prescribe types of accommodation, care and services; requirements governing assessment and classifications of those residents; required bed capacities to be set aside for residents requiring certain care; applications to placement coordinators re eligibility, and eligibility criteria; short stay accommodation may be required; maximum amounts that may be charged for particular classes or levels-of-care services and programs; again, their filing requirements and notices that have to be posted; and requirements for quality assurance plans and care.

Then we have a whole new set under the Nursing Homes Act regulations. All of these will be regulations: required bed capacity in these, and applications to placement coordinators re eligibility for entry, and the short stay accommodation, and maximum amounts that may be charged in these facilities. All of these are things that we won't be able to have a say in.

We have to wonder, just what are the details of all these regulations? What is the government really trying to hide here that we won't be able to see? Why won't they allow them to be revealed to public scrutiny? We really do have a number of concerns around this regulatory part of the bill.

Now I'd like to examine some of the initiatives the minister announced and what they will mean. Last week the minister announced the establishment of the placement coordinators who will be making decisions on the eligibility and admission of patients to homes for the aged and nursing homes.

In talking with Carol Galloway, the director of Northumberland county's home for the aged, Carol had many concerns about this new placement coordinator. If she has an open chronic care bed in a facility, will she be forced to accept a palliative care patient for that bed? Will that bed remain open? Who will occupy it? Many other questions surround these placement coordinators, like who they will be and what qualifications and training they will have to make these important decisions. How are they linked with the other sectors of the long-term care continuum? Important questions, like who will pay for them and to whom will they be accountable?

The senior citizens' consumer alliance has suggested that the placement coordinators in fact are nothing more than brokers, that these brokers cannot stand alone but that the placement of patients in all institutions must be part of a fully coordinated continuum of long-term care services.

Another initiative the minister announced this week was the establishment of comprehensive multiservice agencies. While the idea is well received, I would suggest that the minister would want to stress the word "local" when discussing comprehensive multiservice agencies. Certainly many of the functions to be performed by these agencies are already being done by district health units.

In fact, the Haliburton, Kawartha, Pine Ridge District Health Unit board of health, in its response to the redirection of long-term care consultation paper, stated, on page 14, section 9, titled "Service Access and Coordination," said:

"We agree with the description of the current situation and the need for services that are better coordinated, integrated and matched to the needs of the people. However, as stated earlier, we do not agree with the proposal to establish 40 new agencies and governing boards to perform the agreed-upon functions. The establishment of these new agencies and boards, when structures are presently in place, is an unnecessary duplication leading to increased cost, funds which could otherwise be directed towards providing service to people.

"We submit that the functions described for service coordination agencies are at the present time being performed by home care administered through health units. These functions include assisting people to live independently; acting as a single point of access; assessing needs of the individual; providing information, advice and referral systems; helping consumers develop individualized service plans; purchasing services for consumers; and helping facility residents. Where expansions and improvements are indicated, they can be carried out within the present structure."

Will the minister be taking this into account when she begins to implement long-term care? Some areas are already doing what is being suggested and only need to expand in order to serve more people.

"Home care currently looks after the vast majority of the long-term care requirements. It would seem reasonable that if the present structure—ie, the health unit home care program staff—were expanded to meet the other remaining services, a much more efficient and economical system would result, rather than transferring the bulk of the services to a brand-new agency and setting up a new administrative structure under an inexperienced board."

The consultation paper makes the point that service coordination agencies should involve consumers and their families, and that the agencies be representative of their communities and receptive to their needs. We submit that present boards of health, with a mix of provincially and municipally appointed members, meet these requirements. Health units have experienced staff presently deployed and have an extensive administrative structure in place to deal with the payroll, bookkeeping and a multitude of other day-to-day operations.

There are certain administrative aspects of sponsoring this program which will be duplicated but not replaced by setting up the proposed new agency. These would include such administrative and overhead costs as illustrated from the following Haliburton, Kawartha and Pine Ridge District Health Unit data: leases and rent on physical facilities; home care share in all board of health facilities in 1991

was \$210,267, which represented 40.92% of the total accommodation costs. These leases continued for several years in some locations on this previously agreed-to sharing formula between public health and home care. If home care physically goes elsewhere, someone will be responsible for fulfilling the terms of the existing leases and similar costs will be incurred in setting up home care operations as part of a service coordination agency in another location.

Senior management structure: The management structure within the health unit will remain as it presently exists with or without home care. The costs included here are salary, fringe benefits and related costs for the chief executive officer, director of administrative services, executive secretarial services, payroll administration services performed by the board of health, which in 1991 amounted to a cost of \$95,679 to home care. These services would be far more costly to set up independently under a new structure while in no way reducing the present costs of the board of health. In fact, the costs to the board of health would go up because there would be no longer a recovery from the home care.

Overhead costs: There are certain economies of scale achieved through the sheer volume of activity in certain areas such as photocopiers, fax machines, telephone systems, computer equipment, software, printing facilities, payroll system, postage meters and the bulk acquisition strategies used for most of these services.

The health unit also enjoys the benefit of lower premiums on packages such as its malpractice, liability, contents and equipment, errors and omissions insurance and life, long-term disability and extended health insurance because of the volume of insurance purchased. Both types of coverage would be more costly to the board of health and the new agency if purchased separately. The cost to home care for 1991 for all these overhead cost items was \$33,250, which represented 36.2% of the total cost to the health unit. Once again, if the program is removed, the cost remains to the board of health, but any new agency incurs a similar cost to set up these services.

The minister's announcement of a palliative care policy for Ontario is certainly long awaited, but I want to just read into the record the World Health Organization's description of what palliative care really means. It says it is the "active total care of patients at a time when their disease is no longer responsive to curative treatment and when control of pain and other symptoms of physiological, social and spiritual problems is paramount. The overall goal of palliative care is the highest possible quality of life for the patient and the family. Palliative care affirms life and regards dying as a normal process. It emphasizes relief from pain and other distressing symptoms, integrates physical, psychological and spiritual aspects of patient care and offers a support system to help the patient live as actively as possible till death and a support system to help the family cope during the patient's illness and in bereavement."

That's a tall order and I really think that in going into this area we have to be sure the support services are going to be there and really appeal to this kind of patient where it is a different focus. We have to make sure that comfort is the real key to this, Many decisions must be made around who is eligible for these kinds of services and the ways of delivering this kind of care.

There are three main ways of delivering this care that are talked about. There are free-standing units, which often are partly funded for supplies and then run in the main part by volunteers; there are hospital wings or sections, and here these are usually directed by doctors and medical staff; then there are the home care services that are provided for the dying person so that he or she can remain at home with those support services. There are many advantages to all three and, of course, some disadvantages. I think we really need to be careful here, when we are planning this, that we make the last months of life as comfortable as possible. I will certainly be waiting to see just how this unique kind of long-term care will take shape in the months ahead.

# 2100

I'd like to talk a little bit about education. Education of the consumer and the provider are of upmost importance if the reform of long-term care is to have any real effect. Seniors, as consumers, must be made aware of what is available to them and how they really are going to be able to access the system. There is absolutely no sense in reforming the long-term care system unless those included are aware of what it can mean to them.

As well, the training of service care providers is going to be essential to the delivery of services and the implementation of a new system. It is fine for the ministry to announce a new patient classification system in homes for the aged and nursing homes, but who is going to pay for the training of individuals whose job it will be to classify patients? In the case of homes for the aged, I would strongly suggest that another level of government does not have the moneys to meet a cost-shared arrangement and that the provincial government must be committed to fully funding the training. I know right now that the home for the aged in my riding had a chance to take some extra education, but the municipality was not willing to share this cost and so that education was lost.

We must not forget doctors in all of this. The doctor is often the first point of entry to extra services that the seniors require. Doctors also must make sure that they are aware and they must be made aware of the services that are available and how they can be accessed. As well, more emphasis must be placed on the training of doctors that geriatrics be stressed at both the family medicine and the specialty post-graduate level. Doctors are in the business of life giving and trying always to find some method of curing someone. Sometimes, and especially in the palliative care section, it's comfort that is needed here and not yet another new thing to try.

Where hospitals fit into the minister's puzzle of longterm care is a very good question. Her continued cutbacks and bed closures would indicate hospitals have an interesting place in her puzzle, and I hope they do have a place. Yet nearly all of those involved in long-term care believe that hospitals are an integral part of the continuum of longterm care. I would suggest that the need for chronic care beds will increase in spite of our best efforts to increase community-based and in-home services. Given that the projection that the 65-plus population will grow to 68% in the next 20 years, and that the 85-plus population will grow 161% in that same time frame, surely all the demands will not be met by community-based in-home services. There will always be patients who require the care only hospitals can provide.

The Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance pointed this out when it suggested that it is essential that Ontario continue to maintain excellence within the hospital sector, even though the role of the hospital within a more balanced system may alter. They were concerned that chronic care beds are currently viewed as the end of the road in the reformed long-term care system and that there is a real danger that they could be transformed into providing only warehousing for these elderly people who can no longer be served in nursing homes or homes for the aged.

We hope that the government is not trying to return to a style of chronic care delivery which our province abandoned decades ago. Consumers utterly reject this approach or view of chronic care hospitals. Indeed, we see many very progressive chronic care hospitals across the province. These hospitals should be strengthened within the system on a regional basis.

What consumers want is a network or system of chronic care services within their community that can respond to their actual chronic care needs. I know that the consumers' alliance was pleased to learn during the public hearings that the Alberta classification system would not be applied to chronic care hospitals. However, in the light of the current crisis in the chronic care hospital system, which is forcing the closure of many chronic care beds, we're very, very concerned about the kind of funding formula government is proposing for this sector in the future.

We really want to stress that chronic care hospitals have an absolutely key role to play within the long-term care system as centres for excellence in geriatric care, particularly in providing short- and long-term care rehabilitation services, and also in providing complex care for chronic care patients who are also medically ill or unstable.

I think that chronic care hospitals should be represented on governments and management structures of the comprehensive multiservice organizations so that coordination and integration of institutional and community-based services actually take place.

Now I'd like to mention a few things about the profit versus non-profit. I think that in the delivery of services currently for these two areas, there is definitely room for both. We need both. We cannot at this stage eliminate the for-profit services that they can provide. I know when the ministry held its consultation in my area, there were 5,220 respondents and in a summary report of their findings, on page 15 of their report, it clearly stated, when talking about service coordination agency functions, "Purchase of service from for-profit and not-for-profit providers to enhance quality assurance and competitive pricing" is absolutely key. Right now, approximately 45.5% of homemaking services funded by the government are provided by the for-profit sector.

Mr Callahan: They're going to eliminate them.

**Mrs Fawcett:** Really, I hope that is not true, because they do such a good job.

Currently, 70% of all nursing home beds in the province are managed by the for-profit sector. That is approximately 21,000 beds in the system now being used by seniors in the for-profit sector. If there is a problem in one of those homes, fix the problem, don't cut it out. This "When in doubt, cut it out" syndrome has to be forgotten. Surely the intention of this government to reduce the private sector's role to 10% in two years is putting into jeopardy the entire reform of long-term care.

Should this happen, the quality and quantity of care will be seriously reduced, unable to meet the demand and leaving consumers without the availability of service. Consumers will lose their right to choose what kind of service they want and who they want to deliver it for them. There is room for both, and in fact without both, the system just won't work.

In closing, I would like to say that although we all recognize the need for reform of long-term care, and we have a good sense of what that reform should be, we must not in our eagerness disregard or discard those very important services already in place. To implement changes to the system, we must back these changes with financial commitment. You can't just put the puzzle together piece by piece without knowing what the whole picture looks like. People will fall through the cracks if you do. Seniors want a continuum of care delivered through a system that will emphasize community-based and in-home service while ensuring that individualized high-quality care remains available in institutions.

# 2110

The Acting Speaker: I thank the member for Northumberland for her participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments.

Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings): I want to start by saying that some of the comments the member for Northumberland made have been echoed to me recently by some concerned people in my own rural riding of Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings. I think there is a feeling in rural Ontario that some of the decisions being made with regard to long-term care are being made in an urban area and aren't really dealing with the real-life situation, the real existing situation of long-term care in rural Ontario.

I listened very carefully to the member for Northumberland. Debbie Moynes, the director of community care for seniors for Prince Edward county, and Fred Murphy, retired doctor, came to see me just last Friday in my constituency office. They made an appointment to come and see me because they said they'd heard there was going to be a great reduction in the funds available for long-term care.

Lo and behold, there was an announcement and there wasn't a reduction in funds, so they came and said: "Thank you very much. I'm really glad to hear there's all this money. However, now that we're here we'd like to tell you we have some concerns with what's happening." They said: "We have a great system in Prince Edward county. It

exists, it's based on a lot of volunteerism, a lot of people who help each other within the community." They were consulted about long-term care, but their fear is that they weren't listened to.

Interjection.

Mr Johnson: Not entirely; to some degree, maybe. This relates to what the member for Northumberland said: They said they were very concerned because they felt that although they had been involved in the long-term care discussions—

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. The member's time has expired.

Mr Callahan: I want to address one of the points my colleague made; I think it's very important. This legislation is a very significant mirror image to day care centres, in that we're going to eliminate over a period of time those centres making a profit. I have to read that, because you're talking about people who pay \$100 a week now having it reduced to \$37, if I'm not mistaken.

Minister, you should come out to my riding of Brampton South. We have a facility out there that has three buildings: Faith, Hope and Charity, interestingly enough. Seniors live in the apartment dwelling and then they move to a place where they need a little more care and finally into a chronic facility that's absolutely superb. I'm sure you're aware of it, and if you haven't visited it, you should. It's particularly significant because it deals with people of a particular community, the Dutch community. These people, instead of having the trauma of being dragged from the stage where they're able to look after themselves across the city to some place that's foreign to them, can simply move through these buildings in a very significant fashion. That's a profit corporation. They do have some licensed beds there.

But what I see happening in this legislation—maybe not at the outset but over the long term—is that there will be no choice. I think you're having exactly the same argument with the people in day care.

I think government only has one purpose. It's purpose is to protect people in areas where they're being dealt with badly by society, but you don't just step in and try to be everything to all people. You can't afford it. I think if my good friend the Treasurer, Mr Laughren, were here, he'd agree with me.

That's why I'm so concerned about regulation, because the rules are not set in stone; they're being made up as the game goes along and as the dollars either flow in or flow out. I think that's a very dangerous proposition.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Mr Malkowski: I listened carefully to the debate this evening and the contributions from the member for Northumberland, and I'm wondering if the concept in this discussion is disempowerment or empowerment. I'm just wondering where the member stands. We're talking here about the promotion of the concept of empowerment, but how can you have empowerment if you're not talking about that, if you're talking empowering professionals? There seems to be a bit of conflict there. I think it's very

important that we support the concept of community-based long-term care reform. The whole point of this is to empower consumers to make the appropriate choices for them, of where they want to be in the community.

In the areas where you talked about balance of community-based and the role of health care providers, yes, it's important that we talk about options and that things need to be available. There has to be that important balance, but one area I would like you to address is, should consumers have full options? What do you say about that?

I visited one private health care institution in my own riding and there were people who approached me who told me that some residents pay over \$3,000 a month, and these are senior citizens. Is that a fair system? Is that what the member opposite would say is a fair, balanced system? I would question that. I think the for-profit system is there for some, but I would like to see an empowerment for people who don't have that kind of money. We need to provide a fair, balanced system for everybody, for consumers, and to make sure that accountability really happens.

I think it's really important that health care reform accept the responsibilities and regulations based on a community-based empowering system, and that's the point this government is trying to address. I'm wondering if the member opposite is really talking about disempowerment or empowerment in the health care system and long-term care. Could you clarify that for me, please?

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs O'Neill: I'd like to congratulate the member for Northumberland, our critic for seniors. We certainly have had from our caucus tonight, in every comment and speech made, real fears that have been expressed to us, real needs that have been expressed to us by real people, real concerns that have been brought to us by real people. This government and this minister are saying "leaps of faith." This government is riddled with scandal, riddled with embarrassment and full of broken promises—none of that can be denied, and the general public in this province knows—and we're asked, "Are they really going to deliver what they say they are?"

Municipalities, the partners that are so important in all of this, are not even mentioned in this legislation and haven't even been mentioned tonight. It's really frightening what the member for Northumberland brought forward: the piecemeal approach, step by step, January, spring, next year, and perhaps the next government will finish it up.

Mrs Fawcett: I appreciate the comments from my colleagues and members opposite. I couldn't agree more in some respects with the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings, as far as rural needs versus urban needs are concerned, but he sort of lost me in the translation. I have to say I have always been a strong proponent of the fact that the Metro tail shouldn't wag the dog always and that needs in rural Ontario are different. That's why I think it is so important.

If I could speak to the member for York East as well, while he talks about empowerment, I like to talk about choice, choice that is especially important in rural Ontario,

as I would imagine it's important in the urban centres too, but rural people do not like to just be told, "Here is where we have a facility for you." I think they would rather say, "I would choose to go to this facility because it happens to be in my community, where my friends are." I think that is very important if we are going to make long-term care work in this province.

I look forward to putting forward those kinds of ideas when this bill goes to committee and we can really get down and find out just what the government has in mind, because right now there seem to be so many things that are left unsaid

If I could very briefly mention the whole palliative care dilemma around AIDS victims, that is a whole new concept we have to think about too.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further debate?

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Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): Before I begin the discussion concerning the long-term care reform, I'd like to add my congratulations to the member for Northumberland. I thought she did an outstanding job in bringing forward the concerns of people in the province of Ontario.

I was particularly interested in some of her final comments regarding empowerment. I think that is a much abused and overused word. Certainly, from the input I've received in Waterloo North and from people I've spoken to, their desire is not empowerment; their desire is to have freedom of choice, the freedom of choice to choose where they spend their days.

Unfortunately, we have before us today another flawed, very ideologically based policy, this one on long-term care, which largely ignores people with disabilities, children, the primary care givers. Unfortunately, we have another piece of legislation that is aimed and designed to eliminate private sector involvement.

In this province, there is a role for both the public sector and the private sector. If we're going to continue to provide the social safety net we have been so proud of in this province, it's absolutely critical that the private sector continues to play an important and supportive role in the delivery of services to people in this province.

In our discussion on long-term care, we're referring here, of course, to the personal health and social services that are delivered over an extended period of time to people who are elderly, people who have disabilities, because as we know, it is time for this government to take action on long-term care because the population is aging and the population 65 and over is going to rise very significantly from the present time, when we have about 11.6% in that age bracket in 1990, to the year 2015 when about 16.5% of our population is going to be 65 and over. We also have to remember that the number of individuals aged 85 and over is going to increase by 185% by the year 2015.

We need to take into consideration what the needs of these individuals will be as their numbers increase. Not only is the number of elderly going to increase, but the number of people with disabilities is also expected to increase. Again, it is estimated that by the year 2006, we're

going to have in this province 1.5 million disabled persons, an increase of about 36% from the current level. Also, estimates show us that about 40,000 adults are going to depend on others for some degree of assistance for their basic personal care.

That's why it's so very important that we act now to put in place a long-term care package that responds to the needs of seniors in this province and allows them the freedom of choice to make the decision about where they will go to receive that care.

Presently, seniors can be placed in four different kinds of residential settings depending on the level of care needed. We have the chronic care hospitals, which of course provide the highest level of care, we have the nursing homes, we have the homes for the aged, and we have the rest and the retirement homes. The latter, of course, accommodate the seniors who require very little or no nursing care.

As we know, the Ontario government has been planning to reform the long-term care system for quite a number of years. The Liberals released a blueprint and now the Rae government has produced a plan of action. But I'd like to go back to October 21, 1991, when the government first released its discussion paper Redirection of Long-Term Care and Support Services in Ontario. I was amazed at that time at the reaction from the families, the care givers and the seniors in my community. There was tremendous fear that the government would not be taking a direction that seemed to them to be appropriate. I'd like to take an opportunity now to share with you some of the comments I've received from seniors.

I had occasion to visit Parkwood Manor in the city of Waterloo. They wanted me to come and learn first hand about the issues and concerns surrounding the redirection of long-term care in the province. I was particularly pleased that this meeting included not only the staff and the residents but also the families. The two primary issues of concern that evening were funding and staffing. They wanted to make sure that both were adequate to respond to the greatly increased nursing care needs if we're going to continue to provide a high quality of care for our seniors. However, what was most important that evening for the care givers, the families and the seniors themselves was that they have the option of choice in the selection of care. I'd just like to share with you some of the individuals who spoke and some of their concerns.

The first one: "There needs to be a provision to provide a level of staffing that more adequately responds to the greatly increased nursing care needs of the last five years." Another one: "We are concerned about the role of the service coordinating agency, the preservation of a maximum standard of care and the option of the freedom of choice, the choice of choosing a group residence over home care or vice versa. We are concerned about the government's emphasis on deinstitutionalization." These are the concerns of the seniors, the families and the care givers concerning the selection and the freedom of choice.

Another one commented about the advantages of living in an institution. However, this individual wanted, in the selection of an institution, to be assured that she would be allowed privacy and independence. Again, it's back to the freedom of choice.

They also spoke to us that evening about the need to make the training of health care workers accessible to all those who wish to upgrade their skills and also the need for adequate funding to provide staffing to ensure the primacy of the individual and his or her right to dignity, security and self-determination. It is absolutely essential that in our discussion of long-term care reform we always remember the primacy of the individual, that individual's right to dignity, security and self-determination.

Just for your interest, I'd like to indicate that at Parkwood Manor the average age of residents has gone up between 1963, when it was 67, and 1991, and it's now 87 years old. So you can see that, as a result, that particular institution has new needs.

These, then, were some of the comments that were shared with me. I'd just like to add by reading to you the comments of one family whose mother had been in Parkwood Manor for the last two years. They indicate to me:

"We appreciate that it offers a continuum of care to satisfy her needs. We are glad that our mother can live in a place where she feels comfortable. It was more by good fortune than by design. We trust that the option of choice will always be available to all seniors in the future."

I'd also like to mention to you at this time that the seniors in Woolwich had a forum to discuss their future, and the seniors in Woolwich decided that they would like to see facilities in their community that would offer a combination of independent apartments and nursing care that would be available if and when needed. So certainly seniors in my riding and seniors throughout the province are very concerned about the issue of long-term care reform.

#### 2130

The NDP has had a public consultation period. However, I have to tell you that just as in the case of Bill 40 and now in the case of 80, and of course OTAB, there's been a great deal of concern and there's been tremendous scepticism about the genuineness of the consultation. Are all the voices who have concerns being listened to? Is their input being incorporated into the policy? Someone may be listening, but there is concern that their viewpoints are not being taken into consideration in the drafting of the legislation.

People are concerned about the direction of long-term care reform, this fundamental restructuring of Ontario's long-term care system. They're concerned about the direction that the government is going. Our own Community and Social Services critic, Cam Jackson, has asked that the NDP reform funding arrangements with nursing homes and homes for the aged to ensure that individual needs can continue to be met.

Mr Jackson has also expressed concern with further bureaucratization of the long-term care system through the establishment of 40 very expensive service access agencies. This is a concern that I have heard repeatedly throughout the riding of Waterloo North. People are concerned about the duplication of these agencies and the cost. We have an excellent district health council in our community and they

are concerned about the possible duplication of service when there's already a good service.

Our own Health critic, Mr Wilson, has expressed concern with the effects of the random hospital bed closures that are taking place everywhere throughout the province of Ontario with little regard to the need or to what is going to replace the hospital beds that are being closed.

What we have here is an NDP consultation paper, a document that really is a replica of the Liberal plan with very minor differences, and I'm not quite sure why we've spent so long in consultation because there certainly hasn't been much in the way of movement or improvement and it's disappointing that it's taken over a year to come forward with this proposal.

We are very concerned that the Rae government has left out many of the components of long-term care. Although some mention has been made recently of providing some palliative care, we're concerned because we haven't seen the entire package, and this is one area of care that is of great concern to people in this province. We're concerned about the lack of mention concerning rehabilitation, the regulation of retirement homes, the support for the primary care givers, human resource management and, of course, training. Again, the funding allocations are extremely vague and there's really not an explanation as to how the money is currently spent and how it's going to be spent in the future.

We are very concerned about the future NDP action as they again take on the private sector, this time not the child care sector but the long-term care sector. Unfortunately, during the discussions regarding the private child care sector many independent female operators have been driven out of the child care field and we've seen absolutely no additional child care spaces.

As I said before, there is a place in this province not only for the public sector but also for the private sector. It's extremely important that we continue to provide people with the options of choice and that we provide them with the best service available. If the private sector can provide those services, we need to continue to allow them to do the job that they've done so effectively up until now. We are concerned about the NDP action to drive out the private long-term care sector.

We are also concerned because the government appears to be poised to increase user fees for the residents in long-term facilities to unprecedented levels. Unfortunately, some of the money that is going to be generated is going to be generated through new accommodation fees on the backs of the senior citizens in this province. We don't have the details of the new funding arrangements, but certainly there is every indication that again our seniors are going to suffer through the imposition of user fees.

In June 1991, the Minister of Health promised to increase funding to institutions by \$200 million. Ironically, \$150 million of that promised funding is to be raised through user fees.

Another area of concern is the future role of the chronic care hospital, and again this is an issue of tremendous concern to the hospitals and individuals within not only my own community of Waterloo but the cities of Kitchener, and I've also heard from the Cambridge hospital as well. What is the future role of chronic care hospitals?

I'd like to just summarize some of the concerns relating to this long-term care paper. There is scepticism about the genuineness of the government's consultation process. Will they really incorporate the viewpoints of all the people in this province or only the viewpoints of the special-interest groups as they did in putting forward Bill 40?

Again, the response to the NDP consultation document has been overwhelmingly negative. There has repeatedly been concern expressed that people with disabilities and children have been ignored in this report. We know that three groups who represent one million seniors formed a coalition to review the NDP long-term care paper, and that group, the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform, released an extremely critical response to the paper in early July. These people expressed fear that the closing of the chronic care hospital beds is going to trap them in the same way that psychiatric patients have been trapped when the institutions closed in the 1970s.

Is this what the government intends to do? Once the patients were released, there was nowhere for them to go other than back into the home, and many of them have ended up aimlessly wandering, sleeping in hostels, with inadequate shelter, inadequate support to meet their mental needs. There simply has not been any concern at all for these individuals who were put out of the institutions. The dollars and the care did not follow those individuals once they were released, and the appropriate funding and support services were never put into place.

I certainly hope that if this government intends to close the chronic care hospital beds, that there will be appropriate care and appropriate services provided to accommodate those individuals who would be otherwise accommodated in those chronic care hospital beds. In fact, the senior citizens' consumer alliance have asked that the closed chronic care beds be reopened.

# 2140

We know the Ontario Hospital Association is frustrated with the staying-at-home rhetoric which is often used by this government to justify its drastic downsizing of Ontario's hospitals. Again, although they talk about staying at home and although that needs to be a choice the individuals in this province can make, the government needs to provide alternative support and care for the individuals who stay at home, and it needs to be appropriate. The individuals need to have the choice.

Many people have expressed concern, as I've mentioned, that hospital services are being curtailed when the services are not yet available in the community, and we have no hint about the future government direction or policy concerning all of the services that are going to be available in the community to meet the needs. We've heard a few sketchy details. However, one of the gravest and most serious concerns individuals have had about the NDP long-term care reform initiative is with the very serious flaws in the proposed 40 service coordination agencies.

As I mentioned before, individuals in my own community have expressed concern that the 40 service coordinating agencies are going to duplicate existing services.

Unfortunately, it appears we are going to have yet another costly level of bureaucracy, just as we set up today, when the government passed the Advocacy Act, Bill 74, a very expensive Advocacy Commission, another level of bureaucracy, which means we're going to have to hire advocates and we're going to have to hire all sorts of other bureaucrats. Is it going to improve the level of service? That's a question I ask and certainly it's a question individuals are asking throughout this province.

Another concern is that the government doesn't plan to increase the number of long-term care beds. The people who are looking after family members at home, the primary care givers in this province, are very concerned that because of the long-term care initiative being proposed, instead of being rewarded for keeping the family member at home, they're going to be penalized, because when they eventually do need facilities to take care of their family, there are going to be long waiting lists, and they're wondering how long that list is going to be.

We all know that sometimes, one day the senior can be functioning well at home with limited support, and within one week that individual unfortunately needs to be placed in a facility where there is more nursing care available. Unfortunately, we've recently been placed in that position ourselves, where a member of our family, in the period of one week, had to be removed from his home, where he was living independently, into a nursing home where he did need some specialized care. These people are concerned that when that care is needed, there is going to be a long waiting list and they're going to be put in a situation where they cannot provide the nursing care that is required.

Nursing homes and homes for the aged, of course, are not totally happy with the government's announcement. They certainly need a greater allocation to go to their residential facilities over the next few years.

It's unfortunate that not all of the groups and individuals have had an opportunity to respond to the legislation, because the legislation was only introduced on November 26, and several years ago. However, it's obvious that the new accountability framework is going to make it more difficult for private sector survival. It's obvious that the stage has been set for the NDP takeover of privately operated nursing homes. The private sector is still reeling from the Minister of Health's speech to the senior citizens' consumer alliance in July 1992 which confirmed the NDP preference for not-for-profit service expansion. They know they are next on the NDP hit list.

As this government makes decisions on behalf of people in this province based not on what is in the best interests or needs of the people in this province but rather based on the NDP ideology, I'm very concerned about that.

I would suggest that there are many concerns regarding the long-term care proposal. I trust the government will take into very serious consideration, and make many amendments that will take into consideration, the views of the people in this province. I would suggest to you that individuals in this province want a continuum of care that takes their individual differences into consideration but continues to allow them a personal choice.

**The Acting Speaker:** Questions and/or comments?

Hon Ms Lankin: I would like to begin by saying that I'm concerned the member opposite has perhaps some misunderstanding—let me put it that way—of some of the proposals we have put forward.

I think she correctly outlines a number of the positions we heard from communities during the very extensive consultation that was undertaken with respect to long-term care. Particularly, I'd like to address the point both she and the member for Northumberland raised with respect to issues of concern that communities had raised with respect to duplication of services and bureaucracy that may be caused by the establishment of service coordination agencies.

The member may remember that in the previous government's paper on long-term care, there was a proposal for a single access point, a service coordination agency. That proposal was in the document we sent out for consultation, and through extensive months of hearing from people we have come forward with an entirely different proposal with respect to moving away from a brokerage style of service to a case management style of service, and bringing together community services and governance structures for more efficient delivery of services and ending of duplication. In fact, it's very responsive to what was heard during the consultation and to what the seniors' alliance has come forward with.

I think there are a number of areas like that on which we could perhaps provide more information for the member that would be of assistance in terms of what we've actually decided.

With respect to the bill that's before us, of course it has nothing to do with those issues that were being talked about directly. The legislation before us—I want to stress again for those people watching, because they might have a number of concerns with what they've heard because we're talking about a lot of other things—is about funding and requirements of accountability in nursing homes and homes for the aged.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Callahan: According to my calculations, I'm probably going to be signing off with the test pattern when I get a chance to speak, so I'd like to get up again and say that seniors, to me, are the most favourite people in the world. All I caution you about is that years ago the Conservative government, in what it considered to be a very humane fashion, eliminated all the institutions in this province and let these people out on the street and said it would provide services to accommodate those people. I don't know about your experience, but I've travelled around the city of Toronto and you find people out there who have mental disabilities who are sleeping in the streets, you have people who are homeless who are at food banks and are sleeping in the streets.

I guess my word of caution to you is that in dealing with the seniors, people who have worked and put in their fair share of responsibility and heavy effort in this community to try to help Ontario, please don't desert them.

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I see this as a bill that's highly under regulation as opposed to legislation. It's a situation where you may very well find that you're eliminating a lot of these things. I particularly see on the horizon that if we're going to eliminate any type of choice for seniors, it will be not-for-profit totally. If that's the case, and you don't have sufficient accommodations for these seniors and the people who are not providing for them in their own homes, where are these people going to go? Are they going to wind up just like the people with mental disabilities and so on who were left in the streets of Toronto and the streets of Ontario by the Ontario government of the day, the Conservatives, by eliminating institutions?

I just urge you that this bill has to be more specific. It has to be in a way and shape and form that will show us that seniors will be dealt with with the respect they deserve.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I'm pleased to rise in response to the member for Waterloo North's fine presentation this evening. I just want to add one thing that she mentioned in her member's statement this afternoon.

The special services at home program is a very important community-based program. It doesn't deal directly with this bill, but the fact that the government refuses to adequately fund the special services at home program—in the member for Waterloo North's community as well as my own, as well as the member for Grey's, who has also raised this issue in the House—indicates that there is not adequate community-based support services in the province at the present time.

If the government cannot maintain its support for our most vulnerable people, our families with disabled children, during a recession—a difficult recession, I will give you—how can we have any confidence whatsoever that there are going to be adequate community-based support services in place to compensate for what the government is doing with respect to its long-term care bill?

It's just incomprehensible to me that we could have any confidence whatsoever in that particular initiative. So I must question it and I must add that I doubt very much that anything we debate tonight is going to find any confidence in the communities out there. This is an important initiative we have tried to bring forward to the government's attention on numerous occasions. I myself have raised it three times in the House, and I just can't believe the government does not respond to it.

I would just leave it at that and perhaps ask the member for Waterloo North whether she herself has any confidence with respect to that program.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Johnson: I hope it's appropriate for me to respond to the member for Waterloo North and in essence continue what I said previously. I was heckled a little and got a little dislocated and a little disjointed in what I was trying to say, because I wasn't sure what the members on the other side were heckling me about.

However, with regard to what the members opposite have said in terms of long-term care, I did have some concerned people in my office, and let me say this: All they really wanted to tell me so that I could bring it to the attention of this Legislature was the fact that they didn't want to see any duplication of services, they didn't want to see the government make any unnecessary expenditures, because they know that at this time it is very difficult for the government to find the resources to fund many programs. I didn't finish my previous statement with that, but that's what I was trying to say, and now that I've said that, I'll be very happy to sit down.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Waterloo North has two minutes to respond.

Mrs Witmer: In response to my colleague the member for Wellington, I would just like to indicate that it's because of the government's treatment of the special services at home program and its lack of commitment and lack of compassion, really, that I really have no confidence whatsoever in its ability to provide long-term care that is going to be responsive to the needs of the individuals in this province. It's because of that.

Indeed, today I spoke about three mothers in my community who were forced to abandon their children to family and children's services because the number of hours of support they were receiving had been reduced and because they had no respite from the care of those children. I know of four other families in my community who are also considering the abandonment of their children because this government refuses—refuses—to provide the appropriate funding to support those families.

I go back to the statement I made earlier. We have seen the deinstitutionalization of individuals with psychiatric problems. We have seen children and teenagers, such as the children and teenagers I've talked about when I've talked about the special services at home, living at home with their families, which is a very appropriate placement that works well if you get the appropriate support and care, and this government is turning a blind eye. My colleague from Grey, my colleague from Wellington and I have raised this issue on numerous occasions during the past few months, and they refuse to give these people any more support. We now have three young people abandoned to family and children's services—

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further debate?

Mr O'Connor: I'm pleased to have this opportunity to speak here tonight and I'm going to try to highlight certain features of Bill 101 that'll assist in the quality of care and accountability for residents in nursing homes, charitable and municipal homes for the aged.

Bill 101 will introduce mandatory requirements for all homes that are intended to have a direct impact on the residents. I'm going to highlight some of them, as well as perhaps talk about some of the issues that affect the constituents in my riding, and seeing how long-term care has affected some of that.

I'm thinking right now of an example of a program in Sharon. They've got a home there; actually, it was my very first ribbon-cutting as an MPP. It is a home for people with many disabilities, not just one disability, so their care is complex. I had an opportunity to talk to some of the people who worked there; in fact, this weekend I'm going to their Christmas party. The people who live there now in this place called New Leaf in Sharon have spent their entire lives in institutions. They've come out of that and have gone into a nice country setting, a rural setting. They come there after being put away for a lifetime in an institution, and because they're in that whole community atmosphere, they've made great strides.

There are so many different elements to long-term care that we've got to take a look at all aspects of it. We can't close our mind to just one of them. That's one aspect I wanted to point out because I felt that for the people who work at New Leaf in Sharon and for the residents there, it's going to be a special Christmas, just as it was last year. They're celebrating their third Christmas in their new home and it's really important. I just wanted to touch on that.

On to the plan of care, which of course is an important part of the bill. All homes will be required to develop a plan of care for each resident admitted to the home. While most homes do this as a matter of professional practice, it is required by regulation. The amendments make the plans of care mandatory. The homes will be required to assess the residents' needs on an ongoing basis and to make the necessary adjustments for the plan of care. The amendments will also include explicit obligation for the homes to provide a care outline in the plan.

I think that's really important. It's kind of like when we were growing up and our parents laid everything out; they had a plan and they planned along the way. I think back to my mother. She worked in long-term care facilities for about 25 years, and she didn't just leave it as work she was paid for. She took that home with her. She made birthday cakes and brought them in for residents. She brought residents home; there was many a dinnertime when we were blessed by having somebody from her long-term care facility coming home and having evening dinner with us. Some of them had spent a long time without ever actually having a meal with their family. For us, we had that opportunity to fill in that space.

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As we move into long-term care, I really think we're not going to have as many people kept in institutions. We have to thank some of those people, like my mother, who went out of their way to make sure that for people who didn't have an alternative, there was opportunity for them to get out.

Second, the quality assurance plan: Every home will be required to develop and implement quality assurance plans for the home. The plan must set out a system of monitoring the quality of accommodation, care, services, programs and goods provided to the residents. Many of the homes will have quality management plans in place. However, the amendments will now make this mandatory. Of course, it's important that we ensure that there is going to be some

way of monitoring this, and I think this is going to be a very positive aspect of the legislation.

These of course are as a result of some of the consultations that took place around the province. As the consultations were taking place, I had a lot of people come into my constituency office and say that they felt this round of consultation was far more reaching than any in the past, and that they felt they had a chance for some real good input. It certainly was extensive, when you consider that there were about 70,000 people involved in it. It certainly reflects it, when we take recognize the need for quality assurance plans and put in there that that's mandatory.

Enhanced information sharing: Bill 101 also includes a new requirement for the sharing of information with the residents, their families and their representatives. The homes will be required to give every resident a written notice outlining the accommodation, care, services, programs and goods the home will be required to provide under the act and this service agreement.

The resident has the right to request access and an explanation of his or her plan of care. That's really an important aspect, because quite often when a person is under care he doesn't even know he has the chance to ask that question, and I think it's very important that we allow them that right.

Procedures for a resident to make complaints regarding maintenance or the operation of a home, the conduct of the staff, the treatment or the care they're receiving and additional measures would be set out in the course of the regulations. I think back to an opportunity I had to go into a home in Stouffville and meet with some of the residents there. I found it very enlightening to talk to some of the residents. Some of them have been there quite a while, and it made me wonder why they were ever there, because with a little bit of help, they certainly didn't need to be there.

In fact, I know that the Lions up in Pefferlaw have a proposal in to the Ministry of Housing to add to a building they have there right now. York region has come on with some frail-elderly units. As I said earlier, it's a matter of putting together a whole plan so that there's a whole continuum.

They're taking a look in a small town in rural Ontario—a village, I guess, really—and they're recognizing there are some folks in their community who could be taken care of if they were put into some sort of residential setting; that they don't need to have full-time care but just a little help. Those frail-elderly units, at some point in time when the funding comes through for that, will offer that. I hope I'm around for the ribbon-cutting for that, because I think that offers a unique opportunity.

Another thing: The homes will be required to post, in the homes, a copy of the service agreement between the home and the province. Of course it's important, because these residents would like to see what the agreement is between the home and the province. Maybe we don't always give them the credit due, and they'll be allowed that opportunity. They'll be allowed copies of certain financial statements and other documents and information as required by the regulations.

In Bill 101 there will also be a strengthening of the authority of the inspectors to monitor and to evaluate the care and the services of the nursing home, charitable and municipal homes for the aged, in order to ensure that plans of care, the quality assurance plans I've spoken about, are developed and implemented, and that the information is shared with the residents and the family in accordance with the legislation.

I'll go back a few years, if you don't mind, to when I was a teenager living at home and the folks living right behind me had two boys. One was around my age and one was a few years younger, but they had muscular dystrophy. It was an awful burden for the family, they were a lot of work, and it came to the point where they couldn't manage. The eldest boy was put into a nursing home for a while. As time went on, the community health nurse came by, they took a look at the house, and with the help of the local firefighters, they brought in a lift to help lift my neighbour out of his wheelchair and put him in bed and to help the parents lift him and give him a bath at home.

It was just a little help from the community, the community health nurse going in there and recognizing that you can make some changes, not costing an awful lot of money, and make it easier for the family to take care of their son at home. He never lived to be a great age, but he certainly did enjoy his last few years at home with his family, and that's an extremely important aspect that we need to take a look at.

These amendments will not only assist the province in ensuring that the quality of care and service is achieved, but I believe that they'll contribute to bringing about a better quality of life for our elders in nursing homes and homes for the aged.

With that, I'd like to close. Far too often we get wrapped up in far too much rhetoric in this House. I hope I haven't added to the rhetoric. I hope I've added a personal note that maybe a few of us can take a look at and set aside some of that rhetoric, and look at how we're going to make some positive changes, changes that have been a long time coming.

I know I've attended a lot of meetings in my riding and met with people providing care. They do it because they enjoy it, they love it, they really enjoy working with the people. They enjoy having those little extra birthday parties. Folks like my mom, who comes home after a long day and will make sandwiches to bring to a Christmas party, for example, or maybe arrange to have a country and western singer or something come in and sing for them—I think that's an important aspect that they don't get paid for it, but it certainly needs to be looked it. Perhaps if it's planned out a little better, it would make life for those residents that much better.

As we change and come up with better alternatives, we have to make sure we take a look at the whole spectrum and the whole picture. I'll end with that.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Durham-York and invite questions and/or comments. Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): In response to the statement by the member for Durham-York, I hope that during this debate the members of the government side listen very carefully to some of the comments made by members of the opposition. I think it goes without question that all members in each constituency care very much about this issue, that they have spoken as members and in other cases about the issue at hand and bring to this Legislature and bring to this debate a certain opinion, a certain comment, from people of their own constituencies.

I hope the members of the government side recognize that there is a concern out in the community that when one is moving from a system that was composed of both not-for-profit and for-profit services that to move to the not-for-profit sector exclusively within a very short period of time may very well have a significant impact on the provision of service in the community, one which will affect a great many people who need that particular service.

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I hope the members of the government recognize those concerns that are brought forward, especially in the area of nursing homes and how it may very well impact on the service provided, the proposed freeze on nursing homes, with the move from the not-for-profit and for-profit to just the not-for-profit sector.

I hope the members of the government take these comments to heart. They are made as a result of a great many comments, concerns and opinions heard by members of all sides to this very important issue.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Callahan: I want to join in again in this because this is a program watched intensely by seniors, and what we're discussing tonight is something that should be very clear for them. I think that's the problem with the legislation; the legislation is not clear and I think that causes grave concern for seniors.

There are for-profit operations around this province that are quite good, but the signal being sent out by this legislation, particularly since it relies to such a large degree on regulation as opposed to definitive measures in the act, is that you're going to scare these people off. It's just like the Minister of Labour's leaking of his Bill 40 before they implemented the bill. That scared off all sorts of investment in this province; it probably scared off a lot of jobs.

I don't want to scare off the people who are my favourite and who should be everybody's favourite in this House: people who are seniors. They're our grandfathers, our grandmothers. I used to always get a kick when I was practicing; clients would come into my office and say: "We don't want to put grandma or granddad in that particular seniors' home because it costs too much and it's going to eat up everything they have in terms of savings." My comment to them was, "It's their money, they earned it, let them enjoy it and don't expect to receive it when they die." I think that's the reason for-profit facilities are equally acceptable to not-for-profit.

There are those seniors who, for whatever reason—because of pensions, because they've sold a house and made a significant amount of money out of it—do want

the dignity of living in a for-profit community. We have several excellent for-profit seniors' homes in my community, and I don't see that the NDP should run in the same direction they're going with day care. It's trying to give nobody a choice. It's either our way or the road. I don't think you should scare seniors that way. For God's sake, don't get the message out to the public that it's going to be nothing but not-for-profit, because it gives nobody a choice, particularly seniors.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Wessenger: I'd like to commend the member for Durham-York for bringing to the attention of the House the fact that this legislation not only deals with the aspect of level-of-care funding—which I think corrects a long inequity with respect to the funding of beds and also helps to deal with the problem of disincentives to taking on heavier-load patients requiring more care—but it's important that we have this type of funding, that we have some sort of accountability measures put into the legislation to ensure that service levels are maintained.

As my friend indicated, one of the aspects of ensuring that level of maintenance of care is the plan of care for each individual patient and the fact that that information must be posted available; secondly, the fact that the service agreement between the Ministry of Health and the institution again has to be posted and there is a the mechanism in the legislation so that if the institution does not live up to its requirements under the service agreements, it can be penalized by the withholding of subsidies.

I think it's a very good piece of legislation that attacks the problem of the inequalities of funding we now have in our system, as well as building in the accountability we need to ensure that the system works well.

The Speaker: With no other questions or comments, then the member for Durham-York has up to two minutes to respond.

Mr O'Connor: I know that sometimes you'll say a few words in this Legislature and wonder whether the members opposite are really paying attention to what you said. I talked about the plan of care, I talked about the good folks living up there in Sharon at the New Leaf residence and how having a plan of care has brought those people miles down the road from where they were when they lived in an institution. I talked about the enhancement of sharing information. I talked about the quality assurance plan.

It's sometimes disheartening. You stand up here and make some statements about how good a piece of legislation may or may not be. You don't have to agree with that, but then the members comment on what you've said and start talking about: "There's regulations and we don't know what they're going to mean. You haven't talked about the dollars going into community care, and maybe that's not going to happen."

We already know that's going to happen. The statement took place in the House, this very Legislature, and it's been said several times: \$133.5 million going in. I don't know how many more times you've got to say it. Maybe we've got to repeat it a few more times: \$133.5 million is going into integrated homemaker services.

I just hope the folks at home have a chance to listen. Maybe the government members aren't long on pontificating and saying how terrible everything is, because we just talk about the facts—the plan of care, the enhancement of information sharing—and maybe put it in a real aspect, because we talk about how real some of this is.

In closing, I just want to say that with \$133.5 million for integrated homemaker services, I think we're well in the direction of improving health care within the community. For my neighbours in the neighbourhood where I grew up, the neighbour who lived right behind me, he would know that care being offered at home is far better and more valuable than the institutional care he was subjected to.

The Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence): I am very glad to have an opportunity to speak to this very important issue. I think this issue is one which is of great importance to all members of the House and affects all of us in each of our various ridings, to the extent that this issue really defines what the efforts of any government can be in ensuring that its most vulnerable citizens are given the kind of service, the dignity to continue their lives, the kind of protection, if you will, that is required for people who are most vulnerable.

Having said that, I think it's important to look at just what's being undertaken by this particular government. I'm very proud to be able to stand up and say that I was part of a government that was initiating this change in long-term care. The policies of the previous government were being put forward to rectify the many years that had previously elapsed without the proper system having been put in place to effect these changes which are of lasting consequence and very significant to our most vulnerable citizens.

Our Liberal administration would have gone a long way further than what is being proposed here, and it's fair to say that, because let's look at what this government intends to bring about in terms of its funding initiatives. Of course, ultimately that's what we're talking about: money or the lack of money to properly fund what is essential to bring about the kinds of changes that are required. I think it's important to look at just what the government is proposing to do in that regard.

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The plan calls for some \$647 million to be spent over the next five years so that by 1996-97, this amount of money would have been spent. However—and this is a big "however" and a big "but"—that money, that amount of allocation, is not deemed on a yearly basis; plans call for it to be spent at the end of this period, so this amount of money can be and probably will be spent by this government, but certainly not in the initial stages of this plan. In effect, most of the spending could occur towards the end of this period, which really calls into question this entire strategy. Because as my colleagues and various critics who have commented on this proposal have clearly and rightfully indicated, people are beginning to fall between the cracks.

As we shift resources away from institutional care and into community-based care, people are beginning to feel the real brunt of the lack of effective management on the part of this government. I have a very difficult time trying to comprehend the cutbacks this government is undertaking at present which are going to affect the vulnerable among us. That is very unacceptable, and it really calls into question the priorities of this government.

It's not simply a case of saying, "We don't have enough money," and then the members opposite will ask for money and at the same time we'll say, "We shouldn't spend any more because we don't have any more." Well, that's what governance is all about: setting priorities.

When I sat on the select committee on health several years ago and in other parliamentary sessions, I remember very clearly the members of the NDP were very eloquent and passionate about what they felt with respect to the health care services being provided in this province. Yes, they were ideologically straitjacketed. I see indications in this bill that we will indeed see initiatives that will take us from what is now a mix of profit or for-profit institutions and non-profit institutions.

This seems to be something this government continues to be preoccupied with, as it undertakes a series of redirections, to use its language, in these very fundamental services which are crucial to all of the citizens of this province.

I just want to cover some of the territory with respect to payment policy the residents will face in these institutions. Currently, I have figures that indicate that 46,000 seniors pay \$26 per day; 13,000 pay up to \$100 per day. However, under the new system, the 13,000 now paying up to \$100 per day will pay \$37 per day; of the 46,000 currently paying \$26 per day roughly half will now pay \$37; one quarter will pay between \$26 and \$37; and one quarter will pay between zero and \$26, due to low income.

So we have a system of payment based on, as this government has indicated, ability to pay, but they've reduced the amount that those who can really afford to pay will be paying under this new payment schedule, from \$100 a day to \$37 a day. That is indicative, is a telling story about what direction we're headed in with respect to long-term care facilities. The initiative here is to ultimately remove the for-profit institutions in this sector of services that are being provided in the health care field.

I say that is simply not acceptable to the people of this province, because it will begin to erode the kinds of services which are being provided and will completely do away with choice. Choice equals freedom, the freedom to decide what will happen to oneself in the future, particularly for seniors, at an age when these decisions become more difficult and when you're least able to tolerate circumstances or an environment which is completely alien to you. You want the greatest comfort level, which is not only important to you physiologically but also psychologically.

We know that those are important factors for seniors, who are probably at the most vulnerable time of their life, many of our seniors, and those who simply want the choice to live in an environment which fulfils their requirements, fulfils their needs, and are willing to pay for that.

This policy does not take into account an evaluation of assets. That will simply deny people choice when you remove that possibility. As my colleagues and others have pointed out, after a lifetime of building up a reservoir, a

nest-egg, I suppose many of our seniors would like to use that in the best way possible in their later years, and we are by this policy eventually going to deny them that choice, which I think is a fundamental change. That isn't stated here, but we suspect and we are concerned that this in effect is what's going to take place in the elimination of the for-profit sector.

The government says it's going to reallocate in its funding initiative \$37.6 million from the hospital budget. I'll get to that in a minute. Another \$150 million will be revenue that's derived from residents' charges for accommodation in these facilities. Another \$460 million will be new provincial funding over the period of this five years. In effect, we're going to see, as a result of these changes in resident payments, revenues which are derived from fees that are paid by the residents themselves. It's a significant amount of money, but at the same time a shifting of the burden, because you'll have a greater number of people paying a higher percentage with respect to the amount that's being paid in the middle group. This graduated scale increases payments to generate this \$150 million in revenue.

Ultimately what you have is a shifting of the burden to those seniors perhaps in the middle-income range, as is inevitable with this government. Their taxation policy—and this is very reflective of the kinds of increases that we've seen in their taxation policy—is to shift more of the burden to middle- and lower-income people. That's what's going to take place with respect to this new payment policy.

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There are a number of initiatives which the government says differentiate its policy from the previous policy of the last government. I'm only going to touch on a few of these, but with respect to the changes in copayment, we had a government that basically felt uncomfortable with the notion of seniors and the disabled being charged for services which it felt should be based on other kinds of funding, which would have inevitably cost the Treasurer more money.

Of course, they came to the conclusion that there's probably nothing wrong with charging fees for services that were non-essential, and that was part of the policy that was commenced by the previous Liberal administration. Personal services such as shopping, cooking, cleaning and home maintenance would be areas in which copayment would take place.

Finally, this policy has seen the day, with respect to this new redirection of this administration's initiative, and we're going to see something along those lines. Of course, this government likes to look at it and say that people are only going to be paying according to their ability to pay and that it will be a balanced copayment policy. But at the same time, we hear the Minister of Health talking about charging user fees to seniors who now get prescription drugs free. I think that's incredible from a minister who is part of a New Democratic government.

You can have a kind of rationalization in policy with respect to that area and lead to changes which will be more cost-efficient, but I think we have to be very careful about the direction the minister is headed in that regard, because it always seems to be the case that the burden falls on

middle-income or lower-income people. This government has talked a good game in the past about changing that, but we have yet to see some very firm examples of a new change in that direction. It's always the middle-income group, who happen to be the largest group, who are hit with the greatest increases, regardless of the rhetoric we've heard in the past.

I repeat: I sat on the select committee on health and heard the great passionate pleas on the part of New Democrats of yesteryear, when Liberals were in power, who wanted to move with respect to these policies and were very clear about their intentions. This government does not seem to be as clear as the rhetoric would have had you believe.

As has been pointed out by my colleagues, in this bill a great deal of the initiatives have been left to regulation. Of particular concern in that area is that for culturally based groups or religion-based groups who now want to put proposals before the government, the rules for that are not very clear at all. This administration has a distinct change in policy in that regard from the previous Liberal administration. We were very clear. We had encouraged these groups to come forward because we believed they had a real link to the community they were going to serve, that these institutions that were built around cultural or religious considerations, of a nature that were local, reflective of the local community aspirations and needs, were very important and essential parts of those local communities. They continue to be. I have very fine examples of those institutions in my riding. Villa Columbo is one of them. The Baycrest Centre, not in my riding but which borders on my riding, is another.

If this government's initiative is to move away from that, as we've heard and I think is now clear, then it's completely removing an initiative and a policy which seemed to work rather well in the past without giving us very good reasons about why this initiative was necessary. My concern is that we will no longer have those kinds of institutions which were reflective and sensitive to cultural needs, to religious needs, and that they will be a thing of the past.

That's a very big concern. My colleagues have expressed that. Members on this side, or at least in our party, would not like to see that occur, and I think the minister has to be careful in this regard.

I'm going to conclude my remarks by suggesting that long-term care reform needs to move forward, but I remind the government that the initiatives stated with respect to this policy need to be supported by the kind of funding which goes into these initiatives. That is absolutely essential. We're getting people who are falling between the cracks. In my closing remarks, I want to make mention of a case—and I'm sure there are countless numbers of others who have come before all of us, but this is a very telling story of a mother who came to my office to plead with me for the government to help her.

Her son is an autistic child who has very great needs with respect to ensuring that he stabilizes. He's very unstable at present, he's suffered a great deal of trauma in surgery, and she needed to place him in a long-term care

facility. The family was getting some respite care, but the situation was that she needed some special funding for transportation services, and that, she was told, simply was not there as a result of the cutbacks that were initiated by this government. The amount of money was quite small, and this mother had no place to turn. She's relying on her parents, who are elderly, for additional care for another child, and they provided some support.

But we're talking about the transitional stage here and I think that's what's essential, to provide central funding—absolutely critical—to these families in these types of situations. They're falling between the cracks, and if deinstitutionalization and taking people out of institutions means they're going to end up with no alternatives, as we're beginning to see now, where the squeeze is on for every dollar that's being spent, we've got to get a reprioritization of what's essential and what isn't.

We cannot allow—and I believe this will be a testament to this government—the most vulnerable among us to suffer that fate. It's simply not on. These are cases, and I am sure there are hundreds of them, which are beginning to emerge on a daily basis. I say to the government in power that that's simply not acceptable, not for this government, not for this party, not for any party in this Legislature.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Lawrence for his contribution and invite questions and/or comments.

2240

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): I'm not going to take too much time, but just remind the member of something. He started off his speech by talking about us on this side of the House, in government, being able to set priorities. Well, I don't know how a member from the Liberal Party can stand on the other side of the House and tell us about setting priorities. Rather than dealing with the downturn of the economy when it was happening in the province, when you on the other side of the House had a chance, you set your priorities. What you did is you hit a structural deficit and you called an election. And you stand in this House and talk to us about being able to set priorities? I think it takes a lot of nerve, quite frankly.

I don't often get mad, but I've been listening to this debate from the very beginning, and rather than dealing with the issues, what people basically try to do here is to play political games. If, rather than dealing with the political issues, you tried to deal with the question of what long-term care means for the province of Ontario and talked about finding ways to improve and enhance that legislation, I think you would find a lot more cooperation on this side of the House. Instead, you decide to sit here for political gain and go against the very principles your own government talked about when you guys were in government, because you had started this process as well.

I see this now in one week on OTAB, a project that was started under the Liberal government, under the Premier's Council; the former Liberal government dealt with an initiative called OTAB. We got into debate here at second reading the other day, and what the Liberal caucus

did I thought was deplorable. What they did instead was try to make political gains and talked against an idea that was their concept. You started it. It took this government's management and its ability to see things through to get these projects off the ground and to get them in place for the benefit of the province of Ontario.

So to sit here in the House and listen to the member opposite take the position he does is, I think, a little hard to take. When you talk about setting priorities, why don't you set your priorities straight? Stop playing politics and work for the people of this province.

The Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Offer: I feel compelled to make some comment, first to compliment the member for Lawrence on bringing forward some of the concerns he has had in his constituency, but also to comment on the very strange comments by the member of the government for Cochrane South.

I think that really does bespeak the problem. Here we have members of the opposition parties bringing forward some of the concerns which they have heard from their constituency offices. I believe the member for Lawrence spoke about a constituent who came in who had an autistic child and was trying, within the time allocated under the new rules of procedure, to explain to members of the government what that meant, not in terms of some ideological blinder but rather what it meant in real terms: what it meant to that mother, what it meant to the family, what it meant to the stress and strain on siblings.

The member for Cochrane South sees this as some sort of "we and they," some sort of ideological position, when members of the opposition attempt as best they can to bring forward some of the concerns which they have heard. I too have heard some of those concerns, and in the time permitted, I want to also bring forward some of those matters that I have heard in my constituency office.

We all recognize that this is an issue which is of incredible importance to all of our communities, of incredible importance in terms of the type of care which we want to give not only to those children who may be disadvantaged but also to our senior citizens. When members of the opposition attempt this as best they can in the time allocated, as the member for Lawrence has attempted to do here, they seem to be castigated, seem to be tarnished, seem to be brushed with some sort of political stripe. Well, the fact is that the member for Lawrence and other members—and I speak specifically to the member for Cochrane South—were bringing forward some important concerns of their constituents, some of which are felt by many constituents throughout the province.

The Speaker: The member for Beaches-Woodbine.

Hon Ms Lankin: I want to address a couple of the comments the member for Lawrence made in his contribution to the debate tonight.

First of all, I think it's important for us to assure the members of the public who are listening that in fact there is a commitment to substantial increases in expenditures in long-term care over the next number of years. The members spoke about the need for these kinds of reforms to be backed up with sufficient funding, particularly as we look

at trying to build a community infrastructure for delivery of services. As we look at that shift from overreliance—I think anyone objectively looking at the system would agree—on the institutional sector, in order to make that shift to the community the resources have to be there.

Over the course of the next number of years, we will be adding up to an additional \$647 million; that's above and beyond the base budget. I want to make this point to all the members in the House, because I've heard on a number of occasions this evening the question being asked: Is this new money, or is this somehow money that's already in the base? The base budget is about \$2.2 billion for long-term care. These are new moneys in addition to that, so I want to assure people of that.

The member also raised concerns with respect to a family in his constituency and a vulnerable child who is unable to access required services. I think we all know that there will be continued demands on the most important resources we have in health and social services. The focus of long-term care is, and has been from the beginning, focused on the client groups of seniors and adults with disabilities. That's not to say that there aren't others who need services and that we need to do better in those areas, but that's not the client group we're talking about with this initiative.

Last, let me say that I think it is important, if we're going to touch on a number of areas in debate, that we give members of the public watching accurate information. The member for Lawrence did talk about the fact that there were now new user fees that had been imposed for seniors who are getting prescription drugs. That's just untrue, and I ask the member to correct that on the record.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Callahan: Obviously, the member for Lawrence got that information from somewhere. Perhaps now is the time to ask the question of the Minister of Health, will there be user fees for prescriptions for seniors? You're saying no, so I hope that will never happen, because if it does, you can be sure that at a quarter to 11 on whatever night we're sitting, I will remind you of that.

The critical issue here is one we should all be very concerned about, and I think we are: seniors. They're living out their golden years, they're able to look after themselves for a while, in-home care, then they move to facilities, and I think it's important that the facilities we develop be the best facilities possible.

I've read through the act—I'm not sure all members have, but I've read through it—and what concerns me is that a good deal of it is left to regulation. I'm hopeful that during the committee hearings that these facts are going to be clarified, and perhaps it's going to be made clearer for those people who are going to be most affected by this, the seniors. I'm hoping that will happen, because if it does, then perhaps the legislation is something I can look at and support. But at present, so much is left to regulation. When I get a chance to speak, if I do, I will refer to such things as definitions of nursing care, accommodation, basic accommodation, preferred accommodation, short-stay accommodation and so on. They are all done by regulation.

If there's one thing that comes down to us from English jurisprudence, it's the fact that laws should be clear. Otherwise, it becomes that the law is governed by the length of the chancellor's foot, and that's not proper. In any democratic society, that's not the way you operate.

So I'm hoping that the minister, through these hearings, will listen to the public and that these regulations will be eliminated and we'll get definitive clauses in here so people know what it's all about.

The Speaker: The member for Lawrence has up to two minutes to respond.

Mr Cordiano: First, I want to say to the member for Cochrane South that I can sympathize with the way he feels, because what I raise touches on a sensitive, sore point: It is difficult for someone to sit on that side of the House and deal with these initiatives that have been undertaken by this government and to hear the criticisms out there. It must be difficult for you, sitting in the back benches, not being able to take part in that decision-making process, and then having to go out and sell these difficult decisions. I know what it feels like, and I sympathize with the member for Cochrane South; perhaps not to the same extent as these members are feeling today. But it's a very difficult job to go out there and sell something you don't really believe in, and that's why I sympathize with the member for Cochrane South, because he doesn't really believe in his government's initiatives, nor do most of the members on that side of the House. That's why it's difficult.

**Mr Bisson:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would bring to the Speaker's attention that the member is imputing motive on the part of my support of the legislation.

**The Speaker:** The member for Lawrence has the floor. 2250

Mr Cordiano: On another note to the Minister of Health, I want to say that I would welcome her standing in her place at any time, on every single day, to reassure the people of this province that we will not see some form of user fee for prescription drugs for seniors. The minister wasn't paying attention to me, but I said I would welcome her standing up each and every day to reassure us, because there's a great deal of uncertainty out there about—

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): You're creating it.

Mr Cordiano: We're not creating it. I'm just voicing the opinions of others, and that's what we do in this House.

Interjections.

The Speaker: With certainty, we move to the member for Simcoe West.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I'm delighted to point out that the debate has livened up just in time for my usual lively speech—as we get dull laughter from the government side. But I think at 10 minutes to 11 at night it's really not appropriate to give a speech full of rhetoric, as at any time it's not appropriate. I want to comment for a moment on the sparring that's taking place.

I know all members realize that Parliament is a substitute for war, but you're not to take that literally. It's a

substitute that many other countries, in lieu of guerrilla warfare, I'm sure would prefer. In Afghanistan and other countries in the past, you shoot each other rather than have frank debates in Parliament. It's no coincidence, of course, that the distance between the aisles on the opposition side and the government side is the distance between two armed swordsmen. However, late at night I don't think it's all that beneficial to point fingers.

I want to start off on a positive-negative note by saying that with the introduction of Bill 101 and the announcements the Minister of Health has made over the last couple of weeks concerning long-term care, at least the NDP is moving on long-term care and therefore we have an opportunity to debate this.

Mr Callahan: Oh, oh. Here's the other shoe.

Mr Jim Wilson: The other shoe, as the member for Brampton South has just challenged me, is that the Liberal Party did spend a great number of years and several million dollars studying and restudying long-term care. We didn't see any movement during their time in office even though they did make significant movement in extending human services, I think perhaps too much so, to the point now that this NDP government finds itself having to cut back on some of those services, particularly in the Comsoc ministry, that were extended by the Liberal government, because nobody bothered to figure out how these services were going to be paid for over the long run. That is indeed a problem and it will be a problem for our government in two and a half years to address some of the services that I think have been extended far beyond both the government's and the public's ability to pay.

In the area of long-term care, particularly Bill 101 that we're debating this evening, I want to caution the government and say to the minister that one of the problems with this debate—and I've listened very carefully all evening—stems from a significant problem with the bill, and it's been pointed out by many members who have spoken. We have a bill that doesn't have much meat on the bones; we have a bill that leaves all of the essential question, in my opinion, to be decided by cabinet through regulation.

We had a Liberal member earlier, the member for Ottawa-Rideau, delineate for the House—and I won't repeat it—the two dozen areas the government has reserved for regulations, and they're important areas. I suggest, and the member for Brampton South did say it in his two-minute rebuttal a few minutes ago, that Bill 101 isn't a good law, as it came out of the starter's block, because it leaves so much up to cabinet. Yes, we have a cabinet form of government in Canada and in Ontario; yes, we reserve some regulatory powers to cabinet. But Bill 101, this Long Term Care Statute Law Amendment Act, I think is taking cabinet's prerogative to the extreme.

Hence, the type of debate we've had this evening leaves a lot of members stretching their imaginations to poke holes in the bill. While the minister may have in her mind what all the regulations are going to look like, I hope she doesn't at this point, because we very seriously want her to send this to public hearings, and I gather she's agreed to do that. But while the minister may have a

clearer picture of what she intends in this legislation, it's difficult for opposition members, interest groups, seniors and the frail elderly to get a handle on what direction the government is going in terms of long-term care services, because what we have is a giant jigsaw puzzle. A lot of the important pieces are missing, and they're to be filled in behind closed cabinet doors through the regulatory process. I think that's unfortunate. I think the minister is a very capable minister of the crown, and she could have presented us with a bill that contained some greater details than what we've seen.

But I want to concentrate briefly on a couple of areas that have been of concern and continue to be of concern to me and my caucus colleagues in the Ontario PC Party.

Surrounding the issue of funding of long-term care, I take the minister at her word that the \$247 million that's been committed over five years is new money on the base budget. But what shocked all members of this Legislature, certainly what shocked citizens of this province, particularly because it came from an NDP government, was the fact that of the \$200 million the minister committed to the nursing home and homes for the aged sector on November 26 in a statement in this House—that's \$200 million of the \$647 million total new commitment by the government in long-term care—\$150 million of that \$200-million instalment is to be borne directly by seniors and the frail elderly and residents in nursing homes and homes for the aged, non-profit homes. I think that's quite a shock.

I know it came as a shock to my own family, where prior to the announcement in the House the homes were already starting to charge \$10 a day more, and that leaves families to come up with \$300 a month more. It's above what my grandmother's receiving in terms of Canada pension and Gains and GIS.

It does come as a shock, because the history of this sort of user fee—and I will call it a user fee, even though the government will call it something else; it's entitled to do that, but it is a user fee. It's adding to the user fees that are already in the system and, yes, we put those fees in the system—

Hon Mr Wildman: I thought you were in favour of user fees.

Mr Jim Wilson: The Minister of Natural Resources says, "I thought you were in favour of user fees." It gives me an opportunity to clear the air on this, because my party and my leader, Mr Harris, the member for Nipissing, have taken a great deal of heat over the last couple of years in the editorial pages and in articles because we've had the gall, the honesty and the integrity to come forward and talk about user fees, rather than this back-door approach. The minister, in the announcement in the House on November 26, talks about \$200 million as a major instalment towards long-term care reform. What she very carefully did not say is that these are user fees to be borne directly by the frail elderly of our province.

Bob Rae in opposition called such fees abhorrent; well, there's a long list of terms he used to use, and I get a synopsis of Hansard here. But it's come as a shock to the public that the NDP would introduce these fees without

any discussion. That's the challenge that we have put out there to the government. Yes, it was contained in the redirection document. Yes, there are a few lines devoted to the fact, but it's disguised. I know I had—

**Hon Mr Wildman:** How long have we been discussing long-term care? My God. No discussion?

Mr Jim Wilson: We've not had a discussion in this Legislature, in the two years I've been here, about user fees, about these fees. What we've said as a party is: "Let's cut the bunk. Let's cut the rhetoric. Let's stop putting out announcements like the minister made on November 26, where you have to read between the lines and do analysis to find out who's actually paying three quarters of the \$200 million that nursing homes are going to receive."

Everyone in this province, whether it's for an emergency ambulance ride or non-emergency use of an ambulance, is sent a bill by the ambulance company, the municipality or the hospital, whoever's operating the ambulance service, and there's no discussion of whether or not the person or the family sent the bill can afford to pay that.

## 2300

It's a user fee that the NDP government within its first few months of coming to office increased significantly, again through regulation—no announcement, no public discussion—and there are numerous user fees. In fact I could go into my usual speech about user fees, in which we list tens of user fees in various health care and community and social services sectors. What we challenge the government to do is to devote some time in this Legislature specifically to where user fees should be appropriately placed and who should bear the brunt of these user fees.

Now there's some hint of that in this legislation, and I hope we can get into it in committee in terms of the government moving towards an income test. As I understand this bill—although again it's not clear in the bill itself, but as I understand it from the discussion around it—low-income seniors will continue to pay the \$37 a day that they're paying now as a result of the recent increases, and on a means test or an income test, seniors who can afford more will be asked to pay more.

I can tell you that I attended a number of the public meetings concerning long-term care and that issue was never discussed by the coordinators who were sent out by the various agencies to set up the public meetings. It wasn't discussed in a forthright manner, I can tell you, or there would have been some frank discussion from seniors, who I'm sure would have said, "How am I expected to pay this?"

Also, by doing an income test, and I know we'll get into this in committee and I welcome that debate, the first question that comes to my mind is, does that mean if I don't really have any income as a senior but I have tremendous assets—I may own a \$2-million home—according to what I read in the legislation, I can still own that home, plonk myself, when the day comes, into a home for the aged or a non-profit nursing home or a private sector nursing home, if there are any still left, and yet I'll pay the low rate because it's not an asset test, it's simply an income test?

Coming from a socialist government, coming from any government, this is passing strange, and it's a question the minister knows very well members would raise. In a cursory view of this legislation, that question comes up immediately, yet we've not had the answers from the minister to date.

The Ontario Association of Non-Profit Homes and Services for Seniors feels that the government's \$150-million estimate—that's what the seniors themselves will pay—is actually a low estimate and that the new user fees, and these are their own words, "will only net the province \$64 million."

That's something else that really throws a wrench into the equation we're talking about in terms of, how can the government be so off? There has to be something here that if the government—our own research indicates that, yes, you can get about \$64 million, \$65 million based on what we've heard so far from the government—how does the government get \$150 million of the \$200 million from seniors? It's a question that's not been answered and it's a question, I think, that's reserved for regulations. In terms of maximum amounts to be charged to consumers, to seniors, they are to be spelled out in the regulations.

I think that's pretty unfair. I think my family and other families should know right now what we can expect to pay to have our frail elderly and loved ones who must live in institutions and who in fact may prefer to live in institutions—we should be able to plan and we should know ahead of time in legislation what those fees are. When you don't put stuff in legislation, I think one of the problems here is there's a lack of trust of this government. There have been so many scandals and incidences and circumstances, as I heard the Minister of the Environment say on a cable show last night. She didn't call them "scandals" but "circumstances."

We've seen triministry funding cut. We've seen financial cuts and service cuts to our most vulnerable in society: developmentally handicapped children, adolescents and adults. Sheltered workshops like ARC Industries have been told to close their doors early next year; and special services at home. We've seen all kinds of cuts from this government. We didn't have any discussion about them other than ministers making announcements that cuts were upon us, and therefore the public is sceptical of leaving anything to this cabinet to decide behind closed doors.

Secondly, what you hear when you speak to seniors' organizations—I do a lot of that in my role as Health critic, particularly in my own riding, and we probably all speak to seniors' groups at least once a week or every two weeks—is that they can't understand how they're being asked to pay more when the government has closed, what? What are we up to now, Minister of Health? Is it 5,000 hospital beds that have been closed? I know we can debate how many layoffs there have been depending on whether you use OHA figures or whether you use registered nursing association figures, which are much higher. The layoffs are far higher than the 700 or 800 the Ontario Hospital Association and the Ministry of Health tell us.

Seniors see these cuts and they see cuts to the vulnerable people in our society, and they know the government has \$53 million to spend. The question they ask is: "Why

am I now being asked to pay more to be in the old-age home? This government has money. They don't seem to have any qualms about borrowing it, offshore or otherwise. They're going to spend \$53 million. They didn't take a cut. The government didn't take a cut in its overall planned expenditures. They increased those over the year before." It raises the question of priorities and it raises a concern in seniors' minds. They ask, "Are we really important to this government?"

I think all the platitudes in the world coming from the government side don't answer that essential question. What seniors look at and our frail elderly look at are actions. They see cuts on the institutional side in terms of hospitals. We had the scare a year ago that chronic care hospitals would be closed. They assume that money is being saved when you close 5,000 beds. They say, "Where is that money going?" We know from the government's announcements that in the year 1996-97, I think it is, \$36 million or \$37 million of hospital budget money will be in community-based care. We don't know what money is being transferred in the meantime.

I want to just note a quote here from James Lumsden of the Council of Family/Community Advisory Boards Nursing Homes. He wrote in a letter to the editor last month that this increased copayment, this \$150 million that seniors are going to have to pay themselves, should be phased in. He said this would be consistent with the government's plan to fund long-term care reform over a five-year period.

Mr Lumsden writes:

"Try to envisage that you have lived through the Great Depression of the 1930s and all the hardships that it imposed upon people. Envisage the values that those who lived through that period of material deprivation came away with. Now envisage that you are 85 years of age and you have just been told that your costs will increase by \$300 per month or almost every spare dollar you receive. You would have to forgive the elderly if they thought the Great Depression had returned and they were no longer living in the alleged age of social enlightenment."

I think that sums up the concerns of seniors with respect to the new user fees that the government has introduced, and I'm sure we'll hear a lot more in committee about this.

Muriel Culshaw of Barrie writes: "This is \$4,015 more per year. Where, may I ask, does Bob Rae think that the majority of seniors in these homes are going to find this kind of money?"

The second major area of concern that other members have discussed and that I want to touch on briefly pertaining to long-term care reform and this bill in particular—because I find this area quite offensive, I find it ideologically driven and I find it nonsensical—involves the thrust of Bill 101, which is to eliminate the private sector from the nursing home business in Ontario. It raises the question of whether this essential element of Bill 101 is really the NDP game plan.

# 2310

In day care we have the living example and the current example of the government spending, I don't know, the estimates are up to \$100 million, \$105 million over a fiscal year to simply drive the private sector, the profit sector, out of day care; not to create any new day care spaces—there is another \$30 million or some-odd million set aside for that—but simply an ideologically driven decision of this government to boot out anyone who might be trying to make a profit in the day care field or, in this case, the nursing home field.

The Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association is concerned that the NDP will drive it from the provision of home care under this so-called reform system of long-term care in Ontario. On several occasions the Minister of Health has expressed her government's "continued preference for not-for-profit service." At a ministry briefing last week, ministry officials reiterated the government's preference for not-for-profit and could give no assurances that the private sector would continue to play a prominent role in the delivery of home care services in Ontario.

I think the following statistic is extremely important for all members, particularly on the government side, to pay attention to: 45.5% of publicly funded homemaking services are provided by private agencies. Publicly funded services make up approximately half the commercial providers' business. Commercial agencies employ 20,000 workers which include nurses, health care aides, home support workers, occupational therapists and physiotherapists. The majority of these workers are women.

I don't want to get into the Peter North, John Piper and Carlton Masters suggestion that's contained in my briefing note, but suffice to say that the NDP's record to date, at least its recent record, in response to the concerns of women in Ontario is terrible. If driving the private sector out of nursing home care is going to put more women on the streets, in the unemployment lines and on the welfare rolls, then really I think all of the platitudes and the wonderful campaign slogans and the Agenda for People and all the stuff the NDP claimed to have stood for in the past is a bunch of bunk.

I raised this issue of the private home health care providers in the estimates committee and in the Legislature and, to date, I understand—maybe the minister will want to correct me—she still refuses to meet with the Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association. In fact I recall, Minister, very clearly that the way you dodged my question in the estimates committee some months ago was that you simply said right away, "I'll meet with them if that's necessary." They still want to meet with you.

Unfortunately, you've gone ahead and introduced legislation that very specifically says that: "The minister may provide capital funding for a nursing home if the licensee is a corporation without share capital governed by part III of the Corporations Act." Ie, it has to be—

Hon Ms Lankin: It has nothing to do with home health care providers.

Mr Jim Wilson: You can't build any new nursing homes unless you're going to be a non-profit nursing home. I think that's what it has a lot to do with it, Minister.

The point I think we should make in the area of forprofit agencies is something that I think the NDP misses. We have example after example of the government really not being able to provide services cheaper and more effi-

ciently than the private sector.

We have a history in this country and in this province that clearly indicates the private sector must be an integral part of our health care system, of our social services, and to simply want to drive it out, to spend millions of dollars not creating any new services but replacing services that are being provided effectively and efficiently by the private sector with a so-called non-profit sector or not-for-profit sector just doesn't make any sense to me.

I think what you have to take into account is that nursing homes under this legislation will all have to meet service agreements; they'll all have to provide service agreements to the crown; they'll have to abide by those service agreements, whether they're in the private sector or the not-for-profit sector. The standards are going to be the same, or should be the same, for a resident of a private nursing home or a public non-profit home, yet for some reason the government has a problem with Mr and Mrs Jones, who own a nursing home. They have a problem because they see or hear the word "profit" in that equation and they think profit is a dirty word. They don't realize that many of these private operators aren't making a profit. Quite a few of them are in deficit positions.

But they can still make a profit and meet the standards set by the government, provide quality service. If they're not, you should send your inspectors in and ensure that they are. They can do all the things any government may require of them, just as the non-profit homes can do, and they can still make a profit for themselves and do it cheaper overall than the government sector can, the nonprofit sector in my mind being an extension simply of the public sector. How we prove this to the government is going to be a challenge, I admit, because of its ideology. It's going to be a challenge during the committee hearings, but we will do our best to ensure that the private sector that's providing 45.5%—as an example—of home care services is not driven out of the delivery of those services, that nursing home private owners are not driven out of their homes and replaced by these so-called not-for-profit agencies or homes.

In a letter to the Premier dated November 27 from a registered nurse whose name is Rosalie Armbrust, Ms Armbrust writes:

"Your government appears to be ignoring mounting evidence that should warn it off its course. In day care, the government is driving commercial providers from the sector, investing millions of dollars but not creating any new spaces.

"With home care in Manitoba, that government is now asking commercial providers to re-enter the field because its own experience with a solely not-for-profit system has resulted in a system that is rigid, non-responsive and bureaucratic."

I think that sums up pretty well what I would have liked to say in the area of that.

The final topic in the last two and a half minutes is service coordination agencies. The government is hell-bent on setting up these 40 service coordination agencies. I

guess the discussion we want to have—and I plan on inviting quite a few members of public health boards to appear before the committee and try to convince the government that it shouldn't be setting up new bureaucracies, it shouldn't be setting up—I'm sorry?

Hon Mr Wildman: Not.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): Not.

Mr Jim Wilson: I'll allow a little humour to come in here, Mr Speaker. I know they're getting antsy because I'm going on longer than I planned.

But the point is that I keep being told by the Simcoe county public health unit, for instance, that anything these agencies are to do, they can do and can do better and there won't be duplication. If they would just be allowed to expand their mandate, or in fact fulfil the mandate some of them have, they could do a lot of the things Bill 101 envisions for service coordination agencies and there wouldn't be need to set up more bureaucracy. If you want coordination, if you're worried about a conflict of interest between those who deliver the services and others, you can work that out within the existing system.

I think there are still a lot of questions out there from public health units, where they exist in the province, about what their role is going to be, and they have a lot of questions concerning why the government wants to put them out of the business they're in now and replace it with a whole new layer of bureaucracy.

I think there are a lot of good concerns there that haven't been addressed. We've raised them in the past and we haven't received concrete answers from the government. We keep getting superficial answers. We don't see the answers in Bill 10l that we're debating this evening. We were hoping; there was a lot of hope; there was a lot of buildup to the introduction of this legislation. There has been an awful pile of speeches and a lot of paper floated around this place regarding long-term care. Unfortunately, Bill 101 falls short of the mark.

I'll conclude my remarks by simply saying that I hope the government, in the round of public hearings that I believe is to come, will truly listen to the concerns and will put some more meat on the bones of this particular legislation, because to leave it all up to the cabinet, I think, just won't cut in this day and age, and the trust level of the public in this government I don't think will allow it to move ahead with long-term care the way it wants unless we see it in this specific bill.

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The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Simcoe West for his contribution to the debate. I invite questions and/or comments. The member for Beaches-Woodbine.

Hon Ms Lankin: May I say to the member for Simcoe West that I appreciate his comments on the bill and the questions and concerns he has raised. I think he would have always enjoyed to have an opportunity to have raised something and say: "Minister, will you fix this? Will you respond to it? Will you listen?" I'm going to do it. He asks us not to set up 40 service coordination agencies. Tonight,

here in this debate, I'm going to say to you that we will not

Hon Ms Gigantes: Not. Hon Mr Wildman: Not.

Hon Ms Lankin: There's a little bit of humour in this.

In fact, I think unfortunately the research that has been provided for the speakers on the Conservative benches has been a little bit out of date, because consistently they have stood up and they have talked about this very point.

I say to the member that no, we didn't just change the name. If you look at the seniors' alliance and its response to the consultation and its demands for a different kind of coordination of service in bringing together agencies, moving away from brokerage to case management, that's in fact what we're doing.

With respect to the issue of what seniors pay for, I hope the member will look carefully at this, because there are currently seniors in the system who are paying \$90 a day. It's an extraordinary amount, and they will be brought down to a maximum amount being paid of \$37 a day. That's very reasonable when you think if it's going to be based on income. You spoke about a member of your family who received Gains. Any senior receiving Gains would only be paying something in the range of \$24 to \$26 a day. So really, it is geared to the income the senior has.

If I could indicate, currently seniors are also paying copayments, user fees, whatever, out there on nursing services and personal care services, and we're eliminating that. The only thing they will pay for is accommodation costs, and I think most people think it is reasonable that you pay for accommodation. You would in your own home; you do in the nursing home.

There are a number of other points I would like to respond to, but I'll have the opportunity to do that directly with the member and during committee hearings.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments. The member for Wellington.

Mr Arnott: I'm very pleased to rise to commend my colleague the member for Simcoe West for his fine presentation at this late hour. I would just like to add a few comments to the debate.

I've listened to the Minister of Health and her response. I thought it would be a cold day in Hades when you'd see an NDP government bringing in user fees and talking about increases—it doesn't matter what sort of care—for senior citizens. It's unbelievable. User fees are what it is, and we find the government will refuse, and consistently refuses, to address them and call them what they really are.

In my particular election campaign in 1990 I remember reading the press releases that came from our party leader's office. When he was asked about user fees, he was honest about it. He said, "Yes, we'll have to look at user fees, because the health care system at present is underfunded." Of course, we find that the NDP government has maintained user fees during the course of the last couple of years, and we find and we suspect that there will be continued user fee increases in the coming years.

I would just like to add that comment to the debate and, once again, I would like to commend the member for Simcoe West for his fine participation this evening.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Hon Mr Wildman: We've heard all we can take.

The Speaker: Be that as it may, questions or comments? No. The member for Simcoe West then has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Jim Wilson: I appreciate the minister setting the record straight. She's not setting up a service coordination agency; she's now setting up multiservice organizations. Sleight of hand, I'd say.

The NDP claims it is making the user fee system in nursing homes more fair, and that most seniors will pay less. If most seniors are going to pay less, then how does the government get a net increase in new money from seniors of \$150 million over the term of the plan? How does that equate? I don't know.

I also want to say that, really, these user fees—it's hypocritical of this party, the government, to be doing this. That's more our point, because I recall in the campaign, and I know the Liberal members will recall, that especially in the last couple of weeks of the campaign in 1990, the NDP party around this province, at least in ridings that I'm aware of, dropped pamphlets into our seniors' apartment buildings saying that Mike Harris was going to increase user fees on seniors and take away their medicare and do this, that and the other thing—all things that we had no intention of doing. We were trying to be honest about the debate about user fees. And these people now introduce \$150 million in user fees and have the gall to say that somehow that's fairer to seniors, with no discussion with seniors at all. I find this reeks of hypocrisy, and if you ever try to run a campaign with halos in this area again, no one's ever going to believe you. No one's ever going to believe you. Your credibility with the seniors community is shot.

The Speaker: Further debate? The member for Mississauga North.

Mr Offer: I'm pleased to join in this debate on what, without question, I think all members will recognize as a very important area.

As I've indicated some of the times when I've had the opportunity of responding in the two-minute speeches, I think it's an area which does affect all members in this Legislature, certainly, and not only as MPPs. I would hazard a guess that there are many members who have friends or family with either seniors who require care or indeed children and just individuals who are mentally challenged in some way. So this is a matter not just of being an MPP and not just of bringing the thoughts and opinions of their constituents to this floor, but in many ways of a much more personal nature.

Having said that, I do believe that all members of this Legislature, and specifically the government side, will listen to the comments of members opposite, because it comes not just from their role as an MPP—members of the government will quickly cast those comments as "opposition"—but in fact carries with it a certain experience

where one has relatives and friends who may fall within

this particular piece of legislation.

For me, I bring my thoughts to this floor as a result of discussions I have had with constituents and certainly with an organization in my riding called Community Living Mississauga. I believe there are a number of members in this Legislature who have had some discussions with organizations such as Community Living Mississauga, if not Community Living Mississauga itself—the work that it has done for the community in the past number of years and the work that it hopes to do in the future.

Of course, a bill of this kind is very important to an organization such as Community Living Mississauga, which is an organization that, and I read from their pamphlet, "actively promotes the full acceptance and participation of people with intellectual handicaps." It was established in 1955 by a group of parents who wanted their children to remain at home in their community rather than live in an institution.

Here, more than 30 years later, we see in many ways the principles of Community Living Mississauga being carried out throughout the province. I know that there are a number of organizations such as Community Living Mississauga, which have worked for many, many years to do that. So I speak not just from their perspective but really from the opportunity that I've had of speaking with them, as well as the opportunity of speaking with parents and others who truly have a rare human interest in this area.

I must say to the Minister of Health, as she is in the Legislature on this particular bill, that at first instance I do have a concern with the legislation. I speak not so much of the substance of the legislation, but rather to an issue other members have brought forward, and that is to the immense areas that are covered by regulation.

I think we all recognize, as members of the Legislature, that pieces of legislation, of necessity, carry with them the regulatory mechanisms. I know there are people who are probably watching TV and saying: "What is that regulatory mechanism? What is it the member is speaking about?"

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I think we recognize that each piece of legislation requires regulations to give it some flesh on the bone. But I think there is a certain line that one crosses where the regulations are not just the flesh on the bone but rather attempt to be the bone itself, the framework itself. I believe, personally, that's a mistake. I believe that when you cross that line, you leave to regulation what should be addressed in legislation.

I think this bill could really address some of the regulatory aspects in legislative form. We know that is important. Firstly, it's important because it gives a certain sense of security or certainty as to what the legislation is and what the legislation hopes to be and how the legislation will attempt to meet its goals. Secondly, it makes it imperative that if there is to be any change to this area it will be done, and must be done, by amendments such as we have here. What does that mean but rather a sense of accountability?

I don't mean to be critical, but the fact is that I think we all have a role as members, and that is to debate pieces of legislation that come before the Legislature, to give our thoughts and opinions and those of our constituents to pieces of legislation. When it's done by regulation, we don't have that opportunity. It's done by a stroke of the pen through cabinet. I don't believe that is helpful to many organizations which really do depend on that sense of accountability, the sense of public participation in any changes to legislation.

I've gone through the legislation and I must say I was taken aback by some of the intense areas that are going to be addressed through regulation. I would certainly hope that the minister and the ministry staff would look at the real possibility of moving some of that regulatory area into legislation and have it in a way that all members can comment in a real fashion. There is just hardly any comment that can be made, except in principle, to the issue of regulation.

The next areas that I want to discuss—I want to leave some time for my colleague the member for Brampton South—are a couple of areas which concern me and concern some of the constituents in my riding. We will know that there is an issue of respite care. We know that parents particularly need regular periods of relief from the daily challenges of being parents, but for parents with children who are physically or mentally challenged, this is an absolute necessity.

I don't want to spend too much time in the area, not because I don't want to but because I just don't have that time in this debate. But I think we have to recognize that many of us—I guess, certainly from my perspective—many parents have said that there is an absolute need for an increase in the respite care service that is currently being provided. I have not seen this in the long-term care in Bill 101. That bothers me, I must say, because I think it's an absolute and necessary component.

I think we've heard, in some of the debate from members, that parents of children who are under some disability have been visited by parents who require this sense of respite care, of relief, of help, and it has not been forthcoming and in fact is being cut back. This causes a great stress and strain, as we all will know, in the families. We know this will cause difficulties in the family as to coping, meeting the particular challenges that have to be met, not just from parents but from brothers and sisters. So I indicate that this is an area that concerns me and an area I believe is lacking in this legislation.

Another area which has, again, been spoken to by other members, but I want to also bring this forward, is this issue of profit and non-profit or not-for-profit service. It is the goal, I understand, in this legislation that the for-profit is going to be reduced dramatically within a very short period of time. Some may say, "Well, that sounds pretty good." I don't believe so and it's not because I criticize one side or the other; I don't believe that's where the debate rests.

I believe we all want there to be a certain level of care in either sector, whether it's profit or not-for-profit, and if we can, through legislation, make certain that level of care is there, one sector is not better than the other. I believe that both sides can exist, that both can meet the needs of the people of the province. If it be the choice of individuals

that they wish to take part in a profit service, then so be it. I believe this will help those who don't have that choice and will allow a certain freeing up of others to avail themselves of services in the not-for-profit sector.

I think our attention should be drawn to whether there is an adequate level of care. That should be always the driving force, in my opinion, of legislators. It should not be to drive one sector out, but rather to make certain that if both are to exist they must provide a minimum, acceptable, satisfactory level of care.

Hon Mr Wildman: This is the same argument that was made about medicare in the 1960s.

Mr Offer: The Minister of Natural Resources interjects, saying this was an argument made in the 1960s. The minister will be aware that in fact it's an argument that's been made in the 1990s. It's an argument that's been made not only in this area, but with respect to day care spaces. The question we have is, are we going to permit choice? Are we going to make certain that in this area there is a minimum, acceptable, satisfactory level of care? That is, to me, the role of legislators, and for us to say we are going to eliminate one side when we know full well in this Legislature, in this day, that there will not be the takeup in the not-for-profit, that there will be an impact, without any question, as a result of a move of this kind, then we must ask ourselves, is this the proper approach to take? I do not believe it is and so I have concerns about that area.

#### 2340

I certainly do have concerns about this legislation as to how it affects our seniors population. Much has been said in that area. I certainly do agree with many of the comments made by my colleagues, but notwithstanding, I believe it is an area we must specifically address. We all recognize that the demographics of our population are that more people are getting older, that there are going to be more people over the age of 65 in a very short period of time than ever before.

That is going to continue, and as a result there are going to be new challenges to many different areas of service in this province. This will be one of them and we have to make certain that the framework is there to meet not only the challenges of today, of December 1992, but also of the next century. I believe that is something we have an opportunity of forming in its framework. If we don't do that, we miss an important opportunity and, I believe, set back some of the goals and hopes and aspirations of many in the area of long-term care.

There is another area I want to touch upon, and it is an area which is not in the bill. I've read the bill a couple of times and I'm not absolutely certain why. This is in the area of transportation.

For me it's an important area, because as we move to allow people to be part of their community for their whole lives, as we make our buildings and our shopping centres and what not accessible, we must think about how we get those who may be physically challenged to those buildings and malls which we have made accessible, whether it's access to the areas or the washroom facilities. I think there is a lot that can be done in the area of transportation.

I have received telephone calls. I've received many comments and concerns about young people who have some sort of physical disability who are going to school who are very much dependent upon when they can be picked up, and there is not a great certainty as to the pickup. There is an attempt to be certain as to the pickup, but sometimes that fails.

We hope and strive that individuals who are physically challenged will go shopping, will go to the malls, will go to work, will go to school, and we have and continue to build accessible facilities, but now we are left with the fact of how we get the individuals from their homes to those facilities with a certain degree of certainty. I believe that is an important aspect of this whole area, and it's one I have not seen.

There may be others who say, "It really isn't part of this legislation." To that, I say I disagree. I think it is part of this legislation. It is an important area. I think we cannot carve out transportation from one area, because it is an important aspect in the area of long-term care. People will be responsible, in an increasing way, for their own affairs, and they will be able to meet their own challenges and demands.

We want to put those structures in place to allow that to happen, and I believe there will be a great deal of discussion over those particular areas. But one of those areas is in the area of transportation, and for me that is one which has been brought to my attention by constituents who require the use of vehicles for those with certain physical disabilities. I believe that a piece of legislation should come to grips with that particular need. It may very well be a question of dollars. I think there is the need for the government to come to meet the challenges those dollars require.

There has been a fair discussion in the Legislature, I believe, in this area this evening, and one of the things I can't leave without making comment on is that for some, they look upon this area as some sort of political exercise. We've heard some comments about that during the evening, and I believe that to be very wrong. I think we are here expressing our opinions. I believe our opinions are in large measure based on some of the comments we've heard either through constituents or in my area through groups such as Community Living Mississauga.

They have done a remarkable job for our community over many years and they hope to be able to continue that. They recognize the challenges that families have to meet and they recognize their own challenges. They express to me the concerns about respite care specifically as well as others. They recognize that there is a need to allow families to have relief. That is an absolute necessity. It is necessary for the parents and it is necessary for the brothers and sisters, and they are concerned that those types of services are on the wane. For them and for others in other communities, they look upon that as a large challenge.

Just last week there was a day when many people from associations such as Community Living came to this Legislature, not just the associations but also some of the parents and some of the children, and I don't believe there was a member here who was not moved by some of the concerns.

But I also recognize that this is not just a matter of an MPP; it is a matter where many members know of these issues either at first hand or through family and friends, and they take that extra sense into a debate such as this.

I have indicated my concerns about this legislation. I have indicated my concerns that so much of this legislation is left to regulation. I believe it has passed that line, that it has gone beyond what is most permissible by regulation and is attempting in certain areas, in crucial areas, to do by regulation what it will not do by legislation.

That, to me, is a serious error because it takes away the rights of all, not just within this Legislature but groups such as Community Living, to comment on any changes. So I stress to the minister that they should be relooking at the areas that have been addressed in the regulatory area and see if that can be moved over.

I stress once more the concern I have had, as well as others, that there is a striking need for an increase in the area of respite care, and I recognize it is not just the Minister of Health but also the Minister of Community and Social Services who has carriage in that matter. We know this has a very large effect on families in each particular riding.

I stress thirdly the area of not discounting the importance of the for-profit sector, and it's not because it is for-profit but rather because it is a sector which does provide the service, and certainly does so in a way which I believe easily meets the needs of the people it serves in a way that the not-for-profit does also. It's not a question of whether one is better or another; that's not the issue. The issue is service, the issue is choice and, if both systems can live in one province, then so be it. I believe the citizens of the province are better off for it.

I recognize that my time in this debate is coming to an end, but I do stress to the ministers here are some of the concerns I have, not only with the areas that the bill does address but in a way with the areas that the bill does not address, areas such as transportation, respite care, matters which I think just transcend one particular ministry but rather are ones which are common to all.

I certainly do expect that this is going to be an important debate. I believe it's a debate which is important to all members and I believe it is one which the public hearing process must address. The areas just must be addressed through the public hearing process. Certainly groups such as Community Living Mississauga, I believe, will have invaluable contributions to make in order to address what I see as some of the concerns with the legislation which I have attempted to delineate in the short time available this evening.

# 2350

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Mississauga North for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments. Further debate?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): As one of the three ministers responsible for the long-term care legislation, I'm very pleased to have an opportunity to speak tonight to some of the issues that have been raised by our colleagues across the floor around Bill 101.

I'm pleased that both the Minister of Health and the Minister of Citizenship have been here to hear the debate tonight and to be aware of some of the concerns that our colleagues have, because I certainly agree with the Minister of Health that we expect the debate in front of committee to be a very fruitful one and one in which we can deal with many of the issues that have been raised in a forum that includes some of the very parties that the opposition members have expressed such concern about in this chamber.

There are a number of specific issues that I wish to address tonight about Bill 101 because, as the members opposite keep reminding us, everything is not in this bill. But then everything was not intended to be in this bill. This bill has some very specific direction, and it is a direction around the kind of funding options, the kind of funding formula that will prevail in terms of long-term care in nursing homes, in charitable homes for the aged, in municipal homes.

One other piece that is very important to me as Minister of Community and Social Services is the part of the bill that enables us to flow funding to individuals or to others, including agencies, on behalf of those who wish to live independently and who wish to purchase their own services.

Members opposite have indicated that, although we had certainly indicated our willingness to offer pilot projects that would enable this kind of independent care regime to apply, in fact we have not come forward with those pilot projects. There's a very good reason for that. We did not have the legislative authority to do so. The part of the bill that I am so excited about in this aspect is that we will be enabled under the changes to the Ministry of Community and Social Services Act to flow funds to individuals so that they are able to provide their own decision-making about their care, to purchase their own care in a way that is appropriate to them.

Many of the members opposite have talked about their own constituents who have talked to them about their concerns about this bill. I think all of us in this chamber have had constituents who have had an abiding interest in the issues of long-term care. I certainly have, and I have four constituents in particular—Peter, Tannis, Bonnie and Steve—who come to see me regularly in their wheelchairs and lobby me vigorously around having independent care.

These are very able people who require certain services in order to maintain themselves within the community, and they are very clear about the very important empowerment that's involved in this legislation. As I stand and speak to you tonight about it, their faces are very clear in my mind and their voices are very loud in my ear, as they have often been in terms of their legitimate demands for this kind of permissive legislation.

One of the exciting things we have seen in the developments over the past year has been programs like the attendant care outreach program and the special services at home program, which has been mentioned several times by members opposite, programs that have developed to meet those special needs of families and individuals within the community to enable them to live more independently. These have been extraordinary successful programs. They have proven to even the most sceptical that there are ways in which we can provide care that were not dreamed of years ago, when we thought the only way we could care appropriately for people was to shut them up in institutions far away from their community, their family, their friends, their pets. We have come a long way since that time.

We have been led in that by the many courageous people who have varying forms of disabilities, who have reached their senior years and who have demonstrated to us that they can maintain their wellness and their vigour within the community in a much more successful way than they could when they were, may I say, incarcerated, in some cases, in facilities.

Some of the members opposite have claimed that this government has not listened to those people. They have claimed that in fact what we have brought forward is what was in our original consultation paper around the redirection of long-term care, and it is true that there are many aspects that are similar to the consultation paper. But after meeting with over 3,000 different groups, about 75,000 people, we certainly heard very strongly the need to change some of those directions to meet the real needs within the community, and we have done so.

I think it's important for us to put on the record very clearly that we have been so greatly assisted by the clarity of those who have varying forms of physical disabilities about why their needs differ from seniors and how they wish to be treated, what their priorities are in the redirection of long-term care; and similarly for seniors, whose interests are maintaining wellness, maintaining their position within the community and still having the security of knowing that if the time should come when they are no longer able or willing to live within the community in their own homes, there will be a place for them. We have listened to them.

What we are attempting to do in our long-term care redirection is to meet all those needs. But we're not meeting all those needs in Bill 101. We're only taking the first steps in terms of reaching the level-of-care funding that we promised would be a major beginning base for this new way of providing services; that we would be looking at those mechanisms and beginning there, so that indeed we can make more equitable the provision of that type of care.

We will have the ability now to start pilot projects to enable people to have individualized care, and we will be able to use the experience we all gain through those pilot projects to be sure that we can design programs in such a way as to maintain the safety and the security of individuals while we are enabling them to care for themselves in a very effective way.

One of the major complaints that my friends across the way have had is that this bill does not cover all people, and that's true. The direction of long-term care has very specifically been, ever since it came up in the previous government's lifetime, directed at the needs of seniors and the physically disabled. Quite specifically excluded from consideration under the previous government were the needs of the developmentally challenged, because they had a program of their own called the Multi-Year Plan.

I happen to agree with much that has been said by our opposition friends about the necessity to fold in the care of the developmentally challenged with the long-term care program in time, and there is no question but that there are enabling factors within this legislation that will lead us to that point in the fullness of time. But in the meantime it's important for us to move as carefully and as slowly as we can to ensure that we are creating for seniors and for the physically challenged what they expected out of this legislation.

Those who are developmentally challenged and their families and their friends are very specific about not wanting any possibility of moving their care back into the medical system. In the 1970s that was a move away from medicalization and a real view that in fact being developmentally challenged was not a medical issue at all.

You're getting anxious, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: No. Indeed, I was quite enjoying the speech, but I wondered if this might be an appropriate place to break your remarks as it is 12 of the clock.

Hon Mrs Boyd: As long as I can complete when we resume debate.

The Speaker: I think your place will be held. It being 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock later today.

The House adjourned at 0002.







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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 8 December 1992

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 8 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

# **Tuesday 8 December 1992**

The House met at 1332. Prayers.

# **MEMBERS' STATEMENTS**

# PLANT CLOSURES

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I attended a news conference at the CAW Local 199 hall in St Catharines yesterday afternoon to lend my support to a strategy to save the GM foundry and axle plant. I endorse and urge the Ontario government to accept the recommendations under provincial jurisdiction that emanated from that meeting, namely:

(1) To launch a major public investment program to create jobs now while building up the infrastructure that we will need for the future.

(2) To invest in public services to assist the victims of the recession and to maintain jobs.

(3) To launch a buy-in-Canada public sector purchasing program to create new jobs and end imports.

(4) To establish economic renewal funds to assist businesses in trouble and to support new investments.

Also, we called upon Premier Bob Rae to form a broad-based task force from businesses, community, social and labour leaders and any necessary experts from across the Niagara Peninsula and Hamilton to study the causes and effects of the deepening economic and social decline and make recommendations for positive renewal.

We joined in and supported the Fighting for our Working Future Niagara-Hamilton campaign. The symbol of the campaign will be a purple ribbon. We strongly urge all residents of Niagara and Hamilton to wear this ribbon as a symbol of our determination to survive as a growing and prosperous area of Canada.

I urge the Treasurer to abandon his ill-conceived and counterproductive special tax on automobiles and suggest that he eliminate the provincial sales tax on new vehicles to spur the sales and create a demand that will result in more jobs for our workers.

# LAST POST FUND

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): The Last Post Fund is a non-profit corporation that has been serving Canada's war veterans for more than 70 years. The problem is that there are still many veterans who are unaware of how the fund operates and of the services it provides.

The Last Post Fund is funded through the assistance of the federal Department of Veterans Affairs and by private donations. The fund provides for a number of burial services, including the services of a funeral director, transportation expenses, the cost of a cemetery plot, the opening and closing of the grave and a suitably inscribed military marker.

To be eligible for these services, the deceased must be a Canadian ex-serviceman or woman who meets the fund's financial criteria and has a record of active service during the First World War, the Second World War or the Korean War. Furthermore, anyone who served in an active civilian capacity during these periods and who is receiving a disability pension or a civilian war allowance under the Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act may also benefit from the services of the fund.

Anyone interested in learning more about the Last Post Fund should contact its headquarters in Montreal by phoning 1-800-465-7113 or the Ontario branch at 923-1608.

I encourage other members of the Legislative Assembly to convey to their constituents the availability and services of the Last Post Fund.

I would like to thank Judge Sidney Roebuck, who has had a long and active association with the Last Post Fund, for bringing the services of this organization to my attention and to acknowledge publicly his efforts to promote its worthwhile endeavours.

# WINDSOR GOODFELLOWS CLUB

Mr George Dadamo (Windsor-Sandwich): I'd like to inform the House of a group of dedicated and hardworking Windsorites who have one goal in mind. These men and women are the Goodfellows of Windsor and they collect food baskets for the needy in Windsor at Christmastime.

The Goodfellows begin their work immediately after each Christmas season and begin a journey collecting money required to purchase the food which makes up the baskets which are used at Christmastime. This important gesture will put some food on the tables at a time of the year when it's important to have some staples. The Windsor Goodfellows collect money, buy the food, assemble the baskets and then deliver them.

The Goodfellows are ladies and gentlemen from all walks of life who stand on street corners and brave the winter cold one weekend in December to sell a Goodfellows newspaper in the city of Windsor. This newspaper is printed by the Windsor Star at its expense, with money going towards the Goodfellows endeavour. With the street-corner selling, along with a radiothon at CKWW radio, hundreds of volunteers and much generosity from caring Windsorites, the food baskets are then produced.

Applause and accolades to the Goodfellows in Windsor who are good and great people. I'd like to take this opportunity to say thank you to all those who give of their time so generously to give to others. Especially at a time of year when they are busy with their own families, they make time—a dedicated group helping and giving to those in need.

The Windsor Goodfellows will be selling newspapers in Windsor. Give what you can. Roll your car window down and help this year.

# SOCIAL SERVICES

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I see that the Premier has just entered the Legislature and I again would like to remind both him and his government of some of the dire circumstances we have in the Quinte-Hastings area.

I have here a paper that was just released by the director of the county of Hastings social services department. If I may quote from it, it reads:

"I am enclosing a copy of a report which was recently released by the Ontario Municipal Social Services Association. According to this report, Hastings county has had the single highest increase in the number of welfare cases for the period January to September 1992. The primary reason for this increase has been the overwhelming number of manufacturing jobs which have been lost in the Quinte area during the early part of this year. Our case load for November stood at 4,380, and as I write, we are experiencing one of the busiest weeks we've encountered throughout the entire year.

I am also told that, "At the moment, our case workers are currently carrying nearly double the recommended number of cases (188 for each worker)."

I would remind the Premier and the Treasurer and all the members of that government that we have some very dire circumstances in the riding of Quinte and in Hastings county, where some of his own members are members, and I would ask that this government look at some remedies to provide additional jobs in that area so that we do not have as many people who are on welfare and really suffering.

1340

#### **ENERGY CONSERVATION**

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): The NDP government wants us to believe it is serious about resource conservation. They pat themselves on the back for their energy conservation projects. They claim these will save money and energy and create jobs.

But if they really believed in conservation, why did they introduce Bill 121 on rent regulation? This bill is putting a cold stop to conservation investment in private rental housing and apartment buildings. Bill 121 takes away the incentive for private landlords to invest in conservation. Tenants can receive rent rebates for any cost savings, but landlords cannot recoup their investments.

The Minister of Housing had the nerve to say that her public housing conservation scheme will lay the groundwork for private sector energy conservation. Recently I met with a group from Aqua Save International Ltd and they've come up with some simple, effective technologies that save water and energy that would be extremely beneficial to apartments. But Aqua Save and companies like it can't sell their technology because the NDP has eliminated the financial incentive for landlords to buy improvements.

The NDP's Bill 121 is seriously flawed. Its impact is already being felt, both economically and environmentally. This illogical legislation needs to be changed, and the incentive to invest in conservation must be restored. This government comes along and in one sentence says it's going to do something good, and in another, it just throws it all out—

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): That's misinformation.

Mr Cousens: —like the baby with the bathwater. Why don't you straighten up your act and do something right for a change?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Brantford.

## JOB CREATION

Mr Brad Ward (Brantford): I know we're all concerned in this House about our local economy in Brantford. I have some good news.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I don't interrupt your mouth when you are speaking. You're chattering away. You have no respect.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, order. The member for Markham, come to order.

Mr Ward: Mr Speaker, I'm losing my time here. Are we going to roll it back?

The Speaker: The member can proceed. We will adjust the clock as quickly as we can.

Mr Ward: As I said before, we're all concerned in this House about the local economy in Brantford. I have some good news. A local company, Gates Canada, has recently announced plans to spend nearly \$20 million over three years in an expansion and upgrade that would create nearly 100 jobs. As Brantford's largest industrial employer, Gates operates a hose plant on Iroquois Street with 230 workers and a belt plant on Henry Street that employs 350. The Denver-based multinational decision to invest in Brantford is a coup for our community because five American plants were vying for some of the new equipment.

Brantford received this investment because of the plant's location and productivity. But one of the main reasons was the skill level of the employees and their willingness to adapt to new technology. This announcement once again has proved that good things happen when business, labour and government work in cooperation and partnership, management and labour presenting a unified effort to Gates's head office and our NDP government agreeing to meet the training needs of the new employees. This is good news indeed.

On a separate issue, I'm wearing an orange ribbon in support of my local ambulance workers in Brantford, some of whom visited us today.

# HIGHWAY WIDENING

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): On December 3, last week, I wrote the Minister of Transportation concerning fatal situations on Highway 50 in my riding, at least four fatalities in 1992 and, unfortunately, three in 1991. This particular highway is currently a two-lane provincial highway. At various points, roads intersect or branch out of this busy highway. Some intersection points are controlled; others are non-controlled.

Clarkway Drive at Highway 50 is one example of a non-controlled and extremely hazardous intersection. Traffic northbound on Highway 50 must come to a complete and sudden halt when a motorist stops to turn left on Clarkway Drive. In many cases, traffic does not come to a halt. One

finds oneself in a precarious situation and zips around on the right-hand shoulder all too often.

Sadly, in many cases there have been accidents at this particular area and others on the highway. Even more sadly, many of them have resulted, as I've indicated, in fatalities.

The Ministry of Transportation is currently looking at a proposal to add more lanes to Highway 50. The proposal is at the design stage, with construction scheduled to begin some time in the spring of 1994. But I've been advised by officials that it probably won't happen until 1995. I can attest to the seriousness of this situation as I drive that route from time to time and I've been in that situation.

I have suggested in my letter to the Minister of Transportation that perhaps as an interim measure we could have passing lanes so that motorists could drive around and avoid the hazardous situations they now encounter. I only asked the minister last week in writing. It has been short notice and I hadn't expected a response yet, but I make this statement to draw attention to the urgency of this matter and ask the minister to give serious consideration and expeditious consideration to my letter.

# INTERPROVINCIAL TRADE

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): This past week Ontario entered into an agreement with the provinces and federal government to dismantle trade barriers inside Canada within the next two years. This is an extremely important objective for the future of our province and indeed our country. As we know all too well, discussions with respect to the free movement of goods and services across provincial boundaries have been ongoing for many years. They were addressed in the 1940 Rowell-Sirois commission, the 1985 Macdonald commission, and despite a lack of firm support that is perceived out there from Ontario, they were also part of the proposed Charlottetown accord.

The approximately 500 internal trade barriers which exist are a hindrance to economic growth and activity. It is estimated that they cost the economy of Canada more than \$6 billion a year. Canada's declining competitiveness can be directly linked to domestic trade barriers. The Conference Board of Canada recently confirmed what had long been suspected, that oftentimes it's easier for Canadian business to do business with the US than between provinces.

We are part of a growing global economy. At a time when Canada is part of a continental trading block, when Europe is moving to become one market and when Asian countries are creating closer trading relationships, surely we must end our internal fragmentation.

I think we have been presented with an opportunity to correct the mistake of the past, and by not making this issue a priority we will continue to deny Ontario economic opportunities which are increasingly being offered to our international trading partners. I would hope that the minister and the Premier take these negotiations seriously and make them a priority of their government. I think there's been enough lipservice paid to the issue; I think we should deal with it once and for all.

# PIC PRESS

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): I rise to recognize Kingston's Progressive Independent Community Press, a volunteer community organization which publishes PIC Press.

PIC Press describes itself as a grass-roots organization dedicated to alternative media as a method of "giving meaning back to the democratic process."

The latest edition of the paper highlights two themes, the issue of violence against women and the suppression and expression of ideas and images. A number of articles, editorials and a poem are included to remember the tragic death of 14 women in Montreal three years ago. Women and men write about their concern that violence against women is still a major problem in our society, and some have made suggestions for ending this crime.

Freedom of expression and mass media manipulation are explored in a review of Manufacturing Consent, a documentary film on Noam Chomsky. PIC Press shares Chomsky's views on the importance of the alternative viewpoint and freedom of expression. I quote from the review: "The alternative media, like PIC, is formed by coalitions of concerned citizens and is pivotal to the realization of Chomsky's larger ideal of social reform."

PIC Press acknowledges the controversial nature of some of its articles but prefers to let the reader decide on their merit and hopes this decision will improve the accessibility of the paper and further promote the free flow of ideas.

I applaud the volunteers who produce PIC Press free of charge, thereby promoting the awareness and the discussion necessary for a democratic society. I want to invite all people in the Kingston area to turn out at Princess Court Cinema at 7 pm, January 15, for a benefit featuring Manufacturing Consent.

# STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES

# PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): I'd like to inform the members of the House that we will not proceed this sitting with Bill 94, the legislation enabling Metropolitan Toronto to implement its interim tax plan. Instead, we are sending the plan back to Metro for revision and resolution of problems I will highlight today.

We made this decision after careful and thoughtful consideration of the issues.

It became increasingly clear during the last few days of the public hearings that the financial consequences of Metro's interim plan would not be confined to Metro Toronto alone. The cost of this plan would be borne by communities beyond Metro's borders and could well have a detrimental effect on the provincial economy as a whole.

The public hearings have been productive and useful, bringing the negative consequences of Metro's plan clearly into focus. The more we listened to the public deputations, the more we were convinced that this plan would lead to unacceptable levels of economic disruption both within and outside Metro. As the public hearings into Bill 94 continued, day and night, accommodating 175 individuals and organizations, the ultimate workability of Metro's plan

was also called into question. In particular, we cannot reconcile certain aspects of Metro's financial analysis with our own.

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There are simply too many unanswered questions and too many unresolved issues arising from Metro's plan as it now stands. Valid questions have been raised, questions which this government cannot in all conscience ignore. In the absence of answers, we believe it would be irresponsible to pass this legislation this sitting.

The government is prepared—

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Didn't you read it?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Cooke: The government is prepared, however, to pass legislation that would implement a revised Metro plan that addresses the questions and concerns I will highlight today. We do not intend to withdraw the bill. We simply want a workable Metro plan.

From the beginning we saw Metro's interim plan as an attempt by a duly elected body to update a property tax system that had not been reviewed for 50 years. It was an interim plan only, not full market value assessment. Metro's compromise interim plan is a unique system of phased-in increases and decreases, unlike any other property tax system in the province. However, this phasing in of increases and decreases would not apply to all properties within Metro. The plan called for certain categories of properties to be moved to full market value assessment immediately upon implementation. Not all classes of properties would be included in the cap and the clawback system.

Members of this House will also know that I stated early on that I was concerned that a change in home ownership would automatically move that property to full market value assessment. We also expressed concern that other properties, like railway and hydro rights of way, vacant lands and municipal parking authorities, would move to full market assessment immediately upon implementation. We tried to address those concerns by crafting the bill in such a way that Metro would have the permissive authority to apply its system of caps and clawbacks to these categories. We even asked Metro to specifically consider this option. But at no time during the public hearings did Metro indicate that it would in fact do so.

If the property owned by Ontario Hydro were to be assessed at the full market value of the adjacent property, as Metro's plan requires, the cost to Ontario Hydro would be \$60 million. Hydro rates would go up for all Hydro's customers across the province. Cutbacks and layoffs would result. Jobs would be lost. There is clearly a provincial interest here.

The cost to CN and CP is estimated at \$40 million. Fares would likely increase, jobs would be lost, and there could be serious deterioration in rail service for both freight and passenger travellers. I remind members that the rail system services the business community as well as commuters. GO Transit and its customers would obviously also be adversely affected by Metro's plan.

The exporting of the financial costs of Metro's interim plan beyond its boundaries is not acceptable to the government. A more studied look shows that there is a wider provincial interest in the details of Metro's plan.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Cooke: Neither Ontario Hydro nor CN and CP had a chance to make deputations to Metro on the final plan which was struck on October 29. The public meetings were held prior to the formulation of the final package, before the complete financial consequences on the final plan were known to anyone, including Metro. It was at the province's public hearings, not in the dying hours of the October 29 Metro council meeting, that these serious financial costs surfaced.

Members will know that there are certain vacant lands in Metro, large and small, that are in the final stages of development approval. According to Metro's plan, these lands would be subject to full market value assessment immediately upon implementation. A dramatic increase in property tax assessment based on full market value could put an end to that planned development. Badly needed construction jobs would be lost. Badly needed affordable housing would be at risk.

We had committed ourselves to work with Metro over the next five years to find a more workable tax system for the future. We believe that those attempts to find a more workable system would be compromised with a significant portion of Metro properties already subject to full market value assessment.

There are too many unanswered questions, too many unresolved issues. There are questions about economic impact and job loss. There are serious concerns over inequities and treatment of different categories of property.

The government has already made the right and responsible decision today. Metro's interim tax plan is not workable in its current form, and there is not enough time to properly amend the bill in this sitting of the House before proceeding with third and final reading. Instead, we are returning the plan to Metropolitan Toronto with a request for a revised plan that addresses these concerns and provides the province with a full financial analysis.

# ALTERNATIVE FUELS

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): I am pleased to inform the House that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food in Ontario took an important step today in support of rural economic development by directing the use of ethanol-blended fuel in ministry vehicles.

Agriculture and Food staff have been directed to fuel ministry vehicles with—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the minister take his seat, please.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Minister?

Hon Mr Buchanan: Thank you, Mr Speaker. With your permission, I'll start from the top again.

I am pleased to inform the House that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of Ontario took an important step today in support of rural economic development by directing the use of ethanol-blended fuel in ministry vehicles.

Agriculture and Food staff have been directed to fuel ministry vehicles with ethanol-blended gasoline where it is

available and competitively priced.

OMAF's Ridgetown College has already received authorization from the Ministry of Transportation to fill its central fuel tank with ethanol-blended gasoline for use by all its college vehicles. All five of OMAF's agricultural colleges are being directed to purchase ethanol, where possible, for the bulk fuel tanks which service college vehicles.

I wish to thank my colleagues in the government, especially the rural members, who have joined my ministry in encouraging the ethanol industry in Ontario and in promoting the greater use of ethanol in government vehicles. Indeed, the ministers of the Environment, Health, Natural Resources, Transportation and the Solicitor General, including the Ontario Provincial Police, support our policy and are planning to implement a similar ethanol procurement policy.

The government is committed to encouraging the use of all alternative fuels to gasoline. I am pleased that the Ontario government fleet administration council, which administers the government's fleet of vehicles, supports the use of ethanol as well as all alternative fuels.

Ethanol is a renewable fuel which requires no modification of automobile engines and it is now competitively

priced.

I believe that there are substantial benefits to be drawn in Ontario by encouraging the development of the ethanol industry. That is why I commissioned an interministerial committee on ethanol last April to assist in the development of options and opportunities for my ministry to pursue the development of Ontario's ethanol industry.

The committee reported in September, after consulting farm producers, retailers, cooperatives, municipalities, researchers, engineers and other interested parties. The committee produced a discussion paper which outlined ethanol-related issues, including the impact on the environment, energy and agriculture, health and safety aspects and trade, regulatory and fiscal implications. It also clarified aspects of production and distribution here in Ontario. 1400

Consideration of the many issues highlighted in the discussion paper led me to direct my ministry to support the ethanol industry through this procurement policy, effective today. Supporting greater use of ethanol within my ministry and within government benefits Ontario in several ways. First of all, ethanol is produced from grains and thus provides an enhanced market for farmers' crops.

In addition, as the ethanol industry continues to develop in Ontario, we're at the same time supporting the development of vital economic partnerships with our rural communities, partnerships between business, farmers and government.

I am pleased to have already received the support of other government ministries and I will continue to encourage all my colleagues to support ethanol use in ministry vehicles.

My federal colleague Mr Bill McKnight, Minister of Agriculture Canada, has also today encouraged Agriculture Canada staff to use ethanol in department vehicles where available and competitively priced. I applaud this effort and once again I invite all my colleagues to join in this important initiative.

On one final note, the critic from the official opposition, the member for Cornwall, Mr Cleary, has been away from the House with some health problems. I understand he's on the mend. I would like to wish him all the best, because he's been on his feet many times asking me questions about ethanol. In the same vein, I'd like to thank the critic from the third party, who has also joined with me in working on ethanol and making this announcement possible today.

# PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

**Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce):** I stop and shake my head at the issue—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: Sorry, Mr Speaker, the members in the government benches of course don't take this place very seriously, have never really taken this place very seriously. I hold up as exhibit A the statement that was made today with respect to the reasons behind the government putting the stall on Bill 94.

Many of the things which have been highlighted by the member for Windsor-Riverside, the minister, are items which have been brought to the attention of many of us prior to this bill being brought into this place. Nothing new has really been brought forward in the public hearings, although I can tell you, Mr Speaker—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): You weren't listening, Murray.

Mr Elston: The Treasurer says I wasn't listening. I at least was at the hearings, unlike you, sir, and you are one of the people responsible for the tremendous tax hit the people of this province are suffering. In fact, the Treasurer of this province is proposing new taxes at a time when our economy is sputtering.

If he wishes to create more chaos in this province, then let him go at it. Let him argue with the Minister of Transportation, who is going to bring in new taxes. Let him argue with the Premier, who says new taxes are on the way. Let him argue with the Minister of Municipal Affairs, who has bungled this whole problem.

He said he was a partner with people, looking at fairness and taxation. The Treasurer has declared fairness as an exhibit of his efforts through the Fair Tax Commission. Those people are fairly and squarely to blame for the new crisis in this province, economically, politically and socially, as they botch up the entire world of the Ontario that used to respond so well to the competitive forces that have faced us throughout these last 125 years of our nation's history.

It has taken but two years of New Democratic bungling and fumbling of issues to show how poorly governed this province really is. When they declare an intention, when they declare a provincial interest, it is of interest to note that if it's one declaration today, there will be another tomorrow and there will be another the day after that.

We are very close to the end of this session. We are, I understand, to prorogue in this place. There is still time for these people to change their minds. For those people who think there is fairness in these individuals' hearts, as they meet around the cabinet table, they only need to know that the only people they are trying to be fair to are themselves.

This New Democratic government has one intent, and it is its own interest, that it wishes to sponsor. I give again to you as an example exhibit A, the speech by the member for Windsor-Riverside.

## ALTERNATIVE FUELS

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): We agree that the Minister of Agriculture and Food's announcement regarding the use of ethanol gasoline is positive and we thank him. It's positive for the citizens of Ontario because ethanol burns cleaner and it's positive for farmers who produce the renewable resource from which it comes.

We request the minister to act further, however, because there's been no real action from the government on the pilot project funding for Seaway farmers' ethanol coop, and indeed no announcement for funding for 13 existing proposals for ethanol funding. We encourage all members, in fact all citizens of the province, to use ethanol gasoline. Let's get on with it. We request the government to reduce or eliminate any excise taxes presently on the production of ethanol so that ethanol gasoline indeed will be cheaper to use.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): While he was doing that, I was wondering why the Minister of Agriculture and Food didn't announce special aid for the Niagara region. While this will help many parts of the province of Ontario and in that sense he's responding to what the opposition has called for, I would have thought his statement would have had included an announcement included about more help for the Niagara region and the farmers who are struggling so hard to preserve their livelihoods in that part of the province. I hope he'll make that announcement before the week is out.

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): For nine years in this Legislature, since elected, I have been pushing and asking governments of different stripes to support an ethanol industry. In March of this year, immediately after the federal budget, I stated that now that the federal budget eliminates the excise tax on fuel ethanol, Ontario must include measures to further the use of fuel ethanol. One way to promote demand is for Ontario to require its own vehicles and those of provincial agencies to utilize 10% alcohol fuel.

This is a win-win-win situation. We have some very poor quality corn in Ontario this year. If we only had the distilling facilities to utilize this corn, we would have a home and a market for it. Eastern Ontario will have some cogeneration facilities. Eastern Ontario has the corn; it has the livestock to utilize the byproducts. Eastern Ontario should be where at least two or three of these plants should be set up. We fully support the minister on this one.

# PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I wish to comment on the statement made by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. If ever we have seen a government so totally incompetent, if ever we've seen a government that, to use an analogy, makes the Beverly Hillbillies look very good, all one has to do is read the statement of about a month ago of the Minister of Municipal Affairs, talking about how he was going to bring in enabling legislation to allow what is a Metro issue in Metro council to proceed, versus the statement that he makes today. Just read those two statements, Mr Speaker, anybody, and Jethro looks awful good in the province of Ontario.

You say in this statement, Mr Minister, that there's not enough time to properly amend the bill. We called for hearings on November 3; you refused to hold them until November 30. If you had started the hearings when we called for them, there would have been plenty of time for the Legislature to deal with this in an orderly fashion and in a responsible way to both Metropolitan Toronto and the city of Toronto councils.

Secondly, if you weren't in such a hurry to get out of here this Thursday, there's still time next week. There's still time in January if you were up front in telling us what the real objective is. The real objective appears to be to try and cover up for our incompetence, to cover up for the fact that we didn't know what we were doing and perhaps to delay the implementation of market value assessment until after the by-election in St George-St David. Why don't you come clean with us and tell us exactly why you are doing what you are doing? None of it is in the interests of either Toronto taxpayers or in the interests of Metropolitan Toronto or in the interests of Ontario taxpayers.

If you had announced an economic impact study while you were waiting, if you had announced a cancellation of the commercial concentration tax while you were studying this, I would have thought today that you might actually have the best interests of the taxpayers of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto at heart, but you have only your political interests at heart, and I say shame on you.

# 1410

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): There are probably going to be a significant number of very disappointed taxpayers in Metropolitan Toronto today. It's very difficult to keep track of what the policy of this government is. I guess it must depend: the last person they speak to before they come into this House dictates policy for the day. This government must have stepped through the looking-glass. You've got to be in Wonderland.

People had expected this to go through because you have said you would do it. A month ago you were talking about the good things Metro council did, about the autonomy of local council, about the ability for local council to chart its future. If they had read the legislation that came from Metro, none of these things is a surprise. What have you been doing for the last month?

I read in the newspaper that you were sick of the public hearings because they were repetitive. Little did I know that two days later you would stand in this House and repeal the action you have taken as a government. People believed the position you took, although how can they be shocked? You campaigned on the promise you were opposed to MVA. You get elected, and suddenly you're in favour of MVA. Not 30 days later, you're opposed to MVA again.

To suggest that you're just incompetent is flattery. You couldn't organize a two-car funeral—

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: —and you've got members heckling who are so distorted in this House about what position your party is putting forward that it is absolutely insane to expect the people of this city to understand what you're doing with taxes. Shame on you. Shame on all of you. Get your act together.

The Speaker: The member's time has expired. It is time for oral questions.

Point of order, the member for Bruce.

Interjections.

**Mr Stockwell:** This guy said we were heckling. Holy smokes.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for Etobicoke West, come to order.

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: Have you ever had a single thought in your life, Gord?

The Speaker: The member for Etobicoke West is asked to come to order.

## PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Mr Speaker, as you will know, having observed last evening's proceedings, we were saddled with two pieces of business yesterday which became, as a result of timing, incompatible. One was the time allocation motion which dealt with the so-called advocacy bill package, Bills 74, 108, 109 and 110, which by the motion of the government through its new rules was time-allocated to finish at 5:45 of the clock yesterday, when it was called for third reading.

At the same time we were saddled with a deferred vote on the so-called OTAB bill, which had been finished on second reading on Thursday and was deferred by motion of the government to yesterday's date at 6 o'clock. Because we could not complete the deferred vote by 6 o'clock, as was required by the deferral notice—the deferral notice having been made under the standing orders, which indicate that the deferred vote must be taken the next business day after routine proceedings but in no case after 6 o'clock on that day—I stood in my place and said that the bill as a result fails and in fact cannot be voted on after 6, and that since it was not moved to be voted on prior to 6 o'clock, in fact the government by its action had withdrawn it and the bill as a result is a nullity.

My point of order, of course, is that the bill has now appeared on the Orders and Notices paper and has been shown to be now ordered for committee proceedings. That has been, I think, taken to mean that in the intersession we will meet on it.

Mr Speaker, I would ask your ruling on the matter with respect to whether or not this bill can appear on our Orders and Notices paper at all, since my contention is that you cannot vote on a bill that does not any longer exist because it was not called in due course.

From that point of view, I ask you now to rule whether or not that bill really does in truth exist at all, since we did not comply with the standing orders and vote on it prior to 6 of the clock yesterday. It was not for us to challenge the Chair because that no longer is available to us; there is no challenge to the Speaker's ruling, although I was sorely disappointed in the ruling that was taken.

It is not possible for us to abstain from a vote. As you know, that means that when a member has been called, he/she is ejected from the chamber, and as a result that is not a way to protest. We, as a result, were forced to cast a vote because we had no other option available to us.

Our option today, however, Mr Speaker, is to come to you to provide us with a ruling as to whether or not a bill can be perfected when it fails for process in this place, ie, not being voted on in time to meet the standing orders for a deferred vote.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for Bruce, you will know that this matter was raised yesterday, and—

Mr Elston: No, no, it's on the Orders and Notices paper.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member has presented some information and I am attempting to respond to him. Perhaps I was a bit hasty. The member for Parry Sound had something to add on this point?

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): On the same point, Mr Speaker: I believe the member for Bruce indeed has a valid point of order and I would ask you to consider this matter very carefully. The request that was put in writing to the Speaker, as is proper, by the chief government whip was that the vote take place at 6 pm. I've looked at the wording of the letter and that is exactly what it says; it doesn't say 6:07, it doesn't say 6:05.

The member is also quite correct, in my opinion, in that the standing orders clearly say that a vote cannot be deferred any later than 6 pm. We had a similar instance in this Legislature a few weeks ago with respect to matters happening after 6 pm, and I think this is indeed a very serious matter.

As it happens, the previous vote on the advocacy bills was not completed until 6:07 pm yesterday. The standing orders clearly state that a vote cannot be deferred any later than 6 o'clock, and in fact it was impossible to take the vote in accordance with the standing orders on Bill 96. I would ask you to very carefully consider this matter and perhaps give us a written judgement or submission from yourself, with all due respect, after you've carefully considered the matter, because I do regard the matter as being of some importance.

The Speaker: To the member for Parry Sound and the member for Bruce, I appreciate the concerns which they have expressed. This matter was brought to the attention of the Chair yesterday and a ruling was made. I was certainly aware of the events as they occurred. I had an opportunity

to discuss the matter with the table officers and with the other chair occupants and indeed the ruling was correct.

I think members should realize two particular points: One, of course, is that the deferred vote process is one which was implemented as a way to assist members in an orderly way so that they would have a better opportunity to be present when votes are being called. So when a vote is deferred from one day to the next, it allows all members of the House to organize their affairs so that they can be here, if at all possible.

Secondly, I think the other point to be kept in mind is that once a procedure has started, then of course it is fully proper to complete the procedure. It is impossible to vote on two things at the same time, so once the process was started on time, as per the directions of the House, then of course the matters proceeded until everything had been dispensed with.

I would ask the members to reflect that, should we not be able to do that, then the extreme consequence would be that you might never be able to vote on anything. If you started into a process, were unable to complete it for a second item, as was the suggestion with respect to yesterday's, then if you take that to its logical extreme, you wouldn't ever be able to be presented with the opportunity to vote on that second matter—which may appeal to some but not to others. So the Chair was perfectly right yesterday in saying that having started the process on time, they were able to indeed continue with the business until they had concluded the matters that had been brought before the House.

As the member has mentioned it previously—and this is the last point—with respect to the ability to abstain, as he will know, it has not been the practice in this chamber. That's not to say that it shouldn't be the practice, and indeed the Legislative Assembly committee perhaps should take a look at that practice to see if it's something we should be adding to our procedures here so that members do have an opportunity. The member made his point quite strongly and with great strength the other day, and I may be sympathetic to the member's point, but the rules do not allow anyone to abstain.

1420

## **ORAL QUESTIONS**

# RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Premier. Premier, your Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology refuses to deal with the resignation of Ontario's agent general in New York. He has stated that the agents general are appointed by the Premier; they are the sole responsibility of the Premier. Therefore, you must now be prepared to field the questions on this issue.

Your government's Management Board directive of March 1992 outlines very specific procedures for harassment investigations in the Ontario public service. In fact, the Globe and Mail reported on August 12, 1992, that under its own guidelines, the government has trained more than 500 employees to investigate sexual harassment complaints,

and that Management Board itself was overseeing investigations which are complex or involve senior officials.

Premier, I would simply ask you: Given the special units your government set up to investigate sexual harassment, given that you have already trained over 500 people to investigate these cases, given that cases involving senior officials are to be investigated by Management Board, why did you order a special investigation of the Masters case? Why did you deviate from your own directives?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think the Treasurer answered the questions yesterday very effectively and, in the circumstances, gave the only answer that can be given: that is, I have no comment to make other than what has already been said with respect to Mr Masters's decision.

Mrs McLeod: Premier, it seems that your government has a history of hiding behind the freedom of information legislation when it wants to avoid answering difficult questions. You suppressed the Grandview report despite the ruling of the freedom of information commissioner that its release would not hamper investigations; you've placed a gag order on Al Holt and the Hydro board members, even though the commissioner had ruled that our questions were acceptable at that committee; and now you refuse to answer even the most basic questions surrounding the Masters investigation, as we understand it from the Treasurer's response yesterday, on the grounds that it will violate privacy laws. Premier, this government seems to hold the privacy laws in high regard, unless your name happens to be Judi Harris.

The press has been publicly reporting the allegations against Mr Masters since August. It is unfair to leave this hanging. Will you stop hiding behind this legislation and simply tell us what investigations have been carried out by your government to probe these allegations, over what time period, and what the investigations revealed?

Hon Mr Rae: I'm as bound by the law as any other member of the House is. I've made my decision, and the government has made its decision, in terms of how we are responding overall to any number of situations, and we certainly have indicated very clearly to the member the position we're taking in this regard.

Mrs McLeod: Let us then recognize very clearly, Premier, that this is your decision; it is not a matter of the legislation. You have so often said that justice must not only be done, but that it must be seen to be done. In this case, you have not only failed to apply your government's own clear directive for the investigation of harassment cases, but you have also refused to disclose why a special investigation was ordered and what the investigation revealed.

As a result of your stonewalling, as a result of the fuelling of the fires of speculation, there is no question that Mr Masters is being judged in the court of public opinion. We don't know if justice was done to Carl Masters, we don't know if justice was done to the women or woman who made the allegations. All we have are rumours and speculation. Premier, do you not agree that your continued silence on this issue casts serious doubts on the fairness of

the entire process to everybody involved in it? And I ask you today, will you not break that silence?

Hon Mr Rae: Neither rumour nor speculation will come from me. I would say to the honourable member that the law is very clear, and I think the government's obligations under the law are very clear too.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question.

Mrs McLeod: Well, Mr Speaker, in entire frustration on this issue, let me turn to an entirely different question.

## HIGHWAY FINANCING

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Again to the Premier, I would suggest that after the scandals and the incompetence of this session, we thought the government couldn't possibly look more confused, but it seems we were wrong.

Yesterday, we saw another example of members of the cabinet taking totally different positions on an issue, causing considerable concern and speculation again for the people of the province. Our offices are now receiving phone calls from worried drivers, asking whether or not they are going to be facing tolls on Ontario's highway in the future. The Transportation minister says he is sold on the idea. The Treasurer has called the notion "pie in the sky."

Premier, we ask who is speaking for your government on this issue. Is it the Minister of Transportation, or is it the Treasurer? Is your government seriously considering toll roads, or is it not?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): Who's speaking for the government? On transportation matters, it's the Minister of Transportation who speaks for the government. On overall financial matters, it's the Treasurer and the Deputy Premier. Other ministers have their responsibilities, and I have my responsibilities.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Rae: I want to indicate to the honourable member that the government has no intention or plans of applying tolls to existing roads. However, I would say to the honourable member that with respect to future construction of new roads, obviously we're looking at a range of financing alternatives, of which tolls are one. Beyond that, no final decisions have been made. But I appreciate the Leader of the Opposition giving me the opportunity to answer the question. I think she can assure all the worried drivers who are phoning her office on a regular basis that this is an issue that will be fully debated and discussed within the public realm, as well as around the cabinet table, and I look forward very much to the positive and helpful suggestions from the leader of the official opposition.

Mrs McLeod: Well, I'm sure the Premier in turn immediately after question period will discuss with his Treasurer what he actually said, and whether that rationalization sufficiently explained the inconsistency of what the Minister of Transportation and the Treasurer have said on the particular issue.

But let me ask the Premier about what he himself has said about his government's intention to raise taxes in

general. He is surely aware that the Treasurer has said that he would be forced to raise taxes in order to deal with the government's financial crisis. We are also aware that you have said that you would make sure that the taxes that would be introduced don't slow the economy down, don't discourage investment and don't discourage economic activity.

Now you've indicated that one of those taxes that you may be looking at on new roads is a toll tax. Clearly, we all want highways to operate efficiently, but we recognize that tolls are a form of taxation that drivers would pay out of their pockets for new roads.

Premier, given the fact that you do not want new taxes that deter business activity in Ontario, can you assure us that if you or the Minister of Transportation or the Treasurer or, by some miracle, all three of you, are looking at tolls on new highways, that economic studies have been done and that you will table those economic studies to prove that toll roads in any form will not harm Ontario's economy?

1430

Hon Mr Rae: After a little over two years in government, I can say to the honourable member that—

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): You've never had more fun.

**Hon Mr Rae:** First of all, I've never had more fun, quite right, and second of all—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Rae: Let me say to the honourable member for Ottawa West, the Beverly Hillbillies lasted for a long time and they're still in syndication and they're still in reruns, so I'm not too worried about that.

I say to the honourable member in answer to her question, of course the government will be studying whatever impacts decisions have, but in all seriousness, there are things that need to be done in order to get the economy going, in order to get the transportation system moving and in order to deal with—if you'll pardon the pun—many of the roadblocks which now seem to exist in the system and which I can say, as Premier, I find increasingly frustrating in terms of getting this done. So we are determined to get on with things, and of course we will share the information and of course we will have the debate, but the point, I think, is clearly to get things moving in the province

Mrs McLeod: I wonder whether the Premier has checked the recent Nielsen ratings for the reruns of the Hillbillies show.

If either the Premier or the Minister of Transportation or the Treasurer had decided, again by some miracle, to consult with the affected groups before making up their minds whether to introduce toll roads, they might have talked to people from the trucking industry and they might have found that trucking groups are particularly affected by taxation in the transportation sector and that they have complained that the province already takes more out of the industry in taxes than it now spends on roads.

In 1991-92, Ontario received \$2.8 billion in transportation taxes, mainly in the form of fuel taxes, but the

provincial government only spent \$1.9 billion on road maintenance and construction. Toll roads, as we understand it, might be accepted by trucking groups, but the province, to make that acceptable, would have to give back to drivers, in the form of lower gas taxes, the difference between what it takes from this sector and what it spends on roads.

Premier, I would ask if you will make a commitment today that, if you do decide on toll roads, it will not be just another tax grab. Will you commit, as a move to stimulate the economy, to lower gas taxes by the amount of money you raise from any road toll system that your government may introduce?

Hon Mr Rae: The first thing I want to say to the honourable member is that I can't let stand on the record the statement she's made twice, that there's a disagreement of any kind between the Treasurer and the Minister of Transportation.

I've sat in at meetings in cabinet and at P and P with both individuals, and I can assure the honourable member that disagreements between them are very rare indeed, and on this subject I have not heard any. I've heard a very substantial agreement between the Treasurer and the Minister of Transportation, of a desire, which I certainly share, to get things moving and to move ahead in terms of more creative ways of financing, so that we can in fact begin to drive things through the system a little bit more quickly.

Let me say to the honourable member, I've heard her suggestion, and of course there are ongoing discussions with members of the trucking industry and with all kinds of interest groups out there. We'll continue those discussions, but I'm not prepared to make any blanket statements with respect to taxation or anything else at this point in the session of the House.

# RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have a question for the Premier. Section 21(2)(a) of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act allows information to be disclosed when "the disclosure is desirable for the purpose of subjecting the activities of the government of Ontario and its agencies to public scrutiny." That is what the freedom of information act says, Mr Premier. This is the act that your Deputy Premier yesterday and now you today appear to be hiding behind.

I'd like to ask you this, Premier: If the eradication of sexual harassment against women is not of the highest public interest, what is?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I can only say to the member that the sections of the act are there. You've read one section; I could read out others. Generally speaking, matters involving personal privacy of people who are in the employ of the government of Ontario are not matters to be divulged, and that remains the basic law of the province. Those are the rules the government has followed and that's the direction we've taken.

Mr Harris: The act was never intended to allow a government to hide behind it. In fact, the act is there and this clause 21(2)(a) is there to encourage, where there is a

matter of public interest, that disclosure can be made, should be made and ought to be made.

Mr Premier, we're dealing now with employees of your government who have made allegations of sexual harassment against Mr Masters. If it's in the public interest to get to the bottom of this sexual harassment against female employees in Ontario, let alone your own female employees of this government, if eradication of that sexual harassment is at all important to you, then my reading of the act obliges you to come forward with the information.

I would ask you this: Is it because you cut a deal with Mr Masters not to disclose the information that you're not talking? Or is some misguided interpretation of the freedom of information act that you're trying to hide behind the reason you will not answer our questions today?

Hon Mr Rae: When the honourable member says this is something that no other government has done, quite the contrary; there are many circumstances in which people leave the government in which the clear indications are there. I think it's very clear.

Mr Harris: Will you confirm today, Mr Premier, that you in fact made a deal, that you or your government or somebody on behalf of the government of Ontario made a deal with Mr Masters as part of his resignation that you would not disclose any of the details? Will you confirm or deny that today?

Hon Mr Rae: I've answered the question as clearly as I can and said to the honourable member that I think this is the fairest position to take in the interests of all concerned.

**Mr Harris:** I would ask you this question: Why did Carl Masters resign?

Hon Mr Rae: Mr Masters resigned. I can add nothing further to that. He resigned in order to return to the private sector.

Mr Harris: Given that this matter cuts to the heart of one of the top priorities of all 130 members of the Legislature, to eradicate sexual harassment against women in the workplace, given that it cuts to the heart of that, why did you accept Mr Masters's resignation?

Hon Mr Rae: I accepted Mr Masters's resignation because it was offered.

Mr Harris: Clause 21(2)(a) clearly calls upon you and upon the government of the day to disclose information that is in the interests of subjecting the activities of the government of Ontario and its agencies to public scrutiny. This case cries out for disclosure of what happened on behalf of those women who have made allegations against Mr Masters, on behalf of all victims of sexual harassment within the province of Ontario, particularly those who work for you, the government of Ontario, for you as Premier. This cries out for disclosure if that is indeed one of your priorities.

I would ask you again. If this is your priority, and if you haven't cut a secret deal with Mr Masters—which is another issue, if you have—will you now come forward with the information in the interests of these women who have alleged sexual harassment and in the interests of all women past, present and future, to make sure that we can

proceed as best we can to a harassment-free workplace here in the province of Ontario?

Hon Mr Rae: I think my answer has clearly been given. I really have nothing to add to the answer I've given to the member.

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# DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My question is to the Treasurer. Last night I attended a St Catharines city council meeting. One of the recommendations that came out was to move up the move of the Ministry of Transportation to St Catharines. They recommended—and I would ask the Treasurer if he would agree with this: That the purchase and sale agreement for the lands comprising the MTO site be signed by December 31, 1992.

- That approvals of demolition of vacant properties be granted by January 31, 1993.
- That the province proceed with requests for information from the development community relative to the construction of the Ministry of Transportation building by December 18.
  - That the province establish a vanguard office.
- That the province move 200 people in 1993 and another 200 in 1994, and the balance of 1,000 positions as the building is available.
- That the contract for construction of the Ministry of Transportation building be awarded by June 1993.

I've given the Treasurer a copy of the recommendations. Would he agree that the government is prepared to do that to assist the city of St Catharines and the Niagara region, which are hit by very high unemployment and plant closings?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I appreciate the member for St Catharines sending me over a specific copy of the proposal. As a matter of fact, I saw him on television last night in attendance at that meeting, I believe.

I'm pleased that the member no longer feels there's an attempt to slow down the relocation, which I hear he was rumouring in the last week or so around St Catharines, which of course is not the case at all. I'm glad he now sees the error of his ways in that regard.

I do regard the proposal as serious, and I commend St Catharines for the work it's done on it. I am prepared to sit down with the ministries involved. There are many ministries involved in this. There's Government Services, there's Industry, Trade and Technology, and there's the Ministry of Transportation as well. It's not a simple case of snapping one's fingers. There have been commitments made already, particularly, in some cases, to people who work in various ministries and so forth.

I would, however, say to the member for St Catharines that we think it's a serious proposal, well done, and we'll take the requests in it very seriously.

Mr Bradley: The requests which are not in this category but for other matters include:

- Fifty thousand dollars to develop a St Catharines strategic economic plan such as is available to municipalities in eastern Ontario.
- That you create a Niagara heritage fund similar to the northern Ontario heritage fund and with all of those implications.
- That the province allocate PRIDE moneys to St Catharines in 1993 and 1994.
- That the province, through Treasury and Economics, allocate moneys to the city in its 1993-94 budget for mutually agreed-upon projects.
- That the province fast-track any applications for assistance under any provincial program.
- That the province provide an additional Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology field officer.
- That the province direct Ontario Hydro to freeze or decrease industrial hydro rates in the Niagara Peninsula until a study of the area is completed.

Those are among a number of other recommendations.

I would ask the Treasurer to give a commitment in the House this afternoon that he is prepared to accept these recommendations and implement them at the earliest possible opportunity.

Hon Mr Laughren: I certainly wouldn't give the commitment to accept and implement all of those proposals; it's a very comprehensive list. But I appreciate the fact that it is a comprehensive list and not just one demand and an insistence that that demand be met. I think it's a very responsible way to approach government that the city of St Catharines has taken, and I appreciate the fact that the member for St Catharines has raised it here.

As I indicated, I will sit down and talk with the various ministers involved just to see what is possible. I know the member for St Catharines and other members of the Liberal caucus understand that in some cases there could be precedents set that would be somewhat worrisome. But having said that, whatever can be done, I can assure the member, we'll take a very serious look at.

## RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My question is to the Premier. There is nothing in the freedom of information act that prevents you from telling us whether you are stonewalling because of the act or because you cut a deal with Mr Masters. Presumably, if you cut a deal, the deal was to stonewall. Presumably, if you didn't, you're using the freedom of information act.

Given that there's nothing in the act to prevent you from disclosing which one of those two it is that you're using to stonewall information on the Masters affair—in my view and in the view of many certainly preventing information from coming forward that may be of benefit to eliminating sexual harassment in the workplace—and given that there is nothing in there to prevent you from telling us which one of the two you are using to cover up this information, I would ask you again: Is there anything in the deal you cut with Mr Masters where you agreed to not disclose any of the information in any of the questions we're asking?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think the freedom of information act is very clear and the protection of privacy principles are very clear. I think I've answered the member to the very best of my ability.

Mr Harris: No, Premier, you have not answered to the best of your ability, nor according to what you're allowed to answer by law, or in fact according to what you are obligated and should answer by law. Given there's nothing in the freedom of information act to prevent you from telling us why you refuse to answer the questions, I ask you one more time, very clearly, very explicitly: Was there anything in the deal that you or your government cut with Mr Masters that prevents you from disclosing any of the information that would help get to the bottom of this sexual harassment case?

Hon Mr Rae: As I said before to the honourable member, I've answered his question as best I can with respect to our obligations under the law and I think that's the clearest answer I can give.

## LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): My question is for the Minister of the Environment. Minister, on the evening of November 22, residents in my community and I met to discuss the importance of Lake Simcoe. Many of them derive their livelihood from the lake. In fact, it's known that it's the ice fishing capital of the world, up in Georgina. We have many marina businesses up there and ice fishing hut operators who depend on the lake for their livelihood.

Minister, I know that last year you realized the importance of the lake because you came to a forum sponsored by the South Lake Simcoe Naturalists and talked about the need for protecting the quality of Lake Simcoe. Can you tell me what the update is, right now, of the government in trying to protect Lake Simcoe?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I'm certainly aware of the concern raised by recent reports about the state of Lake Simcoe. I'm certainly aware of the study and the committee that has been established to oversee the work on trying to restore Lake Simcoe. That committee is chaired by the Lake Simcoe Region Conservation Authority and has representatives from the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Natural Resources, as well as my own ministry.

The problems in Lake Simcoe include phosphorous loadings and lack of oxygen. It's certainly the position of our ministry that no further development should occur that might result in an increase in the phosphorous loading to the lake. We are also very concerned about non-point sources, especially of phosphorous, and believe those should be controlled.

Our program is designed to do that, as well as modelling studies about the oxygen depletion and the prospects for establishing a link between phosphorous and the oxygen content of the water. These modelling studies will help us to implement some of the recommendations of the Lake Simcoe environmental management study. As well as that, the CURB program, Clean Up Rural Beaches, has been

applied to trying to address the problems that affect Lake Simcoe.

Mr O'Connor: Minister, the meeting I had was with a group called Georgina Against Garbage. Given your answer about the commitment of time and the resources dedicated to protecting Lake Simcoe, how can the Interim Waste Authority possibly consider a dump site so close to the lake? It just doesn't make sense to be cleaning up the lake on the one hand and having it destroyed by a potential leaky landfill. Will the government stop this process and revise it, so the tiny town of Georgina doesn't end up with a mega-landfill?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mrs Grier: I'd like to make two points in response to the member's question.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): Way to go, Larry. Fantastic for Larry. Way to go.

The Speaker: Order. The member for Markham, come to order.

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me just say to the members of the opposition that the member for Durham-York's effective, constructive and responsible action on behalf of his constituents is a model that perhaps some of the rest of them might follow.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Grier: With respect to his concern about the IWA, the Interim Waste Authority's search for a landfill site, let me remind him yet again that the site he has referred to is one of a list of candidate sites the Interim Waste Authority has identified. The arguments, the technical ability of that area to absorb the landfill that is being contemplated for that particular site and the surface water quality of the area, will all be issues before the Environmental Assessment Board. I know the member and his constituents will be very active in making their representations through the environmental assessment.

Let me merely comment, in conclusion, on his reference to leaky landfill sites by reminding him that landfill technology has improved considerably over the years. There have been landfills for 200 years and the ones that have been constructed in recent years and that certainly are contemplated for the future will not be leaky landfills.

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### SOCIAL SERVICES

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): My question is for the Minister of Community and Social Services. My Brother's Place is a success story. My Brother's Place was named the Daily Bread Food Bank's agency of the month in September 1992. It has endorsements from many other agencies and service providers in Metropolitan Toronto. It has a letter of support from an NDP cabinet minister. It has support from a former NDP cabinet minister.

Many individuals in the social services community have also supported the efforts of this group. Indeed, it is seen as the last and only resource for many who would otherwise fall through the cracks, helping those making that very difficult adjustment from long-time institutionalization to life in the community.

Madam Minister, what have you to say to the staff and residents of My Brother's Place, who have continued to be supportive, one of the other, as you cut staff and programs and put individuals who have high needs, high-risk needs—in fact the broader community—at risk by your decision?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): As I'm sure the member is aware, there were a number of different funding sources for My Brother's Place. Issues were raised about some of the accountability issues, some of the issues of care of clients and so on over time, and all funders, on discussion, began to withdraw funding for various reasons.

I have met with members of the board and the executive director of My Brother's Place personally. Members of my staff in the ministry and members of my own office staff continue to keep track of the various concerns that have been raised. These concerns have been raised by community members, by former staff members, by former board members and by former clients, and there are fairly serious issues around accountability that we continue to struggle to get to the bottom of.

Mrs O'Neill: Madam Minister, you are giving a lot of excuses. You know there are differences of opinion on this matter. You know the board has been in existence for six years. Many of the members are original members.

I have in my possession three letters you have sent from your ministry. The first one was dated March 13, 1992, and you confirmed funding for 1992—another broken promise. The second letter is dated July 3 and says, "We have decided not to proceed with an investigation." Finally, I have a letter from yourself dated August 5 and you announce "the final decision to withdraw funding for the programs on Dufferin Street as of June 1992," a retroactive withdrawal of funding, I may add.

I remind you that the goal of My Brother's Place is to save and help those who are falling through the cracks, whose life skills are almost non-existent, who have been in institutional settings for most of their lives, and you refused to review the program. You refused to investigate, and that's in writing, and now you have withdrawn vital funding.

Madam Minister, I ask you, what have you to say about these letters to the residents and staff of My Brother's Place? I suggest you're abandoning another success.

Hon Mrs Boyd: My responsibility, and that of other ministers and other ministries, is to ensure that the goals of the transfer payment agencies that we fund are indeed being followed out. Obviously, it must be clear to the member that, following the April letter confirming funding, additional information came forward that was there. When we decided initially not to investigate, as did the other funders, that information was not as complete as it subsequently became.

Our responsibility is to ensure that the outcomes of the programs we offer are appropriate to the clientele, and in terms of this particular program there were serious concerns about the appropriateness of a number of issues at My Brother's Place.

#### PROBATION OFFICERS

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): My question is to the Chairman of Management Board. Mr Minister, at a time when increasing numbers of violent offenders are being placed back into the community, we're told that Management Board is considering the removal of the degree requirement for probation officers. In response to my question of October 21, the Minister of Correctional Services advised us that your government is reviewing this situation, so my question today is, will the current bachelor's degree requirement remain a minimum standard for a probation officer?

Hon David S. Cooke (Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet): I know the minister of corrections has been working on this issue and I will refer the question to him.

Hon David Christopherson (Minister of Correctional Services): I'm pleased to answer the question the honourable member raises today. As I have said previously, this matter is being reviewed currently by a work group consisting of members of the Probation Officers' Association of Ontario as well as the union and members of the ministry to review and make a recommendation to me, as most of these recommendations apply to employees who are with the Ministry of Correctional Services. I expect I will be receiving that report within the next week or so and at that time will be better able to give the member a full answer as to the direction we're taking.

Mrs Cunningham: I heard the minister. It's the same answer I got on the 21st. I just have to say very simply that the governments before us have requested studies dating back to 1957, and as recently as 1987, and by the way, the taxpayers of the province pay for these.

There was a recommendation that the university degree be a bare minimum starting requirement for the probation practitioner. We see no reason, nor did the union—of course, the lack of consultation didn't help—that things should be changed right now unless there is some ideology behind this which isn't in the best interest of the public. The best interest of the public is its safety, and this is an extremely important job. Probation officers are seeing increasing numbers of these very serious offences, including sexual assaults and crimes involving violence.

My question to the other minister is simply this: If nine out of 10 provinces in Canada require this minimum standard, and 49 of the 52 American states, why would you even be looking at this and when are you going to give us your response? We hope it will be positive.

Hon Mr Christopherson: I think I have now answered maybe for the fourth time that the fact of the matter is that the question still had the premise that a decision has been made. There has not been a decision. That's why there was a working group that is now looking at the very issues the

member raises, as well as a whole host of other issues, and I would also say that we do agree on one point, that these people provide a very valuable service. They provide an excellent professional service and nothing that is being contemplated will remove any of that.

Mrs Cunningham: Why are you looking at it?

The Speaker: Order, the member for London North.

Hon Mr Christopherson: It is a question of, will this particular requirement remain in place or will there be equivalents? I do wish the member would stop posing questions that suggest something has already been done. The consultation is under way and I expect to receive that report very shortly.

1500

## CONSENT TO TREATMENT

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): My question is to the Minister of Health, and I think it's a very appropriate question in that we have so many young people in the gallery here. This morning I picked up the Toronto Star and I pretty near flipped out when I read that under the consent to treatment law passed yesterday, children are now able to refuse medical treatment, including vaccinations. Madam Minister, are we allowing the children the right to refuse to be vaccinated? I'd like your answer.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I can understand why the member was alarmed, and I'm sure actually a number of parents were alarmed to read that headline. I was alarmed to read that headline. It's big, it's bold and it's wrong. The legislation encodes what currently exists in common law. Existing law doesn't require or compel mentally capable young persons to take health treatment. There hasn't been anything that's changed. Quite frankly, I think to mislead the public in this way is very unfortunate. It also, let me say, is not very accurate in terms of immunizations. In the school immunization program, most children receive those by the age of six. Sixyear-olds are not going to be judged by a doctor to be mentally competent.

I want you to know very clearly that the Ontario Medical Association called us today very concerned. Dr Ted Boadway said very directly that they don't believe that the legislation in any way will change the current practice on obtaining consent for children. So the OMA thinks that the Toronto Star was wrong as well.

Mr Mills: Madam Minister, in the newspaper it says words to the effect that medical practitioners are severely opposed to this and have bitter opposition to this. Are the health care practitioners opposed to this legislation or are they not?

Hon Ms Lankin: That's another thing that was wrong in the article. It said that health care professionals were "bitterly opposed." That's quoting right from the article. The Ontario Medical Association and the Ontario Hospital Association certainly had a number of concerns when the legislation was introduced; there is no doubt about that. We worked with them and with members of the opposition to address those concerns, to provide a number of amend-

ments, and they are very pleased with the changes that were made to the consent-to-treatment legislation.

Again, the doctors called us today and said they don't think the headline was right and they don't think the article was right. Let me tell you, I don't believe that it was right. Quite frankly, they're looking forward to working with the government on implementation of the bills and education of the public. So, to the headline writers of the Toronto Star, I hope that we might get a retraction that's as big and as bold as well.

#### CORONERS' COUNCIL

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): My question is to the Solicitor General. In 1972 the Coroners' Council was established on the recommendation of the Ontario Law Reform Commission. The council's role is to provide an independent forum through which the actions of the coroner can be reviewed. Could you advise the House of the status of this council?

Hon Allan Pilkey (Solicitor General): I'm not aware of any difficulty with respect to the coroner's office except for some public comments about the speed and timeliness of some actions there. If there is some difficulty, I'd be pleased to hear about it.

Mr Curling: Mr Speaker, I hope you heard the Solicitor General.

This thing doesn't even exist. The fact is that recently a young man was tragically killed at York University, and his mother wishes to appeal the chief coroner's decision for an inquiry but does not have an avenue for recourse as the council does not exist.

This council was established, as I said, in 1972. You sat on it, your Premier sat on it and did not appoint a chair of that council. You sat on it and did not appoint any members of the council. Now he says he doesn't know if there is any problem with that. I ask for reassurance from the minister that tomorrow here in the House he will bring back a review of what is happening with the status of the council. Could I ask that of the minister today?

Hon Mr Pilkey: Certainly, the member can ask for a review or status on any items with respect to the coroner. If there is any difficulty in any particular case, I'm quite willing to take it up with Dr Young and respond back to the member on this or any other matter.

### NORTHERN TRANSPORTATION

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): My question is to the Minister of Northern Development. NorOntair's original mandate was to provide scheduled air service to communities where the private sector cannot compete. Over the years, norOntair has expanded its service and currently operates in direct competition with private sector airlines. Could the minister explain why the government continues to subsidize norOntair, in fact last year to the tune of \$3 million, and allows it to utilize predatory pricing practices against the private sector airlines?

Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines): If the member has some examples of predatory pricing, I would like him to raise that with me, because I am not aware of any practice that is undertaken

by the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission in that regard.

I should say to him that the mandate was to provide air service in northern Ontario to many of the communities. The private sector came in after we had been in those communities providing air service, and that occurred because in many cases the private sector did not want to go into the communities because it was not profitable for it to do.

I can tell the member that it is my understanding that at the beginning of December the general manager of ONTC was sitting down to meet with one of the carriers in northwestern Ontario to look at some of the scheduled flights to determine if we could have a rationalization between the public and private sector in northwestern Ontario. But at this point in time we continue to operate in all of the communities. We have been for many years now. If there is a change in that policy and a rationalization occurs, I would certainly advise the members of this House.

Mr Turnbull: Minister, I've anticipated what you were going to say and I'm sending over, at this moment, a current air fare comparison. If you look at it, you'll see the differences in prices from Thunder Bay to Sudbury. NorOntair and private airlines are exactly the same price. Miraculously, when you look at Red Lake to Sudbury, your airline manages to charge \$10 more than from Thunder Bay to Sudbury and yet the private airlines have to charge \$935, almost double.

Minister, what on earth is wrong? This is using taxpayers' money to subsidize the public sector against the private sector. While your Premier trotted around Asia telling people that Ontario was a good place to do business, you, in the meantime, are chiselling away at the private sector.

Hon Miss Martel: It was under the Tory government that the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission was established, and it was established because in many cases the private sector refused to go into many small, remote, northern communities to provide service because the profit was just not there. I don't think that I'm going to apologize for that because many, many northern communities and northern residents have benefited by having access to service that the private sector would not provide.

I said to the member, and I will repeat, that we have entered into discussions with one of the carriers in north-western Ontario because we do believe that a rationalization in service can occur that would be beneficial to all residents of northern Ontario. But I would point out to the member that we will not interrupt or halt our service into remote northern communities without being guaranteed by the private sector that it in fact will provide the service. It is not our intention to leave northerners stranded without air service if the private sector does not want to come in.

# HUNTING AND FISHING IN ALGONQUIN PARK

Mr Daniel Waters (Muskoka-Georgian Bay): My question today is to the Minister of Natural Resources. Last week there was reference made in this House to the second interim hunting agreement signed by the governments of Ontario and the Algonquins of Golden Lake.

Could the minister please clarify the substance of this agreement and how the public was involved in reaching this agreement?

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): I want to thank the member for his question and the chance to correct some misinformation that was brought forward to the House last week.

As you know, we made a commitment of this government to negotiate last year with the Algonquins of Golden Lake. I'm happy to tell all of the members of the House that on Monday of this week the federal Minister of Indian Affairs, the Honourable Tom Siddon, joined me with the chief and council of the people of Golden Lake to indicate that the federal government agrees that these negotiations should proceed and is prepared now to participate in those negotiations.

I should indicate that the agreement with the Algonquins on hunting was arrived at after making a number of consultative approaches, including a number of public meetings and correspondence with many individuals. We sent out over 800 public notices and there were three weeks of time to respond. We consulted with the municipalities and the public input helped us to reach an even better agreement this year than we had last year.

Mr Waters: Maybe at this point, Mr Minister, you could tell us exactly what improvements you did get in this year's agreement over last year's.

Hon Mr Wildman: This year's hunting season has been shortened. We've improved the monitoring of the harvest, and one of the ways we're doing that is that the Algonquins have hired a conservation officer who will be working with them to enforce the rules, particularly in the park area, and that conservation officer will have the status of a deputy conservation officer for the Ministry of Natural Resources as well. This agreement will be reviewed by a coordinating committee which is independent, and again, the results will be made public.

This agreement improves on the one that worked well last year, where the Algonquins took only 34 deer when they were allowed to take 175, and only 47 moose when they were allowed to take 100 in the whole area, the park as well as the area outside the park. This is an example of cooperation and co-management that hopefully we can build on in the future.

1510

# FINANCEMENT DU CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Charles Beer (York-Nord) : Ma question est pour le ministre de l'Éducation. Monsieur le ministre, plus tard aujourd'hui, avec mes collègues de la région d'Ottawa on va soumettre près de 3000 noms sur des pétitions au sujet du Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Cela fait maintenant plus de 14 mois que le Conseil scolaire d'Ottawa-Carleton, le conseil publique francophone, est sous sa tutelle. Maintenant, on sait fort bien que la tutelle n'a pas bien marché, n'a pas fonctionné. En effet, la dette de ce Conseil est maintenant à plus de neuf

millions de dollars en haut de ce qu'elle était avant que vous aviez mis la tutelle en place l'an passé.

La question que l'on pose, Monsieur le ministre — les parents, les professeurs, les étudiants — c'est, quand est-ce que vous allez mettre fin à la tutelle, et quand est-ce que le conseil scolaire va encore avoir la place de diriger les affaires du Conseil pour le bien-être des francophones de la région d'Ottawa-Carleton, Monsieur le ministre, quand?

L'hon Tony Silipo (ministre de l'Éducation): Je suis complètement d'accord avec le député quand il dit que la meilleure chose serait de retourner le plus tôt possible le Conseil scolaire à la direction des conseillers scolaires. Mais il sait sûrement que le problème qu'on a c'est que, pour y arriver, il faut une attitude de coopération entre les conseillers scolaires et M. Léger, qui est maintenant le responsable du le conseil scolaire. Jusqu'au moment où on arrive à avoir un certain niveau de coopération entre les deux côtés, la seule chose que je peux faire comme ministre c'est continuer le Conseil scolaire sous la tutelle où il se trouve maintenant.

M. Beer: Cette réponse n'est pas vraiment acceptable. Encore une fois, Monsieur le ministre, ça fait 14 mois que le Conseil est sous la tutelle. Je pense que n'importe qui devrait dire que ça n'a pas de bon sens que de mettre un conseil sous une tutelle de si longue durée.

Le ministre sait fort bien qu'il y avait une autre option devant le gouvernement que de faire ce qu'on a fait. Simplement, cette option était de nommer quelqu'un du ministère à travailler étroitement avec le Conseil, pas avec le Conseil à côté où le Conseil n'aurait absolument rien à faire sous la direction du conseil pour les parents, pour les professeurs, pour les étudiants. Et c'est ça la grande question.

Donc, je pose la deuxième question, la suivante. Est-ce que vous êtes prêt à mettre la tutelle de côté, à nommer quelqu'un du ministère et afin travailler avec le Conseil et avec le Conseil en place, dès maintenant?

L'hon M. Silipo: La position que j'ai annoncée reste la même. Nous avons déjà essayé de faire ce que l'honorable député nous a indiqué, c'est-à-dire avoir quelqu'un de la part du ministère qui essayerait de travailler avec le Conseil scolaire. C'est en effet le rejet de cette position, de ce processus de la part du Conseil qui nous a enfin apporté vers la tutelle.

Donc, la position reste que, s'il y a une attitude de coopération de la part du Conseil scolaire, une attitude de vouloir travailler avec M. Léger pour en arriver à des solutions, il y en a, des solutions. Il y a dans ces solutions aussi un rôle que le ministère va jouer. Mais ça peut commencer seulement s'il y a cette attitude de coopération de la part du Conseil scolaire. S'ils continuent à résister et à être contraires à toutes sortes de propositions qui sont mises devant eux, alors malheureusement, la situation existante va continuer.

# CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETIES

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): My question is to the Minister of Community and Social Services. Minister, you would be aware that there is a serious crisis facing children's aid societies in this province. They

have mounting deficits and growing demand from the increased numbers of children who are being born in this province who are crack cocaine addicted and the numbers of children who are being born with foetal alcohol syndrome, while the numbers of children who have been sexually and physically abused have grown dramatically in this province.

Yet in that environment and with that understanding of the increased demand and with the understanding that the only people who are there to protect these children are the laws of this province as upheld by your government, I ask you, Minister, why it is that you have cut funding or reduced the levels of funding with both the base funding at a 0.5% increase when transfer agencies received a full 1% and you reduced and will reduce by two thirds the total amount of exceptional circumstance review funding in this province, which is the time-honoured funding mechanism we have to address these increased demands for children who are out there suffering and cannot receive the services.

I remind you, Minister, children's aid societies are in deficit, they have reduced their staff positions by 175 and their cuts total \$13.5 million.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member complete his question, please.

Mr Jackson: Minister, what assurances can you give this House that the offensive priorities, this statement of comparative value for your funding, will be undone in your next announcement with respect to CAS funding in Ontario?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): I'm really pleased to have an opportunity to answer once again the question that the member has asked both in the estimates process and in the House, because I think it is important for people to understand.

First of all, his claim that their funding was reduced from the amount given major transfer payments is not right. We in fact increased the funding by 0.5%, as was done with most of our other agencies. We did direct additional funding to areas of our priority.

The member is indeed right that the exceptional circumstance review way of funding is time-honoured. That doesn't mean it was ever appropriate or that it is at all appropriate since the 1985 changes to Children's Sand Family Services Act.

I have told the member before that part of our plan with the CASs is to develop funding mechanisms that meet the risk factors that are there in communities in a much more appropriate way, and we have developed and tested to the best of our ability thus far a funding structure, a strategic directions document that we expect to be able to release shortly that will give clear direction as to how the dollars under CFSA would be better allocated to meet the changing and diverse needs within the province.

Mr Jackson: Why would I be surprised? The minister isn't listening to my question, because she hasn't been listening to CASs. I said reduced funding levels. You gave a 0.5% increase to women's shelters, you gave a 0.5% increase to CASs that are out there protecting children who are the victims of sexual assault and you gave more money to transfer agencies. The comparative funding levels are

down. That is the offensive set of priorities for your government.

Minister, we have increased demand in this province for children who are vulnerable. I have a case, I cannot mention the child's name, but it's documented from the mother who talked to the CAS and the crown attorney's office. They are unable to proceed with a sexual assault of a two-and-a-half-year-old child. All of it is documented, but to go and talk to the other 12 or 15 children and their families—

1520

The Speaker: Would the member place his supplementary, please.

Mr Jackson: I will, Mr Speaker, but this is a very important issue about a child who's been sexually assaulted in this province, and this government is underfunding the process for that child to get help.

My question is simply this, that there are not hundreds but thousands of children in this province today who are depending on this government not to look at them and to put them at the bottom of a barrel with an 0.5% increase—

The Speaker: Will the member please place his supplementary.

Mr Jackson: —but to provide adequate funding to protect children in this province. Minister, stand in your place and make the promises in this House today about that funding and reiterate your statements from the last election when you—

The Speaker: Will the member take his seat, please.

Hon Mrs Boyd: If the member is suggesting that there is a children's aid society in this province that is not carrying out its mandate, then he needs to give me that information, because they are not working within their mandate. The member knows very well that exceptional circumstance review funding is there to meet the needs of associations that are in that situation—

Mr Jackson: There were 175 people laid off.

The Speaker: Order, the member for Burlington South.

Hon Mrs Boyd: —and if the member has that kind of information, it is his responsibility to let me know so that we can investigate. If it is a mandatory investigation that is not being done, there are dollars to cover that through the exceptional circumstance review. It is not appropriate for the member to suggest that a decision on the part of a children's aid society not to proceed with a case is necessarily to do with funding.

Children's aid societies frequently decide, in conjunction with the crown attorney's department, not to proceed with particular cases, and I would want to know the detail of this case, because I believe very strongly that the member has misrepresented the issue.

**Mr Jackson:** "Let's stop foster parenting so we can do more sexual assault." Is that what you're saying?

The Speaker: The member for Burlington South, come to order.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Relax, just relax. Now, I would ask the honourable minister if she would withdraw the remark.

Hon Mrs Boyd: Yes, Mr Speaker.

# **PETITIONS**

# FINANCEMENT DU CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa-Est) : Cette pétition est adressée à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario :

«Attendu qu'en 1989 le gouvernement de l'Ontario a mis sur pied le Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton sans en préciser les mécanismes de financement;

«Attendu qu'en raison de promesses gouvernementales non tenues, d'un sous-financement de démarrage et de l'inéquité de l'assiette fiscale, les élèves de langue française du secteur public sont injustement pénalisés;

«Attendu que les francophones de l'Ontario, contribuables aux systèmes d'éducation publique et séparée ont droit, selon la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, à des services éducatifs équivalant à ceux de la majorité,

«Nous, soussignés, résidents de l'Ontario, demandons à l'Assemblée législative d'exiger que le gouvernement de l'Ontario rembourse les dettes, plus de 10 millions de dollars, qu'il a contractées aux dépens des francophones de l'Ontario.»

J'y ai affixé ma signature.

#### **GAMBLING**

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I have a petition and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the above-mentioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I support this petition as well.

# MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton): I rise in the House with great pride today to read this petition into the record:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in Parliament assembled:

"We, the undersigned, deplore the passing of Bill 75 into law. We ask that the arbitrator's report be set aside because:

"(1) It does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in the arbitration hearings;

"(2) It is not in the best interests of the area and its residents;

- "(3) It awards too extensive a territory to the city of London;
- "(4) It will jeopardize the viability of the county of Middlesex; and
- "(5) It will allow for the progressive development of prime agricultural land."

It is my great pleasure and honour to affix my name to this petition. Thank you.

# FINANCEMENT DU CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Gilles E. Morin (Carleton-Est): J'ai, au nom du Rassemblement pour l'éducation publique en français, une pétition adressée à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario:

«Attendu qu'en 1989 le gouvernement de l'Ontario a mis sur pied le Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton sans en préciser les mécanismes de financement;

«Attendu qu'en raison de promesses gouvernementales non tenues, d'un sous-financement de démarrage et de l'inéquité de l'assiette fiscale, les élèves de langue française du secteur public sont injustement pénalisés;

«Attendu que les francophones de l'Ontario, contribuables aux systèmes d'éducation publique et séparée ont droit, selon la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, à des services éducatifs équivalant à ceux de la majorité,

«Nous, soussignés, résidents et résidentes de l'Ontario, demandons à l'Assemblée législative d'exiger que le gouvernement de l'Ontario rembourse les dettes, plus de 10 millions de dollars, qu'il a contractées aux dépens des francophones d'Ottawa-Carleton.»

# LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I've got a petition here.

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and recreational vacation land, these areas would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would disrupt the vibrant agricultural communities, the farm families in these areas have continued to invest large sums of money in their farms, these communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump;

"Whereas most of the people of Georgina depend on groundwater for a drinking water supply and a dump would threaten their clean supply of water;

"Whereas Lake Simcoe is the ice-fishing capital of the world; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe's health provides a strong draw for tourists to fish year-round; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump would destroy the local economies of the community;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and to turn it into Metro's and York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew its efforts, to seek alternatives, like waste reprocessing, to landfill and implement progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I affix my name to this petition.

#### **LAYOFFS**

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): This petition is to the Premier and to the members of the Legislative Assembly:

"General Motors' announcement to close the foundry operations in St Catharines, with the resultant loss of 2,300 jobs, adds to the growing devastation of the vital manufacturing sector in the Canadian economy. The spinoff effects will result in four to six lost jobs in other sectors for every job lost in auto. The foundry closure also puts the remainder of the General Motors St Catharines operations in serious jeopardy, which has a total combined employee population of 9,000 hourly and salaried workers.

"I strongly urge the Ontario government to intervene in all possible manner to stop the erosion of jobs and the economic base of our province and, in particular, the Niagara region."

This is signed, and I'm prepared to add my name to it, because I'm in agreement with this petition.

## **RETAIL STORE HOURS**

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): I have a petition signed by several hundred people in my riding, mainly in the town of Belle River. It says:

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of legal holiday in the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"I believe in the need for keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of the society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendments included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter from the definition of legal holiday and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

I affix my signature to it.

# FINANCEMENT DU CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Jean Poirier (Prescott et Russell) : J'ai une pétition de plusieurs centaines de noms du Rassemblement pour l'éducation publique en français. C'est une pétition à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario.

«Attendu qu'en 1989 le gouvernement de l'Ontario a mis sur pied le Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton sans en préciser les mécanismes de financement;

«Attendu qu'en raison de promesses gouvernementales non tenues, d'un sous-financement de démarrage et de l'inéquité de l'assiette fiscale, les élèves de langue française du secteur public sont injustement pénalisés;

«Attendu que les francophones de l'Ontario, contribuables aux systèmes d'éducation publique et séparée ont droit, selon la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, à des services éducatifs équivalant à ceux de la majorité,

«Nous, soussignés, résidents et résidentes de l'Ontario, demandons à l'Assemblée législative d'exiger que le gouvernement de l'Ontario rembourse les dettes, plus de 10 millions de dollars, qu'il a contractées aux dépens des francophones de l'Ontario.»

J'y ai apposé ma signature.

1530

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton): "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society, who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is

expanded; and
"Whereas the New Democratic Party has in the past
vociferously opposed the raising of moneys for the state

"Whereas the New Democratic Party has not consulted the people of Ontario regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos despite the fact that such a decision is a significant change of government policy and was never part of the mandate given to the government by the people of Ontario;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as a means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I affix my signature to it.

through gambling; and

## DRIVERS' LICENCES

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): I'm reading a petition addressed to the Ministry of Transportation of Ontario and to the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada;

"Whereas statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents;

"Whereas it is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions;

"Whereas this is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern; "Therefore, in the interests of saving lives, preventing injury and reducing costs, we urge you to support graduated licensing for new drivers."

There are probably hundreds of signatures on this petition, and I have signed my name and dated it.

# FINANCEMENT DU CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Charles Beer (York-Nord): J'ai une petition signée par au moins 1000 personnes du Rassemblement pour l'éducation publique en français, à l'Assemblée législative de l'Ontario:

«Attendu qu'en 1989 le gouvernement de l'Ontario a mis sur pied le Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton sans en préciser les mécanismes de financement :

«Attendu qu'en raison de promesses gouvernementales non tenues, d'un sous-financement de démarrage et de l'inéquité de l'assiette fiscale, les élèves de langue française du secteur public sont injustement pénalisés;

«Attendu que les francophones de l'Ontario, contribuables aux systèmes d'éducation publique et séparée ont droit, selon la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, à des services éducatifs équivalant à ceux de la majorité,

«Nous, soussignés, résidents et résidentes de l'Ontario, demandons à l'Assemblée législative d'exiger que le gouvernement de l'Ontario rembourse les dettes (plus de 10 millions de dollars) qu'il a contractées aux dépens des francophones d'Ottawa-Carleton.»

J'y appose ma signature.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario signed by many residents of Ottawa-Carleton, including Russ Barton, Archie Campbell, Chris Jackotzy and many others.

"Whereas it is arbitrary and demonstrably unfair to use market value as a basis for property tax assessment in a volatile market such as Ottawa-Carleton; and

"Whereas market value assessment bears no relation to the level of services provided by the municipality; and

"Whereas the implementation of such a measure would work undue hardship on the residents of Ottawa-Carleton, on our long-term home owners, our senior citizens and our tenants; and

"Whereas Ottawa businesses are already paying the highest property taxes in North America and will be devastated by increases of 150% to 250%,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario not to impose market value reassessment on Ottawa-Carleton against the wishes of the people of Ottawa-Carleton, and to consider another method of property tax reform."

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition from citizens of the county of Middlesex who ask that the arbitrator's report be set aside because it does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in arbitration hearings, it is not in the best interests of the residents of the London and Middlesex area, it awards too

extensive a land base to the city of London and it will jeopardize agricultural land and the viability of Middlesex county.

I have signed my name to this petition.

# DRIVERS' LICENCES

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): I'm honoured to present this petition to the Legislature signed by many of my constituents, specifically addressed to the Minister of Transportation. It reads:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. It is in the interests of saving lives, also preventing injuries and also reducing costs, that support for graduated licensing for new drivers is being petitioned."

I affix my name to this petition to be tabled with the Clerk.

#### FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I have a petition to the assembly, the government of Ontario.

"We, the undersigned, feel that the French Language Services Act discriminates against non-French speaking citizens (voters of Ontario)."

It's signed by 200 petitioners from all over the province.

## **NURSING HOMES**

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I have many petitions to the Parliament of Ontario.

"The Rae government is proposing an \$11-a-day increase in nursing home residents payments." That is a 38% increase. "Mr Rae's government feels justified by saying, 'Those targeted are able to afford it.' This increase is unconscionable and is aimed at a helpless and vulnerable group. The Minister of Health, under the NDP government, can push this through before the public realizes what has happened. We don't want this to go through without proper consultation. The people involved must be adequately consulted.

"We say no to this proposal."
To this I have affixed my signature.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY

LONG TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The Minister of Community and Social Services had the floor when we broke last night.

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): I won't take the whole 20 minutes I have left. I just have a few more comments I need to make in terms of some of the comments of our members on this side of the House as well as members opposite.

I think the petition that was just entered into the record of the Legislature raises some of the questions that are of most concern to some of the vulnerable people who are in nursing homes, homes for the aged or charitable homes for the aged, that we need to be addressing.

That member who introduced the petition suggested in it that there had not been consultation in terms of the way in which nursing homes and homes for the aged fees ought to be based, and of course that's incorrect, given the extensive kind of consultation that has been held throughout the province on this issue.

It is important for the people of Ontario to understand that the increase in the charge is an increase in the basic board and lodging portion of the charge only, and that if a person is unable to pay, based not on a means test, as the previous government had suggested, which would have taken into account all assets of the individual, but on an income test that talks about the income that person is actually bringing in at the time the income test is done, then that person would have the charges changed to meet the income level.

#### 1540

Certainly, if a person is receiving the guaranteed income supplement from the federal government, it is clear that there is a limited ability to pay, and if a person is unable to pay that full per diem amount for accommodation, the charge would be reduced or eliminated.

It is also important to note that many of those who would be paying the new fee of \$37 a day are currently paying a great deal more, because there is a charge for many of the services that are now being offered in those facilities that we would not allow to be chargeable under the new system.

It is very important also to understand that these acts will enable the government to ensure that if there is over-charging for any of the services that are offered by homes—for accommodation, for additional services such as hairdressing, particularly different services that might be offered on a discretionary basis—this legislation would give the government the ability to recover those charges from the nursing home and return those dollars to the individuals involved.

That is an improvement in the situation that has been demanded from time to time, certainly by us as an opposition party but also by other members in both of the other parties. It is very important for those of us who have loved ones who are in facilities and for those who are in facilities themselves to know that there is some recourse when in fact overcharging does occur, and we think that's one of the most important changes that this bill would make.

The issue of vulnerability has been raised a number of times, and certainly the vulnerability of people in facilities has been an ongoing concern for us in this party and continues to be, I believe, given what we heard during the consultation, a major concern of most people who are interested in the issue of long-term care in the province.

We would have under this legislation the ability to ensure that the nature of the care, the quality of the care that is offered to people in long-term care facilities meets a standard that is clear, that is clearly set out to the resident himself or herself, as well as to the family of that resident, and that in fact there would be a required and posted plan of care. There would be a quality assurance portion to the kind of care planning that would be done that would give some of that confidence, and there would be appeal mechanisms if people had concerns about care.

Naturally, the Advocacy Act, which we passed yesterday, is an important component of our assurance of quality care and safety to residents, because we now would have not only the assurance of the contractual agreement that is in place between a long-term care facility and the funding government, but also an ability to monitor that and to ensure in fact that vulnerable adults had the services of the advocates if problems should arise. We believe that's an important improvement and one which I think will give added assurance to those of us who have loved ones who are either seniors or are physically disabled and require care in long-term care facilities.

In closing, I would emphasize that these changes that are included in Bill 101 are only the beginning of the long continuum of legislative, regulatory and program changes that will be required to bring into full force the full vision of long-term care, as the Minister of Health, I know, will be announcing in the very near future.

We are introducing this bill at this time because it is very important that we bring some financial stability to those who are providing care within the facilities in our communities. There have been many complaints over a long period of time about underfunding. It is very important for us to be moving ahead so that in fact we are able to go to committee and have the concerns raised in an atmosphere that enables us to strengthen the bill, if that is required, that enables us to answer some of the concerns that have been raised, and of course gives us another chance to have the input of the whole community.

We do want to move ahead, because we as well as the opposition members have expressed concern about further erosion in the availability of service. That is certainly not our intention or something we believe will naturally flow from this act. We believe very strongly that this will strengthen the facility sector so that it is there when it is necessary.

But we re-emphasize to the people of the province of Ontario that although facilities are part of the continuum of care, part of the kind of intervention we must have at some points in people's lives, they are only part of that care. We have put far too much emphasis on facility care for those who need long-term care and we need to be looking at the way in which to maintain people longer in the community, and to move people who have not been able to enjoy independent living within the community into the community in order to attain a truly healthy society that is fulfilling for them.

We look forward very much to moving forward in the new year with additional elements of the long-term care vision. We are hopeful that our move in this area, which fulfils some of our concerns around stabilized funding, around the kind of care of individuals, and particularly, of course, as I mentioned last evening, for our ministry, our ability to flow funds to individuals so that they can plan their own care in a self-sufficient and independent way, that these changes will show a significant beginning and give a clear message to those who have been concerned about long-term care that we intend to move ahead with enthusiasm on our plans.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for her contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I was interested in hearing the minister speak last night with respect to the direct funding pilot project, which the Minister of Health assured us in estimates committee would have taken place last autumn. Last night, the Minister of Community and Social Services indicated that it did not occur because no one responded to a call with respect to the pilot project.

I wonder if she could clarify that. How were applications solicited? What parameters were placed on a pilot? What other organizations were contacted to be part of it? It seems to me that it's a singularly important part for the disabled community for that pilot to go ahead, and I would have thought that if nothing occurred kind of naturally with respect to proceeding with the pilot, the minister would have indeed encouraged their application for participation with specific organizations and groups, and maybe even underwritten them. I certainly would like to hear more from the minister in the time of her response as to why that pilot didn't proceed.

The other aspect I think many of us are interested in knowing, and several members have referred to it, is if the minister could clarify if it will be the federal test, which is automatically used to provide an indication of when an income supplement or supplementary assistance or maximum payment would be made, or what other process will be implemented.

I think we all want to pursue, and I'm running out of time here, the question of the charges not allowed for those institutions where existing contracts are already in place for accommodation which is more extensive or luxurious than would be the system for the average person in longterm care.

1550

**The Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The member for Brampton South.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Not questions or comments; I'm participating.

The Speaker: Then the minister has up to two minutes to respond.

Hon Mrs Boyd: I'm pleased to respond to the member. I want her to know that I think she misunderstood what I was saying last night. I did indicate to her that I have had many individuals who have applied to me, asking

me to take action to ensure that individualized funding is available. The action we are taking in the act gives us the legislative authority to do that.

When the Minister of Health spoke of pilot projects, we thought there might be a way in which we could do that funding without changing the legislation, because we knew we weren't ready to change all the legislation until we had done the survey on the levels of care. Unfortunately, our legal advice was that in order to flow individual funding it was necessary for us to do the legislative change. That's what we are doing, and as soon as we have the legislative authority to do so, we will be doing that.

I should tell the member that those who have requested individualized funding are very interested in being part of the design of the criteria for any kind of pilot project, and we have made commitments to those groups that indeed we would want to be doing that in partnership with them, because we consider self-advocates to be the experts on their own care.

In the other question the member asked, generally speaking in the area of seniors, the guaranteed income supplement has been used as one of the means to determine ability to pay, but it may not be the only one. There may be other reasons. What we are saying is that part of the measure would be based on the income that is actually available to the person to pay for his residential charges. Yes, additional luxurious accommodation might be allowed, but we now have the ability to ensure that there is no overcharging for that, that in fact there is a regulation of how much can be charged for additional accommodation.

Mr Callahan: I am pleased to participate in this debate. I waited till midnight last night. I thought I would get on, but I didn't. I thought I was going to be the test pattern.

As I said last night and as I say again, I think all members of the House are interested in ensuring that long-term care, particularly for our seniors, and also our disabled, is of the finest quality. That was recognized by our government, the Liberal government, I think even starting in about 1986 and perhaps 1989.

I can recall that I chaired the select committee on health. We were examining this question. I recall sitting on a couple of other committees where many of the measures that are already in place to ensure that nursing homes and retirement homes would allow a resident to be fully informed, or to have his loved ones fully informed, of just what they were letting themselves in for were the order of the day. They had to be posted so that people knew fully what the rules were.

There's no question as well that in the past there have been incidents of nursing homes and retirement homes that were almost out of the middle ages. There were people there who were infirm and not able to look after their own needs who really required the assistance of government.

I have no difficulty with reform of long-term care, because I think we're dealing with people who, in the main, are not able to look after themselves, who have actually provided a great deal to this province and who now should be allowed to live in care and dignity in their golden years. They should be able to live that out as long as possible in their own homes with the appropriate support.

The difficulty I have—I'm not trying to be pejorative and I'm not dropping the other shoe—is that a lot of this that we're debating here and discussing is reminiscent of the days when the former Conservative government decided that it would be so much more sensitive and meaningful to let people out of institutions, close all the institutions and let them out. It was certainly a statement that was endorsed by all sensitive thinking people, but unfortunately, in doing that they let them out on to the street, and we are seeing today the net result of that.

We see people who are unfortunate enough to be wandering our streets, many of them schizophrenics, many of them suffering from other mental illnesses, and I have to say to myself, as I see them lying on the street or out in the cold or on the grates of a subway or whatever, or huddling, as I saw one poor soul as I was walking along Wellesley Street, against a pipe that emitted hot air from one of the posh health clubs, was that really a good idea? Were we being sensitive in terms of dealing with that issue in that way before we had in place alternative measures to adequately deal with every one of those poor souls? The government of the day—as I say, I can't criticize them, because I think they were trying to take a step forward and to be more sensitive to the needs of those people. Obviously, they thought they'd planned for it, but they hadn't.

What we saw were these people I just related, or the unfortunates we see, not just in Toronto, but we're seeing them all over this province. I find that really difficult to deal with, and I'm sure any caring—and I think we are caring—members of this House would find that very difficult to deal with.

Why do I raise that issue? I hope both ministers will appreciate that I'm not trying to come at this from a totally negative aspect, believe me. I'm just concerned as to whether or not we are taking the right approach that is going to allow for us to properly have in place the appropriate procedures, the appropriate programs, the appropriate alternatives, once we do some of the things that I feel and I interpret this bill as doing.

I know this bill is not the totality. I know that there will be, hopefully, and I think there will be, further moves in terms of long-term care that will perhaps address the chronic care issue, but I do have some concerns because, number one, as a matter of fairness, we are in an economy which does not give the Treasurer much room to manoeuvre. I don't think anybody believes the economy is going to get any better in the next year or two. It's probably going to get worse, which means that if the figures aren't right, if the moneys we're planning on expending on alternative programs are not right, we are creating perhaps a similar scenario to what the Conservative government of the day, with all the best intentions in the world, created.

I don't know. I don't think any member of this House, of whatever political stripe, would possibly want to be the architect of that type of program and then revisit it maybe four or five years down the line and say: "My God, what did we do? Where did we go wrong?" I guess the reason I'm a Liberal, as opposed to being a Conservative or a member of the New Democratic Party, is that I like a foot

in both camps. I like a foot in the camp of free enterprise, which means that "profit" is not a dirty word, and I like a foot in the other camp to say that I'm concerned about those people—

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): That's a different way of saying "sitting on the fence."

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): Are you a dipper, Bob?

Mr Callahan: I'm a hybrid. I'm concerned about those people who can't help themselves. I think that's a definition of a Liberal, really. It's probably a definition of a red Tory too.

That's why I have to address the issue, and I think it's of some importance, that as we strive to achieve what is one of the more admirable parts of this long-term reform, and it was one that was started by the Liberal government in 1989, which was to introduce level-of-care funding into nursing homes and charitable municipal homes for the aged—that was the aim; that was the direction. I can remember there were discussions about 1.5 hours, how many hours you need to look after someone who's disabled. It was kind of like, if you didn't come up with the magic formula, then the person got either too much or too little care, and perhaps it created difficulties in the homes in terms of these people being treated humanely.

I have no difficulty with that at all. It's going to be a costly endeavour, but I think it certainly would meet the concerns I would have.

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But when one looks at the situation at the present time, the for-profit operations, certainly of nursing homes and retirement homes, look after a considerable number of people. In fact, if my information is correct—and I'm trying to find it—they service something in the neighbourhood of 100,000 people. If that's wrong, when I get to it I'll correct it. They create jobs, they create a choice for people, and what's going to happen to these people if in fact they start to be phased out? This really, in a sense, may not be specifically spelled out in this act, there may be nobody out there saying that's going to happen, but if you reduce the cost of people who are paying \$100 a week down to \$37, unless there's going to be some sort of subsidy for these for-profit homes, what do you think is going to happen to them? They're going to get out of the business. It's going to be almost a mirror image of what's taking place with reference to day care.

I think if you people over there in the government looked in your heart of hearts, you'd realize that by putting the for-profit day care people out of business without creating an equal number of not-for-profits to cover the shortfall results in two things. First of all, it takes away the right of choice of a parent, and secondarily, it takes away the possibility of there being ample spaces to provide for these young children.

Similarly, and perhaps even an equal, if not a greater, matter of concern, you could potentially have seniors who would have no place to go. Already in my riding I find this one of the most difficult things to deal with. Because of the high cost of housing, people have moved from the inner

cities to the outer areas. They're moving out into the countryside. The net result is, they want to bring their parents, who maybe are living in the city, out to where they are. So a community such as mine, which was, I guess, at the outset quite a young community, is now growing to have a large demand by seniors, and that's happening as a result of seniors moving out on their own and seniors moving out to be with their grandchildren and with their children.

Trying to get them accommodations in a retirement home or a nursing home is very difficult, particularly since in most nursing homes and retirement homes, if the person is not ambulatory, he has to leave. They don't have the facilities to deal with that.

If I'm correct that the net result of this legislation will be to remove from the province of Ontario, either totally or to a large degree, those services that are now being provided for profit, I have grave concerns, because what we're doing is creating a scenario for self-destruction of our seniors.

Who's going to pick up the shortfall? Who's going to pick up the gap? You as government can't, and if we or the Conservatives were the government we couldn't, and because of the tremendous downturn in the economy it's going to be even more difficult. I urge you to look at that, because I think that's a very significant fact.

What kind of guarantees, if this happens, are you going to give to the some 20,000 employees who perhaps will be laid off? What alternatives will be available for them? Are you going to retrain them? Are you going to provide some sort of bureaucratic board to do that, to retrain them? I suggest you won't be able to do that. I'd really want to look at that.

I want to go into a second part, and it was something that I raised last night which gave me serious concern. I've looked at this bill and it does not say an awful lot. Most of the provisions in this act are done by regulation, and I keep saying that the people of this province should be aware of the fact that a regulation—I think in Ottawa they called it "the silent law" because it never comes before this Legislature—is made by the cabinet. That's the 20 or 25 people in the cabinet. They're the people who say what that regulation will be. It never sees the light of day. It never comes before this House; it's never tested by anyone; it's simply made by the people in cabinet.

I'm not suggesting the people in cabinet are not honest and honourable people; they are. But when you limit the decision-making process on a regulation to just a select number of people, you in fact cheat the electors of this province. The electors of this province elected 130 of us to represent them. They elected us in a democratic process for us to be able to appear in the House and speak to these matters and to perhaps address some piece of legislation that we didn't consider appropriate or introduce some innovative measure that perhaps had escaped the view of those 10 or 20 or 30 people in cabinet. That never happens, and I think the people of Ontario have to know that; they have to understand that it really is legislation by edict, and I don't mean that in a pejorative way, because that's the way this Parliament works. So in fact what happens is you have a very narrow, concentrated approach.

Just to give the people who are viewing some idea as to what some of these items are that will be done by regulation—and this is for all three areas; this is charitable institutions, nursing homes and retirement homes. I have to say that in the eight years I've been in this Legislature, this act contains more lawmaking by regulation than any one I've ever seen before. Usually, you have what is called a basket clause, where the Lieutenant Governor in Council, ie, the cabinet—it sounds very highfalutin. The Honourable Mr Jackman doesn't come down from his office and declare these; it's done by cabinet. That's what "order in council" means: regulation made on order in council.

But what does it cover? Eligibility criteria for entry to these places will be determined by regulation. What does that mean? Does that mean that as the economy shifts and as the pressures become greater on the Treasurer of this province, which no doubt they will, he's going to say to his cabinet colleagues, "Well, the eligibility criteria up to this point was for people of this category, but because we're short on bucks, we're now going to change the category."? I think the seniors deserve better than that; I think people who are disabled deserve better than that. They deserve the right, as every citizen of this province does, to have definitive measures made that they can pursue in terms of whether they're in the right or in the wrong or whether they are entitled to the service or not entitled to the service.

Regulation also provides for definitions of nursing care. So if you had a nice definition of nursing care that was very comfortable and warm and cosy and a person thought he could live with, and some things happened—and I have to speak to the question of economics, because that seems to be the most pressing issue we have in this province these days—then perhaps the definition of nursing care will be changed, and it could be changed like that. It doesn't take a long time, just a cabinet decision, just like that. So you could be in a nursing home, under a definition of nursing care that had certain criteria to it which you were comfortable with, and like that, down in the cabinet room, that could be changed.

Accommodation is also done by regulation. So again, accommodation could be changed like that. Basic accommodation changed like that; preferred accommodation like that; short-stay accommodation like that; required types of accommodation, care, services, programs and goods to be offered to residents changed like that. Required bed capacities can be changed like that, and it goes on and on. If anybody wanted to read through it, he would find that they are constantly talking about the question of regulation.

I recommend to all members of the House a very interesting article on regulations that was done by a former colleague of mine, David Fleet, who was the member for High Park-Swansea. He made it as the Chairman of the standing committee on regulations and private bills. It's absolutely superb, and it's one that you might want to pick up and run by the cabinet members of your government, because I think it's something that's coming. People are tired of what worked in parliamentary systems before, where you could slide something through by regulation. So I recommend that to you for reading.

The other concern I have about this bill is the question of the impacts it may have on the services that are provided at the present time by a whole host of organizations: Meals On Wheels, Victorian Order of Nurses, St Elizabeth nurses and so on. The numbers go on in great quantities.

This bill really reflects what we were doing. We were going to consult with these groups, but this bill gives a whole new name to it. It's called "service coordinators agency." The government of the day has clearly stated that this will be a new board, a new institution, a new bureaucracy.

With the limited amount of dollars we have in this society, I would want to be sure that the totality of those dollars was going to the quality of these programs as opposed to having to create another bureaucracy that's going to take some of that money away and not allow that service to be provided in a class fashion.

In fact, I think that's what's going to happen here. These people provide over nine million hours of health and homemaking services to almost 100,000 people in this province. Approximately 45.5% of homemaking services funded by the government are provided by these agencies. Commercial services are available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and supplement the 9-to-5, Monday-to-Friday schedule which is provided by not-for-profit agencies. So if you eliminate those or you dissuade them, who's going to cover that gap?

About one half of the workforce works part-time, taking advantage of flexible schedules. I think this is important because this government has espoused being very much concerned about the working conditions, as was our government, of women. The workforce is almost 100% female, with a high proportion of visible minorities, again another concern of this government, yet here is a possibility of them being out.

Management is almost all female. Many owners are entrepreneurial women. That was similar to the situation in day care. I met with a lot of for-profit day care operators and they were, in the main, women. The reason the commercial sector has grown is because the not-for-profit sector has not met, and still is not able to meet, the demand—a clear situation.

The government will kill these operators by simply not giving the private sector any new business. This has already been stated in writing to the Ottawa-Carleton region, and by funding pay equity costs for the not-for-profit sector but not to commercial agencies.

This won't meet the government policy calling for more, not less, home care. This is the attempt of the government, and was the attempt of our government, to ensure that people could stay in their homes for a longer period of time with dignity. If I'm correct that this bill is going to sway the playing field in favour of the not-for-profit, then all of these things will come true. Rather than having more home care, we will have less, and we may very well find ourselves forced back to an institutional setting just as before.

Manitoba took a course of action, similar to what this government has taken, about a decade ago. Having modelled all home care services into the not-for-profit sector, they're

now asking the private sector to re-enter the field. A senior adviser has said that it is because of the extreme inefficiency and rigidity which has developed due to bureaucracy and unionization. That's Manitoba. Manitoba's going back. They're trying to bring back the entrepreneurs to supplement the not-for-profit providers.

Surely, we should learn something from mistakes made in the past. The mistake I started out with was about the deinstitutionalization of people who are disabled in terms of mental disabilities. We let them out and they're still wandering the streets and there's no service for them. We went one step further during the accord. The present government of the day and the Conservative Party voted for amendments to the Mental Health Act which literally denied the parents of schizophrenics any possibility of ever being able to have their loved one take his or her medication and be well, as opposed to wandering the streets of Canada.

That is one thing I will never forgive those two governments for. There aren't a lot of things I wouldn't forgive you for, but I'll never forgive you for that. If that's not rectified by the Minister of Health before this government goes to the next election, then you people should not be able to sleep very soundly, having these young people out there.

Those are the people you're seeing wandering the streets of Toronto and wandering the streets of other communities, usually being ignored by other people because they may look a little different: They've got a beard or their clothes are scruffy or whatever. Those are the young people who perhaps have gone to university. Those are the young people who parents love and can't get back to.

If you've gotten nothing at all out of what I'm saying about long-term care, I would ask you to urge the Minister of Health and her cabinet colleagues to take these steps. If they're concerned about David Reville who—David was a very strong supporter of this amendment that took place that I was referring to. I remember bringing a private member's bill into this House, and after I spoke to David about the repercussions of those changes to the Mental Health Act, David voted for my private member's bill. I think David recognized that his efforts to eliminate what was absolutely horrendous treatment of mentally ill people, with shock treatments and all the rest of it, had no bearing whatsoever on a situation where a person can take medication and through that medication can stabilize his or her condition and live a reasonably normal life.

I was really surprised to see in the bills we dealt with the other night, the consent to treatment and the alternative decision-making, that the Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics signed off before they got that commitment from the minister. I'm really concerned about that. I don't know why they did it, whether somebody twisted their arm or what, but I was really concerned to see that happen. It shouldn't have. I guess they figured they got as much as they could get, really.

As to the effects of some of the things that are being suggested—I'm predicting and I think it's probably a fair prediction—home care will be provided by unionized public servants. The quality and quantity of home care will be seriously reduced, leaving the redirected long-term care

system unable to meet the demand and leaving consumers without the availability of service. The efficiency of the system will be reduced by a public service, bureaucratic administration. Consumers will lose their right to choose what kind of service they want and who they want to deliver it for them. Although some of these workers who would be laid off from the for-profit operations may be hired by the not-for-profit sector, there'll be large-scale job dislocation and job loss.

Finally, as I wind down to the end of my time—by the way, which time I find goes very quickly. I suppose it's one of those things that results from the change of the rules in this House that limited the democratic rights of the people who elected me to allow me to represent them adequately.

In any event, there are seniors who are having financial difficulties. We have to look after them. Also, I would suggest, because of the real estate market and, I have to say, the outrageous increases in the value of homes and so on, many of these seniors, when they sold their homes—

Mr Tilson: No more.

**Mr Callahan:** No, no more, but many of these seniors who sold their homes, the seniors today, made a few dollars and they chose to live in accommodations where perhaps they were paying \$100 a week. Now you tell me what's going to happen when senior citizen X, who up to this point has been very comfortable where he or she is, is told, "Well, sorry, we're closing the doors and you are now going to go to some other place," or let's say-I hope this isn't the case, but I'm sure it is the case in some instances—the family, the children, decide: "Well, mum and dad have got a bit of money. We don't want to have to spend \$100 a week at this place, so we'll move them into the other category, just so we save the money and it'll be passed on to us," or perhaps mum and dad believe that they want to pass this money on to their children so they decide to go into the less costly accommodation.

My advice, and I've had real scenarios like that, to these young people who come in and say that to me has been: "Look, your mother and father earned that money. It's their money to spend. They should spend it and not leave it to you, and they should be able to live in the dignity to which their assets make it available for them to live."

1620

I think in a sense what we're doing is we're taking away that choice. I don't think many of the people on the back bench necessarily believe that, but I think if you talk to the people in cabinet, you'll find that the discussions kind of went along that line. They went along the line analogous to day care, that government does it best and we don't want people out there who are going to do it for profit because they're the people who do it badly, that they're the people who perhaps were the ones who in the past were the scoundrels.

That's not the case at all. We've got some marvellous facilities in my community of Brampton South. We have at least three nursing homes. I referred one to the minister which is absolutely superb and I've recommended that she go out and take a look at it. I know Murray Elston, the

member for Bruce, when he was the Minister of Health, saw it, and had he continued to be the minister I think that may very well have become the model for accommodations, particularly for seniors.

It had three buildings. The senior moved from the apartment of independent living. They just had to walk through a hallway and they were into a place where they could get a little more help, perhaps a meal here and there, and when they became chronically ill they went into the final wing. It was less traumatic for a senior than to be moved perhaps across the city. It's particularly significant in the case of people who are from other ethnic backgrounds. The traumatic situation of being a senior and being in a facility and then being moved to an entirely different one has to be absolutely catastrophic.

I'm really pleased that I've had an opportunity to share a few comments on this legislation. I look forward to it in committee, and although I don't think I'm on that committee, I will certainly make every effort to sit in on it, because I think we're looking at the most fragile and the most deserving group of people society has, and that's our elderly. We're also looking at those people who perhaps aren't elderly but they're disabled, people who need our protection.

I hope that the bill that comes out of this will be one that's sensitive to meet those needs and that we will not look back one day, as I suggested perhaps we do now with the deinstitutionalization of those who had mental disabilities, and say—

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Thank you.

Mr Callahan: —we did it, but we didn't provide any alternatives.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Your time has expired. Are there any questions or comments?

Mr Tilson: I'd like to congratulate the member for Brampton South on his comments on a topic I know all of us are concerned about, and that is the care, particularly, of our elderly and our seniors.

I think that obviously the philosophy of this government that seems to be coming forward is that if you can afford it, you should be paying for it. I noticed, for example, the Minister of Housing in the House, and I look at some of her philosophies, specifically in housing, whether it be rent controls or non-profit housing. The contradiction is rather unusual, because when you look at the philosophies that are going through in that particular ministry as opposed to the cutbacks for the elderly, the people who need it, the people who have gone through the Depression, who have seen untold experiences that most of us, if not all of us, in this House have never experienced—I certainly listen to stories of what people experienced during the Depression and it certainly was sad, and now those people are in their senior years and are being asked to pay more.

The member for Brampton South is quite right. Do they have the funds to do it? I congratulate him for raising that issue, because that is the real issue for seniors today: Where are they going to find the dollars to live under the philosophy of this government?

Mr Paul Wessenger (Simcoe Centre): I listened with interest to the comments of the member for Brampton South, and certainly there appear to be some comments he made that are not in line with my understanding of the long-term care policy, and in particular his comments indicating that our government had a policy of deinstitutionalization or closing beds in the institutional sector with respect to long-term care.

That is not the case. Certainly, we do feel we have a sufficient number of beds overall. However, it's clearly recognized that we have a maldistribution of beds within the province of Ontario. In fact, even within my own constituency we have a maldistribution of beds, with a lack of beds in two urban communities, my own urban community and the one to the north, and then to the west they have a surplus. There certainly needs to be a rationalization of the system within Ontario.

Secondly, I'd like to say that, really, creating the support within the community to allow people to give that consumer choice to stay within the community I think is very important and a policy which even his government was very supportive of, this aspect of supporting individuals in the community.

The member also made a comment critical of the service coordination agency. That was a proposal in the discussion paper, but after the consultation it was discarded, for the simple reason it was felt to be too bureaucratic, was creating another level of bureaucracy. Our government, in moving to the multiservice agencies model, which involves both provider and placement service functions all in one, I think has a much more efficient model.

As far as the level of services is concerned, I'm certainly very pleased to see integrated homemaking services provided to communities, such as my own, which don't have it now.

Mrs Sullivan: I want to commend the member for Brampton South for bringing some issues forward that link in from our past experience with the deinstitutionalization of psychiatric patients, which I know Mr Callahan cares a great deal about, and looking at the issues associated with a balance of facility-based care and home care.

We know demographically that with in-home care, the primary care giver tends to be a member of the family. In many cases now we're moving to a situation where that primary care giver is herself, if I may say so, approaching, if she has not already reached, senior citizen status. Frequently, we see in a private home the 70-year-old daughter or daughter-in-law caring for the 90-year-old mother. I think that as we move from the psychiatric deinstitutionalization experience into home care situations, we have to look at some of those very personal sociological issues that surround home care delivery.

Although Mr Callahan referred to the service coordination agencies, clearly the new words are multiservice agencies and the concept has changed a bit. But he did raise questions about the place of those agencies which are now established in a community involving care givers, along

with very heavy, intense, volunteer activity. I think some of the concepts we're going to have to explore as we're looking in the public hearing process are what kind of a change this will mean to the social fabric in our communities, not only in our small towns but in our large cities as well. The Red Cross, the VON, by example, have separate identities, separate volunteer organizations, separate support links, and seeing them all merged together may become problematical.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I appreciate the comments that have been made by the speaker from Brampton South and I think he raises issues, like other members have, that require clarification during the public hearings process. I look forward to his monitoring that and encourage him to take part in discussions where we can exchange ideas around this, because quite frankly I think there are answers to most of the concerns he has raised.

On the last point that was picked up on by the Health critic from the Liberal Party with respect to comprehensive multiservice agencies, I think issues around identity and volunteerism and all of those need to be addressed as we are doing the community development work in each community, and it will look something different, but again I stress to the people who are involved in the debate here that it actually has nothing to do with this piece of legislation and the public hearings that will be held on this legislation.

On the issue with respect to the continuum of care and the concerns about how many places we have in our facilities for people who need these services, the frail elderly, for example, I think the kind of funding mechanism we're putting in place and some of the guarantees around service contracts for client care will improve the situation in terms of ensuring those people are getting that care. At the other end, out in the community, we are building services to help people who might not require going into a facility but would have no other choice if those community services weren't there.

The thing that has always been missing, however, in terms of the spectrum of care, is the piece in the middle—you talked about it in terms of your example from Brampton—the progressive housing, supportive housing models. Our overall long-term care plan proposes to have supportive housing as part of the continuum of care.

1630

Mr Callahan: I'd like to thank all members for in many cases, I think, overly kind words about what I said. I just wanted to refer to a comment that was made by the member for Simcoe Centre about the fact that there was no elimination of beds. They are frozen. That's not a criticism. I can understand that with the economy being the way it is.

But you recognize that people over the age of 65 make up almost 11% of Ontario's population and account for roughly 40% of hospital admissions, and the number of people over the age of 65 is expected to double in the next thirty years. By the year 2030 seniors will make up 23% of Ontario's population. The number of people over the age

of 85, the most intensive users of health care resources, is growing even faster. The Canadian Medical Association found that in 1987 seniors made up only 10% of the population but accounted for 40% of health expenditures. I hope that this will be the next shoe that drops, that there will be a provision for caring for those people who are chronically ill.

If you've ever had the experience of trying to get someone into a chronic care facility, more often than not, because of the overcrowdedness, a chronic care facility that's often suggested by the social worker at the hospital is one which is really inappropriate for that person's needs.

I know that personally because I had a constituent whom they suggested be sent to, I think, St John's chronic hospital, which was a place where you had to get out of bed so they could make it in the morning. This person was dying of cancer. She was terminal and she was not able to get out of the bed at all. Having sent that person to that particular chronic facility would have been an absolute travesty.

I'm looking forward to the finalization or the further carrying out of this in terms of chronic care, because I think that's the next step in terms of the aging process.

Mr Tilson: I wish to make a few comments today on the second reading of this bill, which is to amend certain acts concerning long-term care. I think that long-term care, as I indicated in my response to the member for Brampton South, is certainly an issue that concerns all of us. We've been waiting for this government to introduce legislation since first it came into power.

The minister has just made some comments to the member for Brampton South on some of the comments that have been raised by the members of the opposition, in particular that those comments really have nothing to do with this particular piece of legislation. She's right, she's absolutely right that some of the comments that are being raised on this side of the House don't have anything to do with this piece of legislation. But it's for that very reason that they're being raised, that these are issues of very grave concern to the people of Ontario. I guess the question we're asking is, why aren't they being dealt with in this legislation?

The minister shrugs her shoulders and says, "I suppose they'll be dealt with in the public hearings," and we'll be looking forward to further development on that. But with respect to some of the concerns that we on this side have, of course one of them has been that we really don't know the details of the new funding arrangements. Perhaps that will be revealed as time goes on in the public hearings, but at this stage we don't know what that means.

Long-term care applies to a whole slew of things. It deals with rehabilitation hospitals, chronic care and some of the issues that have been raised in social services recently. I realize the issue of sheltered workshops isn't within this minister's portfolio, but it is an issue of grave concern to the people of Ontario and people on this side. The chronic care role study is due now and we're waiting for the minister to deal with that issue as time progress, because at this stage she hasn't done that.

With respect to the slashing of the social services budget—and again I know the minister will say that has nothing to do with this bill, but it does; it has to do with long-term care. I would like to comment very briefly on a subject that has to do with that, and that is with respect to the cutting of the social services budget. Most of the cuts recently from the social services budget will affect people who receive assistance as part of the ministry's commitment to keeping the elderly and the handicapped out of institutions and in the community. That is a concern.

The support, particularly for the mentally retarded and the post-21-age mentally retarded, has always been a need, and it appears that with this government's philosophy, that is not going to continue; hence the fear of the phasing out of the sheltered workshop issue.

There has been some reference to that, particularly with the rally that went on in Queen's Park several weeks ago, back in the latter part of November. There was a rally that the Ontario Association for Community Living conducted. They held a media conference, they had a rally dealing with some of the concerns with the policies of the Minister of Community and Social Services and specifically the cutbacks that are being undertaken by that particular ministry.

This lobby was planned in response to a number of cuts in programs for persons with developmental disabilities, and they continue to remain concerned. They believe that the cuts will have a devastating impact on the provisions of supports to people with developmental disabilities.

One of the issues that surfaced in my riding and is surfacing all around this province is the Ontario government phasing out of sheltered workshops. I have been contacted by at least one constituent in this regard, and I understand that the workshop in Collingwood has already been eliminated.

I have a constituent who is very concerned. She has a 21-year-old son who at present works in The Joinery in Orangeville. This workshop provides shelter workers with a sense of self-worth and purpose in their lives, and there don't appear, with the phasing out of these workshops, to be any alternatives in place with respect to the future of these disabled adults.

I guess the government has spoken. They're bringing in another plan, but we have yet to hear what that is. So again, we don't hear in this bill, Bill 101, any reference to where the rehabilitation hospitals and chronic care facilities are fitting into the long-term care strategy.

One of the specific areas that gives me concern when you're talking about long-term care—and I think the subject of long-term care we generally speak of is the concern with the elderly—but there is one subject this bill does not deal with, and that is people who have certain diseases. I really question what we're going to do, because there seems to be a philosophy that they should be cared for more at home. In other words, get them out of the hospitals because they simply don't have the funding. It's a change of philosophy that probably started with the Liberals and is continuing with this government.

One of the topics that I can speak about with some authority and that I don't believe this government is ad-

dressing specifically with its long-term care philosophy is the subject of the disease ALS, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. That is a disease that hits people of all ages. It generally happens to people of middle age.

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My father sustained that disease recently and passed away a year ago. I can tell you, I can see at first hand that he was lucky. Because he was at the age of 88 he was able to be put in a nursing home and cared for. But if you're middle-aged or if you're young or if you're a teenager—and there are situations where people have sustained that disease at that early age—where are you going to go? Who's going to look after you?

If they're looked after at home, I can tell you that the hardships, not only of that individual who has that disease but the hardships on the family, are rather devastating. This bill does not address that subject, nor does there appear to be any legislation in the foreground that this government is

dealing with to deal with that specific disease.

This disease, which is also known as Lou Gehrig's disease, which is named after the baseball player Lou Gehrig, did kill Lou Gehrig. He was of course one of the greatest baseball players of all time, and he died at the height of his career. It also killed a number of other well-known individuals: David Niven, the actor, and several others.

If some of you don't know what that disease is, it's a disease of the motor neurons and the spinal cord and lower brain which control the voluntary muscles throughout the body. When these motor neurons die as a result of ALS, the ability of the brain to control muscle movement is lost.

The groups of muscles affected and the order in which they are affected vary from one person to another. For some people with ALS, symptoms begin with the muscles for swallowing and the tongue. For many others, muscles in the hands, wrists, shoulders and ankles tend to weaken first. In other words, the patients lose complete control of the muscles of their body at the end of the disease, and it starts in various degrees. They have trouble swallowing; they have trouble moving their hands; they have trouble speaking. I can tell you, in the latter stages of my father's disease I could barely understand what he was saying. Inside they are perfectly competent, but this disease is devastating.

I had a call several weeks ago from someone in my riding of Dufferin-Peel, where a woman—I think it was a woman in her 60s—had received this disease, and they didn't know what to do. They didn't know what to do with her. Her daughter had multiple sclerosis. I can tell you the effect on the family. If you're keeping people at home with these types of diseases, it's devastating to them. There's the strain on their own health and there's the strain on the family's finances. This legislation does not deal with this subject.

This disease of ALS does not affect the mind, as indicated. A person with ALS certainly remains sharp and in full possession of the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. Bladder and bowel muscles are generally not affected by ALS, although I can tell you, it certainly affected my father. When he was in the nursing home he needed

two nurses to assist him to get from the bed to a wheel-chair to the bathroom. The dignity that's taken away from someone who receives this disease is rather shattering.

If you're not old and you're not in a nursing home, the members of the family are going to have to look after you. I can tell you, they don't know where to turn next. So it's a concern that this legislation has not dealt with that.

ALS seldom causes pain, although some people do have secondary discomfort from lengthy sitting or lying down, and certainly, my father did sustain that difficulty.

The cause of ALS is not known, although there are certainly several theories that are being researched, nor is there a cure for this disease. There is not a cure or a means of prevention. Once you sustain this disease, gradually you lose more and more control of your body, and ultimately you have to rely on members of your family and friends to care for you, because there are no long-term care services available to help these people unless you're in certain categories such as old age, in which case you can be put in a nursing home to receive full nursing care.

The early symptoms of ALS can be rather vague. They include tripping, dropping things, slurred or thick speech and muscle cramping or twitching. Some people with these early symptoms may assume they are normal changes of aging. I know my father in his 80s started to trip and he said, "I'm getting old." Well, he wasn't getting old. He had this disease and he was falling, and it gradually got worse, so that he was finally confined to a wheelchair and a bed. If it had happened to him at any earlier age, with the long-term care policies that we have in the province of Ontario, probably he would not be cared for properly and members of his family and their resources would be relied on to assist in the rather monumental task of his care.

Weakness of the breathing muscles develops slowly over months or years and is experienced as a decrease in energy. Death is almost due to a severe weakness of breathing muscles and a resulting subtle loss of consciousness. Eventually, and I'm speaking from a personal experience, which is difficult for me to do, the next stage for my father was to have a tube inserted in his mouth to be fed. Again, if he had been in his home, the long-term care simply would not have been available.

This disease is not a rare disease. It affects about six to seven people out of every 100,000. Most people who get ALS, as indicated, are between the ages of 50 and 75, although there have been cases of teenagers receiving this disease. Of course my father, who was in his later years, in his 80s, sustained it at that time, although I suspect that he had it for a period of five to 10 years.

ALS seems to attack men slightly more than women. In approximately 5% of cases of ALS there is a hereditary pattern, although that can't be proven as well, and about 95% of cases are sporadic ALS. Anyone, anywhere, can be affected.

Some of the words that I'm referring to are in a pamphlet that's put out by the Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis Society of Ontario and is called An Overview for People with ALS, and I'd recommend anyone who is interested in this disease to obtain this booklet, which can be obtained through the ALS Society of Ontario or I'd be pleased to

arrange for copies through my office, because I think it's something that more of us need to learn more about.

I could go on considerably with this disease, because, as I say, it is not being properly dealt with in the long-term care policies of this government.

People with ALS are generally cheerful, and it's amazing what they put up with, considering what they're going through. This has a devastating effect, nevertheless, on members of their families, and, as I indicated, it consumes their financial and emotional resources while they attempt to deal with advancing disability and the prospect of death.

So I hope that someone over there in the Ministry of Health and someone over there in the government will listen to some of the concerns that I've said and I know others in the ALS society have put forward, because this is a special group of people who need assistance in long-term care, and not only the people who have sustained the disease but members of their family.

I guess the other issue that was raised by the member for Brampton South on this subject was the increasing cost and where the seniors of this province are going to find the funds to do that when they're on restricted budgets. The facts have now come out that over 33,000 seniors will face higher nursing home fees of up to \$330 a month under a plan to overhaul Ontario's long-term health care policy.

Obviously, the private care people, the public care people are concerned with how they're going to continue to operate their institutions. The government's plans call for an \$11-a-day fee hike for most residents of nursing homes and homes for the aged. This, we are told, will generate \$150 million a year for the province, notwithstanding, of course, as I indicated, the wild spending that's going on in the Ministry of Housing and other areas of this government. So it's rather contradictory.

This bill was introduced November 26 and we assume, and I believe, it's going out to hearings. That will be fine, but it's very difficult, of course, for groups to really realize what this legislation is doing and what isn't in this legislation. I think once they realize that, there are going to be a lot of grave concerns on this subject.

This government, as I indicated, applied an able-to-afford-it principle to other provincial services in legislation such as rent control, licences, hydro, those types of things. Hopefully, they would reverse this policy of a lack of emphasis in assisting our senior citizens. This government knows it won't be able to come near to helping the increasing costs of seniors on fixed incomes with this able-to-afford-it policy.

There have been several letters that were put forward in the Toronto Star just recently on this subject of long-term care—most of you have read them—by such people as the Senior Care of North York, Friends of the Family Ltd in Toronto and the Ontario Association of Non-Profit Homes and Services for Seniors in Woodbridge. Some of those letters expressed a real concern as to where this government is going on the policy of long-term care.

Specifically, Mr Scheinert of Senior Care in North York states, "What this province must have is a system of long-term care rationally organized, responsibly controlled, equitably funded and accountable, fairly standardized, and equally accessible." I question, with due respect, whether this legislation or the other lack of long-term care philosophies that have not been put in this legislation meet that requirement.

Gayle Arthur, who is the president of Friends of the Family Ltd, put another letter in this Toronto Star article of December 5 and said:

"As an active member and director of the board of the Ontario Home Health Care Providers' Association, I can say that Health Minister Frances Lankin's decommercialization of our industry will result in my agency laying off approximately 150 staff.

"As well, over 250 clients will lose their home support worker, many of whom have established long-term relationships.

"What is incomprehensible to me is that approximately 6,500 of the 20,000 jobs in our industry, mostly filled by women, could be sacrificed to an ideology that is most inappropriate to our times."

Ms Culshaw of Barrie indicated as well, commenting on the report that came out, that "roughly 46,000 Ontario seniors will pay \$11 more a day for care in nursing homes and homes for the aged. This is \$4,015 more per year." Muriel Culshaw asks, "Where, may I ask, does Bob Rae think that the majority of seniors in these homes are going to find this kind of money?" It's a legitimate question: \$4,015 more per year, where are they going to find that kind of money?

Here's an interesting comment. I don't know whether I necessarily support it, but it's an interesting comment that she does make: "I suggest creation of a seniors' union. It seems to me that unions are the one thing that Rae respects and pays attention to." Of course, with what we've seen with Bill 80, we question whether he even respects that. But she says, "If there are any seniors out there with union experience who would be willing to set one up, I would be first in line with my union dues, and I'm sure there would be many more behind me."

Obviously these people are being frustrated when they resort to tactics such as that, but it does show a genuine frustration of particularly the seniors in our province as to where they're going to find the funds to simply survive.

Finally, a non-profit organization called the Ontario Association of Non-Profit Homes and Services for Seniors commented that:

"The NDP government expects to generate \$150 million in additional funds through a plan calling for a flat rate fee of \$37 per day for residents in long-term care facilities.... This threatens care levels, programs, building standards, staff positions and the ability of seniors to access the care that they need and desire. The government also says that it plans to 'freeze' the number of long-term care beds throughout Ontario.... The number of beds in non-profit homes for the aged has been reduced by 2,500 since 1987."

There's a concern out there as to where long-term care is going, not only in the senior age bracket but in other age brackets, specifically with some of the mentally retarded organizations. I know this gets into another ministry, but it

does deal with the subject of long-term care and of course the subject of some of these diseases that, to use this expression, fall through the cracks in the floor, and those who are not being properly dealt with and properly assisted by the policies of this government. I have indicated the specific example of ALS.

It's been a pleasure to address the House on the very important topic of long-term care, and I look forward to hearing some of the presentations that will be made in the public hearings.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Mrs Sullivan: The member for Dufferin-Peel has spoken with some personal experience and poignancy about the situation in his family when his father was a patient with ALS. I think that experience points out that disability may arise in two ways: One, the disability that accompanies age, which may be a cognitive disability, or other disabilities accompanying age, including such diseases as Alzheimer's, and then there are other disabilities that result from a disease or illness or from congenital circumstances.

I think one of the things that Mr Tilson underlined was that with a disease such as ALS, while the patient may be older, the patient may be younger as well. We've seen recommendations from organizations such as PUSH, that is, Persons United for Self-Help in Ontario, as well as other advocacy organizations for the disabled which have really emphasized that the needs of disabled who are not senior citizens are significantly different, the needs for long-term care service provision, from those who are seniors. Their sociological needs, the needs for differences in the kind of stimulation in the social circumstances, the availability of independence in choice about service providers and so on are matters that must be considered in the implementation of a full program.

If I have sprung from the member for Dufferin-Peel's reference to one particular disease into what is a broader policy concern, I think that was the intention of the member in raising that particular circumstance.

The Deputy Speaker: Any other questions or comments? If not, the member for Dufferin-Peel, you have two minutes. No? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

1700

Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming): It's certainly a pleasure this afternoon to participate in this debate on such an important topic. I know in my duties in my riding in particular when I attend various town hall meetings and other community functions, people sometimes ask why so much attention is being paid to long-term care, to a variety of seniors' issues. I'm asked particularly, which I think is intriguing, why somebody of my age, a middle-aged person, is so keenly interested in these issues.

The answer I give, and the answer is very simple, is that we all have had or have parents, and we all have children we care for who we know are growing old, and of course we ourselves are growing older every day. As we have a society that has established itself as a caring society with the collective responsibility of caring for one another, and we're doing that through our contributions, through the taxes we pay, we understand that if we want to preserve a system that cares for our elderly people, we'd better make sure that it's reformed, that it works, that it's effective, that it's efficient and that above all it's a caring system.

That's why we all care about it. We're all very much interested in it. Because it is a tremendous cost and is going to be in the future such a greater proportion of our health care expenses, now we have the opportunity to get it right. I think that's what this legislation is about and why there's so much interest in it.

My mother is still alive and last year had a severe illness that made it necessary that she be hospitalized. After that, on the road to recovery, it was necessary that she receive home care and also have a homemaker come into her place so that she could manage. We are really starting to see the benefits of such a system where before, after suffering severe illness, if there wasn't family right around or friends who were able to take care of that, elderly people basically had to stay in a chronic care bed in a hospital.

We've really understood over the years that that's an inappropriate use of the health care system. That's not only inappropriate for the patients who, if ambulatory and able to take care of themselves, really should be in their own home, but it's an inappropriate expense. We've understood that now because we're entering an era where a government can no longer afford any inappropriate expenses. We have to do better with what we have.

We really must address this issue now, as I alluded to before, because the people of my age, the so-called baby-boomers who right now make up the majority of our population, are of course, as I've mentioned, growing older every day. As we start to hit those senior years we will become, if we do not have a sustainable system, a tremendous burden on the generation or two after us.

It's very important that right now, particularly the people of my generation, we basically get our act in order to make sure that we have programs in place and a system in place to make sure we can carry ourselves through a system that is viable, that is efficient, that is cost-effective and above all that is caring.

In my riding of Timiskaming, we are already starting to see the demographics that will be in the rest of Ontario in the next few years. In fact, by the year 2009 we will have over 25% of our population over the age of 65 years. Areas such as mine, Timiskaming, would be ideal areas, I would say to the minister, to conduct pilot studies. As I said, we have the sort of demographic percentages right now. They'd be ideal areas to do pilot projects in, and in the past some pilots have been done there.

Over the last five years, we have been able to bring in and accentuate programs that basically try to keep people independent. Both home care and the integrated homemaker program really are tools to free people and to empower people to be in their homes, to be independent.

I guess if you look back at the culture of this province over the last 100 years, basically what we wanted to do

when we ran into any sort of class of human problem was that our answer was to institutionalize such people. We institutionalized our seniors, we institutionalized our disabled and we institutionalized our mentally challenged. That really was the answer in our culture. We basically shut away our problem. We felt it was easier to deal with those particular challenges in institutions, but that day is now over. We've recognized the error of those ways.

What we want to do now is make sure people are as independent as possible. But to do that we have to make sure the services are there. Ironically, well-produced and delivered services such as that can become very cost-effective. Not only is it the most beneficial way to service people in society, but it can be the most cost-effective way of providing services and spending the taxpayers' money. It's very important.

I've seen in my area of Timiskaming, where we have midsized towns and a lot of rural areas, a home care system that is really starting to keep people independent. People who live in the countryside, who don't live in towns or big cities, find it particularly difficult if they happen to still be in a home—maybe a larger type of farmhouse—and just maybe with a bit of help clearing snow on the walks or some of the ice on the roof that poses a danger, and some heavy house cleaning in the home itself, can really manage a life of independence. That is very important.

What we're talking about today, though, is caring in a more intense way for elderly people. I think what's very important is that the choice is there, that as we make sure that we keep people as independent as possible, we also should make sure that from independence there are many steps along the way to, say, people going to a nursing home. It's very important that we provide those steps along the way, and through providing those steps we are providing choice for our elderly.

I've seen so many examples in my travels, I think some very good examples, of some of the choices that I think we need to be concentrating on more. Many times seniors will find that after the duties of keeping a home are becoming maybe just a bit much, even with the help and intervention of homemakers, there's an incremental step of residential care that can be very effective. I've seen many residential care apartments throughout Ontario where seniors who are perfectly ambulatory and can take care of themselves move into an apartment in a building.

In this building you have nursing care. You're moving into a new community. You have a community of seniors who care for each other. They are there for each other. As I said before, there's nursing care there. One of the highlights of the day is that usually there's a communal noon meal that takes place in a dining room on the ground floor of the building, but for other meals, breakfast and supper, people take care of themselves in their own apartments. They're going out to the grocery stores. They're taking care of their own needs for the rest of the day.

There's a great sense of community there. There's a great sense of support. People are there for them, and not necessarily just people who are care givers, but also their peers, because they can come together from their homes

throughout the different towns and throughout the countryside to form a new community, a community of common interest, of people who share the same concerns and have the same needs. With nursing services on staff to help with medications and other therapeutic needs, this can become a community to live in, in a very viable way, for many years.

I think we have to ensure that all these incremental steps are there for our elderly to be able to make those choices, because if we can allow the elderly to make those choices, then we will empower these people to live the most fulfilling lives they can. I think that's the most important thing we can do.

One of the issues we have in my riding and throughout Ontario—and primarily this is what this bill speaks of—is really the different types of nursing home care, once seniors are ready for that, available in Ontario. Historically, we have had homes for the aged that have evolved from the Ministry of Community and Social Services. These have been charity-based and charity-run or run by the municipalities throughout Ontario. They have been funded by the Ministry of Community and Social Services.

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The other stream of nursing home care is the private nursing homes that are funded by the Ministry of Health. Over the years there has been a great disparity in how those operations are funded, and this has been one of the biggest complaints of privately owned nursing homes in Ontario, that the per diem fees that are sent to these institutions from the various ministries are so different that it really puts them on uneven ground. Private nursing homes especially, which have on average much lower per diems than the homes for the aged, have been crying foul for years. I hope that in this legislation we will be able to redress some of these inequities. I think that's important.

I'd like to talk a little bit about the existing act, where it sits today and what some of the changes will bring. Part of the problem with this is that we have various acts that regulate this whole area. I think through this act we could start to bring some fairness and some equity to the whole system.

There are basically five major policy goals in this legislation. The first one really is to establish, as I've just said, a fair funding scheme for nursing homes and the charitable homes for the aged and municipal homes for the aged, based on levels of care required by residents and guaranteeing non-profit delivery of the nursing care and program components that are funded by the province. In this bill, these changes will take effect in the spring of 1993.

The second area is to improve the accountability to residents, their families, workers and the government in terms of financial management, quality assurance and service provision.

The third area is to establish a consistent resident payment policy as described in the NDP October 1991 Redirection document, which has been widely circulated. Currently, some residents pay for their nursing and personal care, and their assets and income are used to calculate the fees they pay. Under the new policy, residents will be asked to contribute to their accommodation costs only, room and board. The residents will no longer pay for nurs-

ing and personal care, and assets will no longer be considered in the calculations of residents' fees. I believe this is a good thing.

I know when I visit the seniors' homes in my area one of the complaints that many of the seniors bring to my attention is the unfairness, as they see it, that their assets are accounted for when their contribution to their care is calculated. People who have worked very hard in life and have saved their money and have got it in the bank and other investments to take care of their retirement and find themselves in need of more intensive care feel that they are penalized because now that they have to be institutionalized, the fact that they were frugal and worked hard and have those savings in a sense costs them, and they certainly have to pay a lot more. They will say that maybe people who spent their money as they went and hadn't planned for the future will possibly get a free ride from government. There's really been a sense of unfairness there, that depending on how you decided to live and your lifestyle and how frugal you were, they penalized you when the need for institutionalization came on the scene. So I think this is a good thing.

Another important point in this legislation is that no one will be refused care because of the inability to pay. Those who have unlimited ability to pay, based on an income test, will pay an affordable, reduced rate. Again this speaks to fairness.

Four, the principle will be to allow eligibility and admission decisions to be made by a placement coordinator, who will simplify and streamline access to these facilities.

The fifth main principle and policy goal of this legislation is to make direct payments to adults with disabilities so that they can purchase and manage their own services. This goal addresses the central importance to consumers of maximizing dignity, independence and control over their lives. I fully agree with that. I think this is one of the areas that seniors fear the most as we grow older: that somehow we lose our independence; that now, because of infirmities or other challenges that we have to our physical or mental being, we no longer have the ability to manage for ourselves and that somebody else is starting to take over our life and that we don't have that decision-making power. I think this idea of directing payments to those people with disabilities basically empowers those people to make their own decisions, and I think that's very important and something that needs to be supported by all members of this House.

Right now I'd like to talk a little bit about resident payment policy. Currently, 46,000 Ontario seniors pay \$26 per day; 13,000 pay up to \$100 per day. That's the current situation, and I think it speaks very well to the inequities I have described. Under the new system, 13,000 people now paying that \$100 per day will pay \$37. Of the 46,000 currently paying the \$26 per day, roughly half will now pay \$37 per day; one quarter, 11,500, will pay between \$26 and \$37 per day; and a quarter, another 11,500, will pay between zero and \$26 a day due to low income. This sort of graduated scale, if you will, of fees really brings a sense of fairness to the system.

The plan calls for an \$11-a-day hike for most residents of nursing homes and homes for the aged. The fee hike is going to generate \$150 million a year for the province, and we can only hope that money is going to be turned back into health care provision for seniors. The proposal will apply to both private and publicly run nursing homes in the province. Residents paying \$37 per day will be paying \$13,505 per year.

I'd like to talk a little bit about the Nursing Homes Act, one of the acts that is in force at the moment and where this legislation is going to start to streamline the whole system. In the Nursing Homes Act today, "nursing home" is a home of residents and must be operated to reflect that. The patients' rights are spelled out in the act—we made some amendments to that act a few years ago—and residents' councils may be formed. A written contract is required for every admission, including a statement of rights, complaints information, any agreement made for extra services and costs, name of resident's representative and provision for an annual review.

The Ministry of Health licenses nursing homes in Ontario and fixes a total bed capacity per institution. The minister must announce the desired balance between non-profit and for-profit homes. The licence is for 12 months and it's not transferable, and the licence is renewable only after a public notice. The licence may be revoked by the minister for cause.

The Nursing Homes Review Board can receive appeals re licences, appealable to the Divisional Court. If a licence is revoked, residents can be transferred or the minister may occupy it and operate it on behalf of the ministry. Homes are required to have an extended care unit as described in the regulations, and the ministry may have a service agreement with the home.

The regulations prescribe the maximum amount the home can charge for services to residents, and residents must receive quarterly statements of residents' money held by the home and all charges for services. Homes are required to submit annual financial statements to the ministry, and regulations are in effect today that specify mechanisms for provincial payments, services for which charges can be made and the maximum amount of the charge.

Staff duties, in-service training, financial records, inspectors' duties, copayment amounts under the Health Insurance Act, percentage of bed capacity for extended care, standard private and semi-private and the percentage capacity for intermediate nursing care: All these are specified, as are assessment and classification of residents, services, care, facilities and amenities the home must provide in the nursing homes.

In the new provisions, the appeal board becomes the Health Services Appeal Board and all nursing homes must have a service agreement with the Ministry of Health to operate. Residents can only enter the home through a designated placement coordinator who will authorize admissions. The coordinator will be determined by the minister. The eligibility criteria for entry are determined by regulation. A proposed resident may appeal the placement coordinator's assessment of eligibility to the appeal board. This follows with right of appeal to Divisional Court.

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Homes cannot charge under this new legislation under designated limits for various services set out in the regulations. Certain charges will be prohibited. Homes must provide ongoing assessment of the residents' requirements, a plan of care and plan-of-care revisions, a quality assurance plan, notification to residents of access to the plan of care, a complaints procedure and any other matter prescribed by regulation, and must post notices in the home showing all financial statements prescribed by regulations.

I've heard many of my colleagues speak on this, and one of the concerns they do have is that much of the meat, if you will, of this legislation is reserved for regulations, and that is, regulations are basically subsets of legislation that come afterwards, after the bill is passed, after the bill leaves the chamber, and regulations are basically made behind closed doors by cabinet, after recommendations by ministry officials.

I know many of my colleagues are very concerned as to the number of regulations that will be attached to this particular legislation, regulations that, as I'm going to read here, are extremely important, that really will have a great influence as to the outcome and the delivery of these services and yet are really not debatable here because they will not be passed by this Legislature.

These regulations will be prescribing, for instance, definitions of nursing care; definitions for accommodationbasic accommodation, preferred accommodation, short-stay accommodation; the required types of accommodation, care, services, programs and goods to be offered to residents; the required bed capacities to be set aside for residents requiring certain care and services and programs and goods; applications to placement coordinators re the eligibility for entry and the eligibility criteria—all of these are not in the bill and will be decided at a later date; that short-stay accommodation may be required in requirements for that eligibility; the maximum amounts that may be charged for particular classes or levels of care, services, programs and goods; again, requirements for quality assurance plans and plans of care, including revision, implementation and monitoring; the filing requirements for financial reports to the ministry and for notices that must be posted; prescribing extraordinary events for which the ministry may make extraordinary payments.

All of these requirements will be set out in regulation. They will not be set out in this legislation and therefore we have the inability right now to have any effect on their outcome.

I'd like to talk for a minute on the Charitable Institutions Act. This is another act, again, that takes care of certain class of institutions that care for the elderly. Existing now we have a program funded by Comsoc for 80% of the operating expenses. They provide extended care services and provide them under OHIP. The books and records are open for inspection by the provincial supervisor, and capital programs require prior approval of the minister.

Under the new provisions, approval to operate as a home for the aged requires prior approval by the minister. It cannot operate as a home for the aged without a service agreement with the ministry. An 80% operating funding is

going to be replaced with a new formula to be established, again, by regulation. There is no payment without a service agreement and payments can be reduced if the service agreement is breached. Extraordinary payments from the ministry are allowed for extraordinary events—again, though, if prescribed by regulation.

Payments by residents are going to be controlled to a maximum amount established again in regulations for basic or preferred accommodation and for care, services, programs or goods and supplies. Residents can only enter the home through the designated placement coordinator, who authorizes admissions, and the eligibility criteria for entry are determined by regulation, again. The proposed resident may appeal the placement coordinator's assessment of that eligibility. This follows with the right to appeal, again, to the Divisional Court.

Homes must provide ongoing assessment of the residents' requirements, a plan of care and plan-of-care revisions, a quality assurance plan, notification to residents of service agreement requirements, notification to residents of access to the plan of care, a complaints procedure and any other matters prescribed, again, by regulation, and must post notices in the home showing all financial statements required by regulation.

Regulations will also prescribe required types of accommodation, care and services, programs and goods to be offered to their residents; requirements governing assessment and classification of residents; required bed capacities to be set aside for residents requiring certain care, services, programs, goods; maximum amounts that may be charged for particular classes or levels of care and, again, services, programs and goods; that short-stay accommodation may be required in a facility; the financial systems to reconcile funding mechanisms; methods of recovering excessive payments; provisions for service agreements; and filing requirements for the ministry financial statement reports. All this will be laid out in regulations.

Just before I close, I'd like to talk a little bit about the Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act. Right now in the existing legislation this act applies to people over 60 years old or, if under 60, under special circumstances—for instance, a disability—where the person requires long-term maintenance and care.

The Ministry of Community and Social Services pays municipalities monthly grants determined by regulation for the operation and maintenance of these homes, and persons receiving residential services provided by the municipality may be transferred to the home at any time.

Books and records have to be open for inspection by director or provincial supervisor at any time. Residents, again, are responsible for costs of all or part of maintenance, as prescribed by regulation. The board may apportion operating costs among municipalities served, and may provide for working capital or reserve.

In this act, the board may borrow for operating purposes capital costs and municipal obligation, but the minister may defray by regulation. Capital expenditures require prior approval by the minister, and under this act Comsoc contributes a maximum of 50% of capital.

Extended care services are covered under OHIP, and eligibility for admission and discharge is determined by regulation. Service agreements are also required. There's a very similar sort of regulatory body to that, as it exists today.

Under the new provisions, residents can only enter a home through a designated placement coordinator, who will authorize admissions. The coordinator will be determined by the minister, the eligibility criteria for entry will be determined by regulation, and the proposed resident may appeal the placement coordinator's assessment of eligibility to the Appeal Board. This follows with the right, again, of appeal to Divisional Court.

A service agreement is required between municipalities and the ministry, and this is defined by regulation. Contraventions of the service agreement result in refusal of authorization for resident placement, and the minister has the discretion to lower grants.

The home must provide ongoing assessment of the residents' requirements, a plan of care and plan-of-care revisions, a quality assurance plan, notification to residents of service agreement requirements, notification to residents of access to the plan of care, a complaints procedure and any other matters prescribed by regulation, and must post notices in the home showing all financial statements required by regulation.

What we have in this act is a lot more information coming to the resident. Many times in my riding when I visit homes for the aged and nursing homes many residents basically feel they are left out in the dark as far as what the operation of the home is, and again, I think this part of the legislation, even though it's in regulation and we would rather have a little more direct say on that through debate in this Legislature, still sets forward that all this information must be posted so that the residents and the residents' families have a sense of how the home is operating and what the financial health and state of that operation is. In this legislation, this is set out. I think more information is going to alleviate many of the fears the seniors have when they're coming into what are for them strange places but further on down the road become homes where they develop friendships and live out their lives.

I'm pleased to have spoken on this very important piece of legislation, and I wish the minister well in its implementation.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Questions or comments? Seeing none, further debate.

1730

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I'm very pleased to be given an opportunity to comment on the long-awaited announcement on long-term care. I've had occasion to listen to the debate in the House, but perhaps more importantly, in my nearly eight years in this Legislature I have had occasion to hear pronouncement after pronouncement, promise after promise, and through three elections have seen every political party try to involve itself with promises in this issue.

I guess I'm a little bit concerned when we hear about the concerns expressed by the official opposition with the structure and the infrastructure, when in fact in their five years they had an opportunity to merge the responsibilities for seniors' care between the two ministries of Community and Social Services and Health, and after promising—I remember a conversation I had with Bob Nixon. All the time he was in opposition he swore that was the necessary thing; he was going to do it. After five years—and him being the Treasurer, of all people—he threw up his hands, saying, "There's really not much I could do to reconcile that."

At the outset I want to suggest that one of the things that's missing in this whole approach is very much the need to reconcile the fact that we have two ministries still dealing with the chronic care needs, generally, of Ontario residents. Nowhere do we see this being simplified as a line item with direct responsibility to one minister. This will become inequitable and it will also become very expensive. I must say that for the government to fail to tackle that bureaucratic monster before it proceeds with implementation is, I think, putting the cart before the horse.

I want to put a couple of things in perspective here. First of all, let's talk about long-term care for a moment. Long-term care was a concept that was developed in the early 1960s and grew with the planning of social planners in the 1970s and 1980s to develop a vision of deinstitutionalization. In that more prosperous period of several decades, it was a properly ordered, logical and appropriate way of planning for future care for our seniors. We could afford it in those days.

What I'm concerned about is the fact that we are still marketing or selling the concept of deinstitutionalization and long-term care to the public, but exactly how we're going to do it has dramatically changed in this province. We as legislators have an obligation to be honest and straightforward with the public about just how this new gift from government is actually going to work, how it's going to impact on their lives and what it is going to mean for them in terms of changes in their tax base.

I believe that, not a surprise to anyone, we have a government today in Ontario which, by its previous policy pronouncements affecting seniors over the last two years, clearly would indicate that a lot of questions have to be answered before the public can buy, from this government, that it is actually helping them with this model for long-term care. This is the government that, as we know, instituted huge increases for ambulance services for level 1 transfers of seniors—not emergency transfers, just normal transfers; huge increases that seniors have had to pay.

We've seen the largest single cuts to chronic care hospitals, in terms of their beds and their funding, in this province's history, all under the guise and justification that we're going to put that money into long-term care. In fact, we haven't really seen the true transfer of those dollars to long-term care. We've seen a seniors' property tax grant gutted and changed. Tonight or tomorrow we'll be debating this tax, and I intend to comment on behalf of my constituents on just how bad a deal seniors are getting by this government's changes to the seniors' property tax grant. In fact, it's very clear, on the basis of the numbers, that a couple can have welfare kick in and have more income

than a senior who will have his or her property tax grant reduced and removed.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources): And replaced with a credit.

Mr Jackson: The member talks about replacement with a credit. You must be reading my speech, because I was getting to the other seniors' credits that have been reduced by your government. The member himself who spoke out, the Minister of Natural Resources, has with one fell swoop of the pen removed seniors' park passes in this province and some of the privileges that our seniors had in terms of enjoying this province's natural parks. That minister did it and he's justifying it and he will be held accountable for his ministry's contribution to reducing access to services.

Market value assessment: clearly an issue where seniors are going to feel a devastating impact. Hydro rates increased; the Ontario drug benefits reductions, massive reductions. Drugs like Persantine with no known replacement or alternative drug: It's going to cost the senior \$180 to \$200. One application for a drug for a senior can be greater than the rent geared to income in a seniors' residence. Where's the equity in that? Of course, for any seniors who wish to travel abroad, that is severely curtailed by virtue of the government removing, in the large, the benefits they've enjoyed in this province ever since our health system was developed and devised.

It is in this context that we have seen a government, without any difficulty whatsoever, make it abundantly clear to seniors in this province where they stand in terms of this government's priorities for funding, priorities for protection and priorities for ensuring their quality of life in those twilight years when seniors deserve to be treated with respect.

They have made contributions to this society in Ontario, always paying taxes and not always having the benefit of OHIP and drug plans and dental plans that my generation has benefited from immensely. Our parents did not have those privileges. They built this province. So now that they are the vulnerable, they deserve some of that back.

Why I'm angry about the property tax grant cuts is because they were tied to excessively high school board taxes. Those are still running out of control and you have done nothing to protect seniors. So the genesis of the seniors' property tax grant was to insulate seniors and recognize their many years of paying school board taxes, not to punish them further by paying additional taxes in this area. Yet this government's going to remove it.

I want to move to the concerns that are being expressed about this long-term care model. It's been said that this model produces three outcomes. The first outcome is that it will be an expensive additional charge for extra-billing to seniors in Ontario, by the minister's own admission, the co-payment, which is the nice, palatable word that is used to confuse the public; a co-payment is nothing more than additional billing and additional charges which the government is now imposing. The second—

**Hon Mr Wildman:** It was the Tory government that came up with that.

Mr Jackson: Yes, but I remind the minister opposite that in two years his government has increased co-payments across the board in greater numbers than any other single government in its term of office in the history of this province. The minister knows that and the minister should be ashamed of it. Two years, we have two more years to put up with your government. Can seniors really afford you? I doubt that.

The second achievement around this legislation will be its clear attack on private sector support services which have built the infrastructure for chronic care support in this province. The NDP is entitled to be against the private sector. That is part of their lexicon and their ideology, and God knows they're never going to change that. But what is frustrating to people in this province is that if we are to improve access, we have to get people investing in this sector, and we're not going to be able to expand it unless we get people investing in it, and government is not investing in it. It is not investing in the long-term care of its people. It is reducing access and reducing its capital investment in this infrastructure.

You have a choice. Do you provide less service by spending more tax dollars, or do you harness the financial resources of the private sector in this province, as it helped to build a fine day care system, as it helped to build ambulance services in this province when the government wasn't prepared to come forward and produce them, when it's still providing young offenders secure facility supports in this province? The private sector has gone out and risked that to build that infrastructure and this government would, by its policies, develop a program that would eliminate private nursing support systems and eliminate nursing home care as an integral part of the access of seniors to these services in this province.

We are talking of thousands and thousands of citizens in this province who are currently utilizing private sector support services for long-term care. This government would unnecessarily and inappropriately tamper and interfere with that.

#### 1740

The other aspect is, it won't necessarily be expensive for seniors, for what limited disposable cash they have to pay as a copayment. It is also going to be increasingly more expensive for seniors who are receiving care in their home if the rules according to long-term care are such that they receive fewer insured services while staying at home and staying out of an institution, or if seniors end up in a nursing home they have no access to additional revenues that come from the property tax base if, say, they go into a home for the aged.

Again, I go back to my original comment. The government hasn't resolved this issue of a nursing home and a home for the aged coming from two different ministries, and that the amounts of subsidy that go into one system or the other vary because municipalities can now proceed to raise money. To further illustrate this point, under the current system a resident in a nursing home will pay approxi-

mately \$27 of the \$77 received by the nursing home from the government. Under the new system the resident is going to have to pay \$37, subject of course to a means test. The \$37 issue is only one part of this reform; the \$37 is only the third part of the funding model of long-term care. That is the accommodation portion. The government has brought in a whole series of new rules governing one portion of long-term care, that being accommodation.

The other two parts of the model are personal and nursing care, and specialized, approved programs, such as programs for wandering Alzheimer patients, for dementia, for severe, frail, non-ambulatory elderly who are in some of Ontario's chronic care hospitals today.

These are the three components to long-term care, and yet this government has proceeded with legislation in this House and told us about only the accommodation component. On the other two components, this government has made no pronouncements, no announcements, no clear indication of who would be eligible or what the funding levels will be. They've only indicated that they do not like the private sector, and we certainly see there's no role for the private sector in participating in these activities.

We are being asked to support this legislation on the basis of faith. Now, in fairness, and it's on the record, this bill will go to committee for public hearings. On the one hand, I'm pleased. On the other hand, this legislation is two years late, unnecessarily. Also, the minister has already announced that some of her funding model programs are going to be in place for January 1. It's beyond me how the minister can make those assertions when in fact this whole subject and the legislation have to go out to committee hearings for public debate.

As I said earlier, the residents are now going to pay an additional \$164 million, approximately. Since the government, in its initial statement, announced the \$207-million commitment to infuse into long-term care in January 1993, we now see that most of the money that's going to be infused into the system is going to come from these copayments.

Under the personal and nursing care, the government has not stated what the facilities will receive for their nursing care. This is the most important part of the program. Yet it is absent from the minister's statement. What will this amount of money be on a per diem basis? Will the dollars announced be based on actual assets needed or only on the dollars available?

The minister knows that the fastest-growing group in our society is the 80-plus-year-olds. It's rising by 137% in the next 10 years. What financial arrangements has the government made for facilities to deal with the changing care needs, the more complex care needs of these aging, elderly people? Will there be a continuance of this government's persistence at shortfalling dollar commitments?

While the government has announced the outline for long-term care reform, it still has not identified who will receive the benefits in these facilities. They have made no statement on who will be eligible for what levels of service. I understand that the Alberta classification model review is about to be completed and that we should hear about that

early in the new year, but the minister is proceeding to make funding decisions, and we're basically getting back to the old story of funding institutions and buildings and not funding people.

Currently, the municipal homes for the aged spend \$115 per resident-day. The rumours persisting around the ministry are that this number will be reduced to \$92 to \$95 per resident-day. I'm talking about municipal homes for the aged here. How will the municipal homes make up this difference? Actually, they're run by municipalities. Will they have to cut their staffing? I doubt it. Will they have to cut their programs, or is the government going to continue the practice of having the municipalities pick up a greater share of the cost, which is what we're seeing a pattern of? If that's the case, here again you will have a nursing home on one side of the street in Ontario that's funded at one rate, without access to municipal tax revenue, and on the other side of the street you'll have a municipal home for the aged run by the municipality, funded through Comsoc, and that facility having access to tax revenues on your municipal tax bill.

It's obvious to anyone that, funding levels being different, which has been the case in Ontario, levels of care will be different, access to services will be different, and therefore it will be an inequitable situation. The minister herself has promised that she will correct this situation. We do not see in this model, or she has not come forward with the announcements, that she in fact has done anything to solve that problem. In fact, our fears are that the system will have still too much inequity. So if you're a senior, where would you want to go? Obviously, to the location where those services are assured to you and will not be tampered with in any way.

It's interesting that a nursing home will pay business and property taxes to the municipality, which will then, in turn, spend the money on the municipal home for the aged and deprive the very people in the nursing home of those additional services which the person in the home for the aged across the street will now benefit from. I say to you, that's a rotten system and it's been rotten for years, and nowhere do I clearly see this government correcting it at all.

There's a very clever onus here that we really have to take a hard look at. The minister's statement and supporting document state what we will be expecting from the institutional care providers. They go to great pains to make everyone sign a service agreement and live by it, or they could forfeit their right to operate. Much of this legislation has to do with the new rules the government has to control the functioning of these buildings and to control access to them.

Besides, the government chose not to announce what funding levels for the care are. It has only added to this confusion. How do we know there will be enough funding, especially after the Treasurer's recent budget, to know that the facilities can in fact do what the government wants them to do without knowing whether the dollars will flow?

There are only two ways to fund personal and nursing care under a resident classification system that will be implemented in this province. The first way will be to cost out the actual service that must be provided if the facility is to effectively meet the resident's assessed needs. That way you know what the real costs will be from day to day, and this information can be shared with the resident and his or her family.

The other method of costing this process is the one that I believe this government will implement. They will use it, I'm sure. That is to say: "Here is a block of money we have available. You make it work, but don't come asking for more money based on assessed needs."

I want to take the members of the House back to about six years ago, in minority government, which was the last time we had an opportunity to open up the Nursing Homes Act. At that time we were moving into the nursing home sector and making substantive amendments, but nowhere was there a recognition of the complex and changing needs of Alzheimer's patients who were locked into beds in nursing homes, dementia cases, a whole series of complexities in care delivery which the government refused to acknowledge.

### 1750

When I tabled the motion stating that residents had a right to have their assessed needs met, both the NDP and the Liberals voted against that Conservative amendment. What frightens me is that the minister now is using that language in the bill, but at no time have I seen her political party or her government, whether today or in opposition, make a clear and unequivocal commitment to the notion of having the assessed needs of a chronic care patient, a senior, met by the programs.

Every member of this House has sat down with constituents and discussed the difficulties and the pressures that families endure when a member of the family is suffering from Alzheimer's and there is no institutional location for that family member to go to. It is absolutely devastating for some families. We see the complete breakdown and destruction of those families.

For the government to make the promise in legislation but not give it life and reality in its actual funding implementation only creates a cruel and unnecessary contradiction when families present themselves to any member of this House and say, "I've read the legislation. It says my mother's assessed needs will be met," and then the minister has to give the response I believe she'll give: "We don't care how many people need the service. We're only funding this amount of service this year."

Will the minister be providing funding for personal and nursing care based on the first model as outlined or based on the second model? I hope during the committee hearings she'll make that abundantly clear or, as I find from her staff, as the Alberta classification model and other announcements come in January and February or earlier in the spring, that we will in fact get more clarity on that issue.

I think the minister has a responsibility to clarify the other elements of this model before she implements this legislation. Since she has refused to answer the question directly and since her staff in a recent briefing very clearly indicated they were unable to answer that question on behalf of the minister or the government, I'm hoping that the

minister will consider that to many seniors, that is the worst uncertainty, and they need the matter resolved.

Part of that question flows from whether or not certain insured services will be dealt with equitably and fairly, whether a senior is receiving home care or care in a chronic care facility such as a home for the aged or a nursing home. I notice that six or seven different bills are up for amendments under this package of changes that are before the House.

What isn't in here is the Ontario health insurance plan. There are no amendments being discussed here. So what that tells us and tells care givers and seniors' advocates out there is that the government intends to continue to deal with the different levels of service under OHIP by regulation and fiat.

As I said earlier, seniors know where they stand with this government when they receive the news about the reductions in the Ontario drug benefit plan and reduction to access to OHIP services. The fact is that colostomy services, a wheelchair or something as basic as that will be funded by OHIP differently depending on your setting. Nowhere has the government made any statement that those levels of care and those personal costs—that, again, citizens will be treated fairly and equitably.

You cannot say to people, "We will assist you to stay at home longer but, by the way, you have to pay for all of these additional services." You're encouraging people to fight each other to get into institutions so that these services will be paid for. Again, nowhere do we have any indication from this government. In the amendments that are before us, there has been a complete and absolute avoidance of the Ontario health insurance plan. I'm sure every member is aware of the differential treatment seniors get. Depending on where you're actually domiciled, where you actually live—and I don't mean by geography; I mean which type of institution you're in—you will be treated differently by OHIP.

Will the minister ensure through the proposed legislation as a matter of principle that all seniors will be treated equally? I want the minister to make that as a clear statement, and when she does her opening statements in the committee process, I would hope that she would review Hansard when she gets a moment and address that question.

I ask the minister to tell us if seniors who qualify for extended care but choose to stay in their home will receive those services equally. There's a real concern here that seniors who stay at home will continue to pay property taxes, which are going up, to pay for the home for the aged down the street which is getting an increased level of support from the local tax base.

If those seniors who stay at home are paying more taxes to only get a small increase in, say, home care, are they too going to have to pay for all these additional supports, whether it is a wheelchair ramp, whether it's the wheelchair itself, whether it's those other items that are covered by OHIP but may not be covered if you are resident in your home? This is a very big question and of concern to a lot of people, including members of the disabled community as well.

Since the government has now adopted the principle that seniors will pay more for their services in a facility and the cost they will pay is to go towards room and board, there's been no clear, unequivocal statement about the contribution and access to these other kinds of ancillary services for nursing and personal care services.

I have expressed concern about the impact this legislation is going to have on senior citizens in Ontario. I have expressed concern about how seniors have been treated over the last two years by this government, and we do not get a clear policy pronouncement. I recall in the two years we've had long-term care bounced from one minister who apparently couldn't handle the case load. It was transferred from Comsoc over to Health.

The minister responsible for seniors and the disabled and four other ministries is generally absent when it comes to dealing with this issue in matters in the House, in matters of debate, and is relegated basically to a cheerleader on the sidelines to give pep rallies to seniors that, "Don't feel badly, we're not really taking the services away from you that you think we are."

Seniors are not prepared to be patronized in this province. Seniors are saying in increasing numbers, "We have made our sacrifices in a lifetime," whether they fought in a war, whether they've raised a family and made the sacrifices to ensure their children were educated so that they could give back more to the society that gave them a home. These seniors are now saying, "It's time." It's time the government will listen to them and not create uncertainty about that future.

Seniors deserve at least the removal of that uncertainty, and on behalf of my colleagues in the Conservative Party, we have made sure we've addressed that most important point, that seniors deserve dignity and they should be treated with respect, and they will be if we're honest and straightforward and tell them how this legislation will impact them.

I apologize that my speech has raised more questions than answers, but that is clearly what one must do when one reads the legislation presented by the government to this House.

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): Did you mention the \$10 a day?

Mr Jackson: Yes, I did, Leo. I want to thank my colleague Mr Jordan, who yielded the time to allow me to get these concerns on the record. Much of what I had to say today emanated from concerns that have come from his riding and from the seniors and I appreciate his yielding the time for me.

In conclusion, our party has serious concerns. The Progressive Conservatives believe you don't destroy the private sector. The Conservative Party believes you treat seniors with dignity and ensure that they are provided with the necessary services for dignity in their old age.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? Seeing none, further debate.

Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines): We have before us today a bill which has undergone some fairly dramatic changes in the last

year, and certainly in the last two years since the idea of changes in long-term care were put forward by the former government.

During the last year there has been an enormous amount of work between the ministries of Citizenship, Health and Community and Social Services, and an enormous amount of consultation has occurred on this bill. Previous speakers before me have talked about the numbers of people who have come before them in all kinds of forums across every community. In total, some 70,000 people have had an opportunity to take a look at the package we have put out for consultation and have made recommendations on it.

I can tell you that in my own community a number of seniors' groups consulted with the long-term care facilitators. They were aided in that by a number of seniors' groups which acted as facilitators. All in all, there was a very broad and very thorough discussion of the changes we want to make and an idea of what people's needs really are.

I've sat here for a good part of the debate, in fact almost all of it, over the four days that it has occurred and I can tell you that for the most part I believe that opposition members raised some very legitimate and valid points about the bill, and demonstrated a concern that we all have for the care of seniors in Ontario and for the care of those who are challenged both developmentally and physically.

I can also tell you that there were some others who were strictly rhetorical and added very little in terms of contribution either as to good advice about how we could change the bill or good ideas about what else should be added. That was most unfortunate because I think second reading is the place where we can talk about the kinds of changes that we think would be helpful to the minister and try and see if we can get those incorporated both during public hearings and clause-by-clause.

Still others raised more questions than anything else, but I think that most of the people who raised those questions talked about technical matters versus the principle of the bill. I would argue that all members should be supporting the principles of the bill, because I think those principles are very sound and allow us a very good base to move forward in the future to ensure that we have community-based care and necessary levels of care for those who are in institutions in our province.

There has been a variety of opinions expressed during the second reading debate. In total, we have had some 18 speakers and we have debated this matter for more than 11.5 hours over four days. During that time, the minister has made it very clear to all of those who have spoken that we will indeed have public hearings on this debate. Those public hearings, I have no doubt, will be very well attended right across the province, and at that time people will make changes that can occur during clause-by-clause.

Given that I think a very full and complete debate has occurred on second reading of this bill over the last four days, and given that we will indeed have public hearings during the break, I would move that pursuant to standing order number 47, the question now be put.

The Acting Speaker: Miss Martel has moved that the question now be put.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I think this is just another example of the government using the orders to achieve its own agenda and not giving the opposition an opportunity to speak on these bills. They're using this just to cut down debate.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Cousens: My rights as a member are being abrogated by this government once again.

The Acting Speaker: That is not a point of order.

Mr Jordan: I think I have a point of privilege, Mr Speaker. I had promised the members of my riding that I would bring the concerns of the seniors in my riding, especially the seniors in private nursing homes, to the attention of the government.

Hon Mr Wildman: You gave up your time.

**Mr Jordan:** What do you mean, I gave up my time? Nobody told me that.

Hon Mr Wildman: Cam said you did.

Mr Jordan: No, I thought we sat until midnight.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. I appreciate that members have concerns. We all have seniors in our families and seniors whom we know. We are on second reading. The table has provided me with the information, and upon reflection, I do agree that the question now be put.

Miss Martel has moved that the question now be put. Is it the pleasure of the House that Miss Martel's motion carry?

All those in favour of Miss Martel's motion, please say "aye."

All those opposed to Miss Martel's motion, please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. A 30-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1805 to 1835.

The Acting Speaker: Would all members please take their seats.

Miss Martel has moved that the question now be put.

All those in favour of Miss Martel's motion please rise one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

### Ayes

Abel, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Johnson, Klopp, Lankin, Laughren, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathyssen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Owens, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Rae, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood.

The Acting Speaker: All those opposed to Miss Martel's motion please rise and remain standing.

# Nays

Arnott, Bradley, Caplan, Carr, Conway, Cordiano, Cousens, Cunningham, Elston, Grandmaître, Harris, Henderson, Jackson, Jordan, Mahoney, Mancini, Marland, McLean, Morin, O'Neil (Quinte), Poirier, Poole, Sorbara, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Wilson (Simcoe West).

The Acting Speaker: The ayes are 55, the nays are 27. I declare Miss Martel's motion carried.

We shall now move to second reading. Ms Lankin has moved second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care.

All those in favour of Ms Lankin's motion, please say "aye."

All those opposed, please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. A 30-minute bell.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): A five-minute bell.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): Are you saying five?

The Acting Speaker: Order. Please silence the bells. Do we have unanimous consent for a five-minute bell? No. Call in the members.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Silence the bells, please. I have correspondence here from the office of the chief government whip to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. "Pursuant to standing order 28(g), I request that the vote on the motion by the Honourable Frances Lankin for second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care, be deferred until immediately following routine proceedings on Wednesday, December 9, 1992." Signed by the Honourable Shirley Coppen, MPP.

The vote will therefore be deferred.

[Report continues in volume B]

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjoint et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	aux Affaires autochtones Chair, standing committee on general government/
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse
D	W. Cl. 11 1. C.		strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre responsable de la Stratégie de prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernemental
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L L	
Brant-Haldimand Brantford	Eddy, Ron Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Bruce Burlington South/-Sud	Elston, Murray J. Jackson, Cameron	L PC	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition Chair, standing committee on estimates/
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative,
		20	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Carleton Carleton East/-Est	Sterling, Norman W. Morin, Gilles E.	PC L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt Downsview	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony Perruzza, Anthony	ND ND	Minister of Education/ministre de l'Éducation parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Ourham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin Essay Vant	North, Peter	ND ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	NU	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture and Food/ et de l'Alimentation
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater
Etoolcoke-Lakeshore	Greet, Holl/E non Ruth A.	ND	Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	an Datean and the Language Lotolic
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, acting Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
			ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie,
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs par intérim
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to
			Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires
			intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	et du Commerce
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/
			Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David	IND	Minister of Correctional Services/ministre des Services correctionnels
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills
Hamilton West, Guest	7 Mich, Holl, 12 Moli Adellai d	112	Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre
			de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/
High Dorle Syronge	Ziombo Hon/I ?hon Eloino	ND	ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre
			des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne,
			aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
	23.0pp, 2 882	- 1	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture
			et de l'Alimentation
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General; deputy government
			whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général, whip adjoint
			du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration
			de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires
T a mala a m	Markinson Ellan	MID	francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	de foi prives
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/
			Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires
			économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for
			women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires,
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine Progressive Conservative chief whip/
London Horal/-Hora	Cumingham, Diamic		whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General,
ZONGON SOUNIN SUG	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1.13	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	Progressive Conservative deputy House leader/ chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Middlesex	Mathyssen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	asjointe partenentane de la ministre de 1 Environnement
Mississauga North/-Nord Mississauga South/-Sud	Offer, Steven Marland, Margaret	L PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses opposition chief whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/
vicker Deit	Laughten, Hon/L hon Floyd	ND	vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	et de la Technologie
Dakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Dakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General/Solliciteur général
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est Ottawa-Rideau	Grandmaître, Bernard C. O'Neill, Yvonne	L L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	Ĺ	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	32.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00.00
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord Riverdale	Conway, Sean G. Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	L ND	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/
S-D-G & East Grenville/ SDG. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	opposition deputy House leader/chef parlementaire de l'oppositio
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsn whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman

Constituency	Name of member	Party	<b>Other responsibilities</b>
St. George-St. David	Vacant		
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie, Vice-Président
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	du Comité permanent du développement des ressources parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	·
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/
	g,-		adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simona Wast/ Quant	Wilson, Jim	PC	gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest			andiamentary expirement to Minister of Labour/
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	minute of positions of a contract of the contr
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	* **
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	6
Wilson Heights Windsor-Riverside	Kwinter, Monte Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	L ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, Chair of the Management Board
			of Cabinet and government House leader/ministre des Affaires municipales, président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, et leader parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet/adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion
Vanla Cantas / Cantas	Carbana Casaami C	т	du gouvernement
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	lit
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/
77 1 3 4111	m 1 11 p 11	70.0	adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	Progressive Conservative whip/whip du Parti progressiste-
** *** ***	- C		conservateur
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/
			Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of
			Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil
			exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels

### COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE

#### STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

#### Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney,

Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman,

Paul Wessenger, David Winninger Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

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David Ramsay

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

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Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland

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Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean

Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaître, Rosario

Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman

Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

#### Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan

Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathyssen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin,

Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve

Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

#### Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch,

Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

#### Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano

Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson,

Larry O'Connor, David Tilson Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

#### Regulations and private bills/ Règlements et projets de loi privés

Chair/Président: Drummond White

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon

Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan,

Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola,

Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

#### Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Bob Huget

Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, W. Leo Jordan,

Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdock, Steven Offer,

David Turnbull, Daniel Waters, Len Wood

Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

#### Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler

Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin,

Irene Mathyssen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White,

Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

**Tuesday 8 December 1992** 

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

## Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 8 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### **Tuesday 8 December 1992**

[Report continued from volume A] **1840** 

TOBACCO TAX AND LIQUOR CONTROL STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT (RETURNING RESIDENTS), 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA TAXE SUR LE TABAC ET LES ALCOOLS (RÉSIDENTS DE RETOUR)

Mr Wiseman, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 85, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to Provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario / Loi modifiant la Loi de la taxe sur le tabac et la Loi sur les alcools de façon à prévoir le paiement de la taxe et des marges bénéficiares par les résidents de retour en Ontario.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Would the honourable member have some opening remarks?

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): The amendments to this bill give the government the authority to take the necessary action to—

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): Oh, the member for dumps.

Mr Wiseman: Sorry? I'll start again.

The amendments to this bill give the government the authority to take the necessary action to discourage cross-border shopping by collecting the tax due on tobacco and liquor brought into Ontario which is beyond the allowable amount under the returning resident exemption of the Excise Tax Act of Canada.

Millions of dollars in potential tax revenue are lost every year due to cross-border shopping for liquor and tobacco products alone. This bill authorizes federal customs officers to collect tobacco taxes on cigarettes, tobacco or cigars from Ontario residents returning to the province from outside Canada. The tax that will be collected is the same amount that would be paid if the tobacco had been bought in Ontario. The bill also permits customs officers to hold tobacco until the taxes are paid, and if they are not paid within 60 days, the tobacco becomes the property of the crown.

To enforce the act, one of the amendments will allow entry to a business to examine cigarette inventories. Those found guilty of an offence under the act on conviction could be fined not less than \$300 and not more than \$10,000. An additional fine of not less than 30 cents for each cigarette in an unmarked, unstamped package of cigarettes will also be charged.

Under this agreement, the federal government will administer and enforce the act on our behalf, both for tobacco brought into Ontario by a returning resident and tobacco delivered to a returning resident of Ontario from outside Canada.

The other part of this bill appoints federal customs officers as agents of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario. As such, they will collect for the board the markup on liquor when it is brought into Ontario from outside Canada. The officials may detain the liquor when the markup is not paid. A portion of the funds will be used to defray costs for the government of Canada's services.

Revenues collected under this bill will be approximately \$1.6 million in tobacco taxes and \$3.2 million on liquor markups each year. The total annual revenues will be approximately \$5 million.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Questions and/or comments? If there are none, the honourable member for Oriole.

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I rise as the critic for the Ministry of Revenue. Oh, I thought you said—

The Acting Speaker: If there are no questions and comments—there are. The honourable member for St Catharines.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I'm surprised, first of all, that there's a need for this bill. I thought the member would have addressed the fact that one of the reasons this bill is being brought in is that taxes are so high on this side of the border that people tend to go over on the other side of the border for the loss leaders.

The things that make people go to the United States in terms of making their purchases are, first, the price of gasoline, second, the price of alcoholic beverages and, third, the price of tobacco. There was one time when everybody felt these were sin taxes, and they were really taxes the public was expected to support in the long run.

As it's turned out now, they are not taxes that people are supporting; they are in fact taxes that are driving people in the border areas—the member for Sault Ste Marie would be aware of this and those in eastern Ontario, the members for Niagara Falls, St Catharines-Brock, Lincoln, Welland-Thorold, Niagara South and so on. We all recognize that the folks who live in our area don't really want to purchase things in the United States.

They look at the prices on this side of the border and we get into discussions that aren't always very productive in terms of patriotism. We get into these discussions and people start to go to the other side of the border to make their purchases. If the taxes were moderate here, if they were held in check, I think you would find fewer people doing that, and then a tax of this kind would not be necessary.

There are people who are going to object to this tax. They are often lower-income people who are looking for a bargain somewhere else who will see the prices significantly increased. But once again, if the Treasurer were not so eager to get his hands on virtually every penny he can from the people of this province through his gasoline taxes, his tobacco taxes and his taxes on alcoholic beverages, then the member for Durham West, who should be preoccupied with the many dumps that have been

proposed for his area, wouldn't have to get up and defend yet another tax being imposed by the government of a gentleman who for many years in opposition opposed every possible tax, that being the member for York South.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): It is difficult at this time to examine any piece of legislation from this government that addresses taxes. Taxes are the single most crippling millstone around the neck of all businesses and people in this province. It's the number one reason why this makes the recession doubly difficult, and so very difficult to begin your recovery from when any forms of revenues or income or profits are subject to such heavy and onerous taxes as the taxes we are faced with in Ontario.

There have been studies done over the past few years to show that this specific jurisdiction is one of the highest, if not the highest, taxed jurisdiction in North America. It's not surprising that we are also the one jurisdiction that has been so incredibly hard hit by this recession and is having so much difficulty recovering.

It's not a quantum leap to make the analogy that more taxes and overburdened taxpayers don't have any capacity to support a consumer-led jump out of this recession. Any government that puts on the legislative table at this time any form of tax that either creates a new tax or increases taxes certainly must be very careful in how it applies this particular theory.

In my opinion, this is just another form of increased taxation. It's another way for the Treasurer to prop up the depleted revenues, the coffers they go to to provide their programs, and it makes me wonder about how they expect local municipalities like Metropolitan Toronto to come up with a plan that's acceptable to them on market value assessment when they start suggesting that the way they work their plan out, through the same tax process, is unacceptable.

Yet you have the capacity to go back and tax any revenue source that you see fit. All they have is local property tax. It seems like a double standard to me.

1850

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I want to comment briefly with regard to the tobacco tax. When I look at the revenues that the government brings in each year, some \$985 million in tobacco tax, that's a large sum of revenue for the government, money that the government needs.

Now I understand the situation with regard to why there is tax on tobacco. I remember years ago when there used to be a tobacco industry in the county of Simcoe. They sold out many of their tobacco rights to Tillsonburg and Simcoe, Ontario. They have continued and now some of the farmers there are out of tobacco and they're into ginseng, as the Minister of Agriculture and Food will be quite aware.

But when we look at the aspect of the tourists who travel here to Ontario, when we look at what they have to pay for cigarettes, alcohol and gas, it's a concern that many

people have raised. To have an added tax on top of that is an extra burden for the taxpayers.

I know how hard it is to quit smoking. I did that several years ago. As a matter of fact, I did it on July 31, 1987, when Peterson called the election. I thought it was an appropriate time to quit and I was pleased that I did. But I'm telling you, Mr Speaker, some people can't do that and it's difficult. I respect those people who have that habit, but when we look at the aspects of health care in this province and money saved by health care, it's worth considering. However, it's people's own right to have that privilege of what they want. I say that to add more tax with regard to tobacco is going to put more farmers out of business. It will add to the tourism problem we have, and not only that, but it will certainly make Ontario less attractive for people who want to visit.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I just want to make a comment, because I will make more remarks later in the debate. My friend the member for St Catharines, who is, as usual, busily working the opposite bench, has raised a number of issues in his opening remarks on Bill 85.

I can only speak for my part of eastern Ontario, and it's very clear to people living in the Cornwall-Ottawa-Smiths Falls-Pembroke area that we now have a difficulty that I don't remember the like of in my lifetime. The amount of black market activity, in tobacco particularly, has reached epidemic proportions.

I was in Deep River the other day—and that's two and a half hours from the American border—and one of the vendors of tobacco products in Deep River was telling me that there has been a very sharp decline in tobacco sales in his area. He is convinced that it has much more to do with the black market than with some of the other very good initiatives that the Minister of Health is taking.

In fact, people in places like Pembroke, Chalk River and Deep River are openly indicating that they're buying their cartons of cigarettes for \$30 on the street. That is obviously a concern to the local member of the Legislature. It's, I'm sure, of interest to the Ontario Provincial Police. Clearly, as the member for St Catharines has observed in his opening comments, when the price differential is as great as it has now become between American cigarettes and Canadian cigarettes, as between American liquor and Canadian liquor, there is going to be a dynamic in the marketplace that is going to stimulate this kind of underground activity.

But I just simply want to make the point that in my part of eastern Ontario the price differential—a price differential, by the way, which is occasioned by a tax policy that I support—is none the less causing a very active black market that we are going to have to do something about.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Durham West has two minutes to respond.

Mr Wiseman: The standing committee on finance and economic affairs held hearings on cross-border shopping. One of the consistent themes we heard from the people making presentations was that they wanted to have

the government do something to help them. In fact, the federal government moved on this and the provincial government also decided to participate in that.

Presently, Canada Customs collects a markup on alcohol for all the provinces which bears little relationship to the current LCBO prices. The federal government offered to update this arrangement to collect tobacco tax for the provinces on a cost-recovery basis. As this arrangement will serve to discourage cross-border shopping, the Treasurer decided to accept the offer. This is part of the package that has been requested by the merchants in the cross-border areas in order to help move away from cross-border shopping, and I think it's one of the things we're trying to do to re-establish these border communities with respect to the availability of goods for the local population.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate. The honourable member for Oriole.

Mrs Caplan: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: What's the sequence? Is it not rotating?

The Acting Speaker: Indeed, we are rotating. We began the debate with the honourable member for Durham West, and then we had questions and answers.

**Mr Cousens:** All this was just on what he had to say.

The Acting Speaker: He just made his response and now we've moved to the honourable member for Oriole, a member of the official opposition. I recognize the honourable member for Oriole.

Interjections.

**Mrs Caplan:** Sometimes after the hour of 6 strange things happens in this House, Mr Speaker.

I'm pleased to have the opportunity this evening to speak on Bill 85, which is An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario. This is the second reading debate, and during second reading debate, as the critic for the Ministry of Revenue what I would like to do in the time that's been allotted to me is explain as best I can to the people who are watching on television, and perhaps to some members in the House who haven't had the opportunity to review the bill in detail, what exactly this bill purports to do. Some of the rationale for the bill I think has merit, but overall I have some significant concerns about the approach within this piece of legislation.

Bill 85, this bill we're debating right now, allows the federal government to collect new provincial levies—that means new provincial taxes—on imported alcohol and tobacco. This was one of the initiatives the Treasurer announced in his now ill-fated budget of last year, and it was part of a package designed to have an impact on cross-border shopping.

The bill is sitting on the order paper, and we know, for a whole number of reasons, that Ontarians are very aware of the impact on our economy of cross-border shopping and that we have seen, primarily I believe because of the local initiatives that have been taken in many of those border communities, a significant decline in cross-border shopping without this piece of legislation. So anyone who is going to argue that this piece of legislation, this additional tax, is going to be needed to combat cross-border shopping is making a false argument. It's fallacious to say that this is part of that package that is needed to deal with the issue of cross-border shopping. The history of the last numbers of months, the actual results of other initiatives to alert the public to the damage of cross-border shopping, in my view has made this legislation insignificant in the battle against cross-border shopping.

This bill authorizes the Liquor Control Board of Ontario to enter into a collective agreement. A collective agreement is something this government's very comfortable with, given its bias towards labour, I might say. So they authorized the Liquor Control Board of Ontario to enter into an agreement with Revenue Canada to provide for the collection of markups on liquor imported into Ontario by returning Ontario residents. What that means is, if an Ontario resident is in the United States and he or she returns with liquor in his possession, he will have to pay the provincial sales tax after this bill is passed.

The amount of the markup will ensure that the returning resident will give the Liquor Control Board of Ontario about the same amount of revenue as if the liquor was purchased in Ontario, so that it purports to remove any incentive of crossing the border to buy less expensive liquor, less expensive booze, as some would suggest.

The government proposes to increase the border levy mainly on liquor, for what's considered casual consumption of 9.1 litres or less. We know that if anyone imports a significant quantity of any substance, really—not only liquor but anything—if you import any appliance, if you import anything from the United States or from any other country in the world, you are required to pay provincial sales tax. This marks up those things which traditionally have not been considered by the border guards, the border crossing people, when you come across and make your declaration of excess.

#### 1900

I would just like to put on the record, if I could, what this might mean to the average consumer. For example, on a 750-millilitre bottle of liquor, the border levy would jump to \$8.57, up from the current level of \$3.98, for casual importing. There is a present levy now, and they are now increasing that levy so that there will be no differential between what you would pay on one side of the border and, when the taxes are added, what you'll pay in Ontario. Another example: Where more than 9.1 litres is imported, the charge increases to \$8.57, which is really up slightly from \$8.49.

What that says and what people should know is that this is not going after the major importers in any big way, because they're already paying the tax when they import. This is for the individual who goes across the border and may bring back a few bottles of liquor. That individual will see a very significant increase in the cost of that bottle of liquor because of the new tax that this bill will impose.

One of the concerns I have is that this piece of legislation is needed because of the NDP's mismanagement of our economy, which really has forced the Treasurer of Ontario, Treasurer Laughren, to search everywhere for new tax revenue. This bill, as I've argued, has almost nothing to do with cross-border shopping and everything to do with finding additional tax revenue. If he can getcha, he's gonna getcha.

We saw recently a list in the newspaper of 63 items that the government is considering for new taxation. During my remarks today I'm going to point out that this is just one example of a new tax grab, one that I think will be a significant irritant and one that I don't think will bring in significant revenue, because this kind of legislation will do something that I find particularly objectionable.

This kind of legislation, which purports to nickel-anddime the individual, will create and has already created a negative behavioural change. What do I mean by that? As a result of this kind of initiative, both as it relates to alcohol and to tobacco, we have seen a significant increase in smuggling. Any piece of legislation which creates an environment where people break the law, any piece of legislation which creates an incentive to try and circumvent the law, in my view, is not good legislation.

In the past, I have been a proponent of the use of tax increases in the name of healthy public policy when it came to tobacco and cigarettes, and I say that quite openly. As a former Minister of Health, the studies all showed us that there was a very significant relationship in the behaviour of the individual: When the taxes were increased, the usage declined.

Mr Speaker, let me tell you what the studies are showing today. The studies today are saying that we have reached what I would call a threshold. No longer do we find just the relationship that as you increase the taxes, usage declines. Now what's happening is that as you increase the taxes, smuggling is increasing and the usage is not necessarily declining at all.

By public policy, government is not having the effect of creating an environment where people will not smoke or will quit smoking because they know smoking is bad for them. They're not bringing forward healthy public policy. What they're doing is bringing forward policy which is encouraging public disobedience, bringing forward policy which is encouraging smuggling of cigarettes and tobacco, and I would say to the government that this is a very dangerous precedent and you must be very, very aware of what the effect of your policies is on our society and on the values our society holds so dear.

Canadians, by and large, are a law-abiding society, and when you try to force your ideology, when you try to force your views through inappropriate taxation, through inappropriate public policies, the public will rebel in a number of different ways. You will get tax revolts where people simply refuse to pay their taxes. You will get smuggling in increasing numbers as people find legislation such as Bill 85 more than an annoyance: the kind of irritant that will encourage human behaviour to circumvent this kind of legislation and policy.

There are a number of results of that kind of behavioural change that I think the government should be very aware of. As smuggling increases, particularly in tobacco and cigarettes, the government is likely to lose

additional revenues rather than gain from any of these revenue moves.

Let me explain very clearly what I'm saying. Once smuggling becomes an accepted activity within society, as a reaction to bad government policy, government will lose the very revenue that it had hoped to gain from this taxation measure. So the policy will fail on two counts. The policy will fail on the first count because you will not get the revenue you anticipated. The policy will fail on the second count because we know already it is not going to have an impact on cross-border shopping. That's happened without this bill, but it has changed public behaviour in a very negative way. These new border levies are certainly having an impact on smuggling.

#### 1910

I'd like to place on the record some comments from an article in the Globe and Mail which said very clearly what I've been trying to say in this debate. The headline says, "Prohibitive Taxes Spur Billion-Dollar Black Market." It says, "One in Nine Cigarettes Bought in Canada Stolen or Contraband."

In that kind of an environment, we are seeing the door opened to the kind of revenue loss that this government and frankly I as a member of the opposition think is a very dangerous situation. The government needs to have revenues in order to pay for the programs that people want. But if the public does not respect what the government is doing in how it raises those revenues or how those programs are being delivered, then an environment is created which I think undermines the values of our society.

Let me just give you a couple of quotes from this article, which I think is very significant:

"One in nine cigarettes bought in Canada last year was either stolen or smuggled across the US border, an eightmonth study commissioned by the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council found, producing an estimated loss in revenue of \$1.1 billion."

I'm skipping a few paragraphs. I'm not reading it totally in context but it says:

"Moreover, 'vast quantities of smuggled products, other than tobacco products, find their way into Canada through [the tobacco] distribution networks.' Drugs, alcohol, gasoline, groceries and other merchandise are cited£at key Ontario border points."

It goes on to say that Canadian customs officials are sometimes bribed to look the other way as shipments come in, this report that was commissioned by the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council found. They also found that this trade in smuggled goods has created violence at the retail level and elsewhere. The only difference between the Prohibition liquor smuggling and the contraband industry is that tobacco products in Canada are legal, yet they're made prohibitive by excessively high taxation rates. That's from the report.

I'm not going to read too much more, because I think the report makes the case. I'm not one who is arguing that you don't need to have a high tax level to discourage tobacco use; I think you do. But I think that from a public policy point of view, we must be very aware that at some point you reach a threshold. I would argue that I

believe, particularly during these difficult times in recession, that this province has now been suffering more than just over two years of incompetent government from the NDP; we have been suffering through the most difficult recession in decades in this province.

I've argued before in this House that this is not the time for new taxes. This is not the time to take money out of the hands of consumers; this is the time that you want people to be able to have those dollars, hopefully to spend on things which have been manufactured in Ontario. I would hope they wouldn't spend those dollars on cigarettes. I'll be perfectly frank: I would hope they would spend those dollars on other consumer goods and items that would be helpful to our economy and good for their health.

Mr Bradley: Automobiles.

Mrs Caplan: My colleague from Niagara, the member for St Catharines, who worries about General Motors, and rightly so—he worries about the workers in St Catharines—he's saying the people should be buying cars. I share his hope and his wish, but people will not be able to afford those cars if this government continues to increase taxes on everything. They increase taxes on gas, they increase taxes on cigarettes and alcohol, they increase taxes on just about every consumer good. We have seen more inappropriate tax increases during a time of recession from this government than I believe anyone would have thought to see from an NDP government.

On top of that, not only have we seen tax increases, we have a list of the non-tax but fee increases this government has imposed. I'll say to you, Mr Speaker, my constituents are fed up. My constituents are saying this government does not know how to manage. My constituents understand the need for people to be able to afford to live in this province. They know how difficult it is during a time of recession.

They know that we have seen plant closures unprecedented, over 550 jobs lost every single day since Bob Rae took power in the province of Ontario, and when they look at the government's record, what do they see? They see tax increases in the midst of a recession and they see fee increases, non-tax revenue, in areas where they know it really is a hidden tax.

I'm just going to name a few. I had a constituent come to my constituency office just in the last month to tell me about the impact of the \$50 corporation filing fee that has been recently imposed and the impact that's going to have on his business. We know that's going to raise an additional \$8.1 million for the government treasury, but let me tell you where it's coming from.

That is coming from businesses that are barely making it now, businesses that are having to lay off staff, particularly small businesses, the place where we know most jobs are created. We know that is coming directly from the consumer—

Mr Bradley: Right out of the consumer's pocket.

Mrs Caplan: —right out of the consumer's pocket, and we know that every time you raise a tax, every time you increase, whether it is alcohol taxes or tobacco taxes as suggested in this Bill 85—

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): It's cross-border shopping.

Mrs Caplan: The Minister of Agriculture and Food perhaps was not here when I began my address, but I told him that while they would like to sell Bill 85 to the people of Ontario as an anti-cross-border-shopping measure, it is not.

**Mr Bradley:** A tax grab.

Mrs Caplan: It is purely and simply a tax grab, and I'm going to repeat and tell him why this has nothing to do with cross-border shopping.

Cross-border shopping has significantly declined over the past year because of the outstanding efforts of small border communities in raising the consciousness in their communities about the impact. We know that if this government wanted to do something significant, what it could have done was lower gas prices at those border communities. They didn't do that, and they didn't do that even though the mayors' task force and everybody told them that was the one significant thing they could do, because people cross the border to fill up their tank of gas and while they're there they do a little bit of shopping.

#### 1920

Bill 85 has nothing whatever to do, in my opinion, with cross-border shopping. It is purely and simply a tax grab by the NDP Bob Rae government at a time when the very last thing the people of the province of Ontario need is to have more money taken from them in the form of new taxes.

Not only is this government taking money from them for new taxes that are inappropriate; this government is also taking money in the form of non-tax revenue, hidden taxes, which are having a very serious impact on our economy because they are hidden, because they are affecting the consumer, because they are affecting small business.

Let me give you another example of the kind of thing this government has been doing quietly. The cost of probating a will under the NDP government has tripled. They have raised the fee for probating a will. That takes money directly from the consumers, right from widows and orphans. The cost of probating a will has tripled in Bob Rae's Ontario in the last two and a half years.

The cost of a divorce petition: That transaction is up 68%. It has gone up from \$190 to \$320. Do you know who that affects? That primarily is affecting the women of this province. I would say that they are disappointed because they had expected support and understanding from Bob Rae, who purported to have a feminist government, and those of us in opposition who watched to see what kinds of things the Premier would do in support of women have been very disappointed, because the litany is a damning indictment. Talk is cheap, but a divorce is expensive in Ontario.

As a former title searcher I was shocked to find out that the cost of a title search in the residential real estate department of the ministry has increased from \$4 to \$11: a direct tax on the consumer; added disbursement for the lawyers.

They pass it right on to the consumer. Another hidden tax by this government.

The cost of filing a claim in civil court has gone up from \$75 to \$125.

It's not just in the justice system. This government purports to care about the environment. This government purports to care about our natural resources. Let me tell you that the Ministry of the Environment now charges a fee to test well water. That is new in the province of Ontario and that is a new tax levied on people who rely on wells and who regularly have to test that water to make sure it is pure and clean and safe for their families to drink.

There has been a royalty imposed on the value of fish caught by fishermen. There have been environmental certificates of approval which were formerly free of charge. Now a fee is going to generate over \$900,000 this year and almost \$2 million next year for an environmental certificate of approval.

This government, when it came into office in the fall of 1990, had a triple-A credit rating, a province on the verge of recession and some difficult challenges. The first thing they did was move to increase their operating expenditures by paying off their friends, increasing wage bills—the wage bill for the civil service alone went up 14% in that first year—and those fiscal decisions have put the rest of us taxpayers in this province in the position today of having to pay the bills for the fiscal and economic mismanagement of Bob Rae and his NDP government.

They created within the first year a deficit of almost \$10 billion, and they are so desperate for revenue that they are looking at everything that walks, talks, crawls, sleeps, breathes and snores. If you move in Ontario, you're taxed.

I saw a cartoon today that I thought said it all. This was a Suntoon and it's one individual talking to another and he says: "I hear Bob Rae has an idea for a new tax. Anybody who criticizes the NDP is taxed double."

Let me tell you, that would create a lot of revenue, because I can tell you that in Oriole riding people are telling me, loud and clear, how disappointed they are. They are telling me how fed up they are. Not a day goes by that they don't say to me: "How soon till the next election? When is the next provincial election?"

When I tell them that the next provincial election will likely not be until 1995, they say: "Elinor, isn't there something that you can do to make him call the election sooner? He's ruining this province with tax increases. He's ruining this province by his policies. He's ruining this province by his bias for labour."

It's not just the constituents in Oriole who feel this way. There was an article in the Toronto Star. An individual wrote the following story about Bill 85, actually. He says, "Border Markup Outrageous Money Grab." This is written in the form of a letter to the provincial Treasurer. I'm not going to read the whole thing, but there are a couple of highlights that I know the members opposite would like to hear. It says:

"What really got our goat was your recent announcement that we will have to pay the full LCBO markup on wines that we purchase outside Ontario (for Torontonians, it's usually Buffalo and Rochester where there are wine stores worthy of the name) and transport them back across the border.

"You say you want to reduce cross-border shopping. The entire Ontario economy has been hit by cross-border shopping. But instead of trying to help all retailers and merchants stave off bankruptcy, you're looking after yourself—protecting the government monopoly and making sure that you get your full pound of flesh.

"In fact, you could make even greater profits with this legislation because the LCBO won't have the handling costs of wines purchased 'abroad,' yet they will be charging us the 60 per cent markup as well as the usual provincial sales tax, federal excise tax and GST....

"The LCBO's lists are shrinking all the time. The board just does not offer the selection we want." The article goes on to say: "And now you are punishing us because of the LCBO's inability to provide a service that is supplied by every civilized country in the world by private enterprise.

"True, the LCBO says it will order any wine we want. But have you ever tried doing that? Do you know how many months it takes for your wine to arrive—that is, if the producer is willing to go through the hassle of exporting a single case? And did you know that you have no recourse if the wine you privately imported turns out to be off?

"If it's revenue you're after, Mr Laughren, let people buy wine where they want." This is the advice from the wine editor of the Toronto Star. "In supermarkets, food stores, private merchant shops as well as LCBO stores. You'll get your taxes and the wine-loving community of Ontario"—he believes—"will be better served."

It's interesting. I don't agree with everything he says, but I can tell you that the point he is making is that this tax, Bill 85, is misguided, that it does not do what the government says it wants to do, which is deal with cross-border shopping, that there are many other issues and many other reasons why people import wine into Ontario, and that perhaps the government should be looking at how the LCBO runs, makes its decisions, if it wanted to serve people better.

There's another article I thought was quite interesting. It says, "Will Tax Rise Trigger Private Enterprise?" It goes on to say: "The new levies announced by Treasurer Floyd Laughren to reduce cross-border shopping for alcohol and tobacco will raise the price of personally imported wine to the equivalent of the retail price that would be charged in the Liquor Control Board of Ontario stores. It can be argued that selection is not the issue. Ontario consumers will still be free to purchase abroad, but will simply have to pay more, but it is also true that those who choose to shop at home do face"—are you listening, Minister?—"an inferior selection compared with the fine wine merchants in the United States who have built their reputations and business on the depth of their selection."

What I'm saying to you, and what the author is saying to you, is that this is more than taxation policy. If you are trying to impact on the values and on the behaviour of the people of Ontario, you run the Liquor Control Board of Ontario and you can make sure that it stocks the wines people will want to buy here. You can do that and you

don't need a misguided taxation policy to do that. I think that's a very important point that should not be overlooked.

One of the other concerns—I won't be too much longer—on Bill 85 is that there are a number of things this government should be doing instead of Bill 85, and I believe it's very important as a member of the official opposition to be offering some suggestions of the sorts of things you can do instead.

I believe, as I've said before, that this is the wrong time to increase taxes. I believe this is the wrong time to be so desperate for revenue that you are playing havoc with both the business sector as well as the consumer. There are some things you could do, even though much of the mess we're in is a result of your policy. Many of the things that you could do would be quite creative and I believe you should consider them.

For example, I think you should be examining lowering the gas tax as well as tobacco and liquor taxes, particularly in those border communities. I think it would have the absolutely opposite effect. I think your revenues would increase because you would be using the incentive rather than the disincentive.

There's a flip side to every policy, and rather than raising taxes to the point where you are encouraging smuggling and bad behaviour, I believe you have to look at what is the appropriate threshold that will give you the right behaviour, that will increase your revenues because people's behaviour is positive.

I pointed out to you a few minutes ago that when you raise taxes and people smuggle, as a result your revenues are actually lowered. Often when you reduce taxes, people will spend more or they will stay home to spend more and you will actually have an increase in your revenue.

**Mr Stockwell:** Stay home to spend more.

Mrs Caplan: They will, instead of—Mr Stockwell: I'm kidding. I know.

Mrs Caplan: That's right. We were just having a debate on cross-border shopping.

Bill 85, I believe, has the wrong incentives in the bill. As I've said, I think it has the incentive which, unfortunately, is misguided, is a misguided incentive, because it will affect behaviour in a way which perhaps wasn't contemplated.

I want to speak for a minute about what the impact is on smuggling and how they purport to deal with that. The bill authorizes the Minister of Revenue, again, to collect taxes on tobacco which has been purchased outside of Ontario and outside of Canada. In the tobacco situation, the importer would pay a tax on foreign tobacco as if the product was purchased in Ontario. Under Bill 85, the tax would be 6.5 cents per cigarette and 6.5 cents per gram of cut tobacco.

The new tobacco tax collections are supposed to net the treasury about \$1.5 million in additional revenue. I've already stated that my concern is that you've reached the point where increasing taxes will not have an effect of lowering use. I think you've come to the point where you've reached a threshold, and now the suggestion that you're going to collect another \$1.1 million is not in fact what's going to happen.

As people engage in the black market on cigarettes, what happens is they will purchase more from the black market and your revenues will actually decline. All of your public policy determination to try and reduce smoking, I think, will be jeopardized by a tax that actually will encourage people to buy their cigarettes cheaper on the black market. As you encourage and support the black market, it will have exactly the opposite effect of what you would want from your taxation policy designed to encourage people not to smoke.

Taxation has always been used as a deterrent for people to smoke, but I believe that as you raise taxes at a time when people are rebelling against tax increases, you will create an environment where smuggling and the black market will flourish. That's where people will buy their cigarettes. You will begin to see as a result of this policy an increase in smoking in Ontario, which will turn back the clock on all the good work that the Ministry of Health and your Minister of Health have been talking about in the area of smoking-cessation policy. So I ask you to think about this very seriously, because this tax could well have an effect on your smoking-cessation program that you have not considered.

I think it is worth thinking about the negative impact of this policy before you go through with it. Now, you have a majority in this House and I suspect that over my objections, this legislation, like many other pieces of legislation, will pass. So what I'm asking, as part of this debate, as it relates to the tobacco tax, Bill 85, is that you monitor that, that you begin the monitoring as quickly as you can, because I believe you will start to see possibly that trend of more and more cigarettes being purchased through the black market in Ontario at lower prices.

I think you may find that you do not collect the revenues that you're anticipating. If that is the case, then my advice to you is to remove that additional tax that has taken you over the threshold, that has affected public behaviour in what I think is a very negative way. Because when taxpayers revolt and people start to behave in a self-destructive way, it is very hard to turn that around. I leave that with you to consider, because I believe that Bill 85 could have a very negative effect on your smoking-cessation policy here in the province of Ontario.

I want to say that the bill purports to address the question of smuggling, but it's an enforcement model, and what I have generally found is that enforcement models don't work very well. You cannot afford to have enough policemen. You cannot afford the kind of enforcement that would really make a difference. You have to convince people that obeying the law is in their best interests.

I don't think a fine of \$300 to \$10,000 and the confiscation of the goods for somebody who has a big black market operation, one, will act as a significant deterrent and, two, I also believe that in society generally you are not going to be able to afford to enforce that provision of this legislation.

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I've gone on at length because there were some public policy principles that I wanted to discuss in relation to Bill 85. As I said, I think that initially when it was tabled and addressed in the Treasurer's budget, there were some principles there that were worthy of debate and discussion. Initially when it was tabled, this was going to be the answer to cross-border shopping. A year later, we see cross-border shopping trips are down and this legislation has not been enacted and not one cent of the tax has been collected. So we know this is not going to have an impact on cross-border shopping. We also know this could have a negative effect on the tobacco cessation program of the province of Ontario.

Lastly, on behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, I urge Bob Rae and the NDP government not to raise taxes at this time of the recession. We need the consumers to have money in their pockets so that they can buy cars and buy consumer goods and help to spur the economy. I see the Premier is here. He is nodding in agreement. I ask that he withdraw this legislation because this is really a tax at the very wrong time. This is not the time to be raising any taxes.

Further, I say to the Treasurer, and I'll be speaking more about it on other occasions, this is not the time to be raising those hidden taxes, those fees and those non-tax revenue items that affect every small business and every consumer right across the province.

My feeling, as I wind up this debate, is that the people in the riding of Oriole are extremely disappointed to see a government so bereft of ideas, a government that made so many mistakes in the fall of 1990 that have really strangled the economy of the province of Ontario. While we try to be as helpful as we can be, there are some times when pieces of legislation which just do the wrong thing must be opposed.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Cousens: I wish we had had a chance to hear the member for Oriole when David Peterson was Premier so that she could make a speech like that, talking against tax increases. Those were the days when the honourable member for Oriole was sitting on the other side of the House, and there she was, part of the great, strong, new Peterson team in the process of making the new Ontario. It was a newly taxed Ontario.

The only thing that this member has to be disappointed about is that she didn't think of this tax back when they were in power. They thought of every tax, every other loophole, they closed the door on every person who came along. Just like the slaphappy New Democrats who come along and vote for every bill that their Treasurer or their Minister of Economics brings in, and they vote for it blindly, so too did this honourable member for Oriole. She too was just like a trained seal back when Peterson was in power.

I'll tell you, ladies and gentlemen of the House and the people of radio land and TV land, all you have to do is put into context what the honourable member is saying tonight and what she didn't say or did say a few years ago when

she had her limousine and the power trappings that went along with government.

The only disgusting thing is that when Peterson was in power they just raised taxes something furious. The economy was a little stronger then, so it could withstand it. But it was still bad what they did. None of those taxes have ever been rolled back, and then the New Democrats roll into power and they just continue to turn up the heat on the people of Ontario.

I only challenge the honourable member, former minister, to not go back and reflect on the things that you did do that have created so much of the problem here for Ontario, because part of the problem of our overtaxation today has to do with the very taxes that you and your government levied upon us.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

**Mr Wiseman:** I would like to just clarify a couple of points that the member raised. This is really a question of fairness in terms of what we're trying to do here, as well as trying to stem some of the cross-border shopping.

When a good citizen of Ontario goes to the liquor control board and buys his bottle of wine or bottle of liquor, he pays knowing full well that he is paying the full amount. When the person goes across the border for a couple of days and comes back across the border, he is allowed to bring across the border a certain amount. What we're saying here is that it would be fair for that person, who brings more than the amount he is legally entitled to, to pay the same amount as the person who stays in Ontario to buy liquor in the liquor control board.

The member laments ad nauseam about that poor person who buys the vintage wine. I have to say that for a person to have that kind of—

Mr Stockwell: Lamenting.

Mr Wiseman: Fermenting—lamenting, fermenting concern and to be so riveted with concern about the wine and the different products that he's buying should perhaps reflect on the fact that the LCBO has over 4,000 different products and that this variety is greater than you can find in the premier wine stores in Buffalo and Rochester. Over 1,500 of these products are prime vintage products. So they don't have to go across the border to buy a good bottle of wine. They can do it right here at home.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Stockwell: The point that was raised, I think, by the member for Renfrew North and I think elaborated on by the member for Oriole is the saturation point at which time taxes become so onerous that black markets develop, and I think that's something we should all begin to look at. I think tobacco has reached that stage. I think alcohol has reached that stage as well.

It gets to the point where you can go across the border and pay significantly less for tobacco or alcohol and legally transport it back and make windfall profits, and I'm talking windfall profits. When you can buy a carton of cigarettes in this country for some \$45 because of taxes—and I don't want to place blame at federal-provincial levels,

but due to taxes, it's \$45 or \$50—when you can go across the border and pay in some cases half as much for cigarettes, it's such a disparity between the two countries that you tend to create this black market.

What happens in a black market is the people become so saturated with taxes that you no longer collect the revenues on the tobacco that you instituted the taxes in the first place for.

We have seen cases where transport-trailers have been pulled over for illegally transporting cigarettes and the hauls that they're talking about are worth in the millions of dollars. So we as government—not government, but we as stewards of the taxpayers who superintend the dollars that we collect, must be very cognizant of the fact that, by increasing taxes on both alcohol and tobacco, we in fact feed a black market for illegal profits and profiteering at the expense of our collection. It is truly a double-edged sword. The question we have to ask ourselves is if tax has reached that saturation point.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): The member opposite actually brings up a very valid point. I'm surprised. The issue here is not raising taxes, as the member for Oriole says, but rather collecting taxes equitably across the board. My friend the member for Durham West brings up that point quite well.

Is it not only fair that everyone should pay the same taxes, or should we be condoning people who smuggle? Should we be condoning people who engage in black market activities? I would suggest that that's what the member is suggesting, that somehow taxing people who are smuggling, who are engaging in black market activities, is not acceptable and is an extra tax.

I think that unless we do that, what we are effectively doing is adding an extra tax on all the rest of us here in Ontario who duly, respectfully pay the taxes that we are obligated to do, whether it's at the liquor store or whether it's the corner smoke store.

I think that in order to avoid a double standard, a standard whereby the opposition would suggest that it's quite all right to bring things across the border and not declare them; it's quite all right to smuggle in tractor-trailer loads; it's quite all right to do things because it's all right to avoid taxes; somehow it's all right to not assume our responsibilities as everyone else in this community should, as our members do again and again—I would suggest that that is not all right for us. We should all pay our fair share.

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The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Oriole has two minutes to make a response.

Mrs Caplan: It's clear that the last speaker did not understand this legislation at all. This legislation is not going to tax the smuggler; it's going to encourage more smuggling and tax avoidance.

The point I want to make is this: This is from a column on November 26, 1992:

"Just a few years ago, the assumption was that everything was cheaper in the United States—clothing, electronics and so forth. Not so today. Canadian retailers are responding aggressively by becoming more price-competitive, more efficient, by promoting superior-quality products and ensuring better guarantees, warranties and customer service."

Another article, November 26:

"Consumers can now choose from among a much better selection of goods and services right here in our own province. Prices are much more competitive. Ontario retailers are determined to compete even more effectively for your shopping business when it comes to price."

That's the reason cross-border shopping is down. It has nothing to do with the misguided taxation policies of the NDP government. I would say to my colleagues who commented on the remarks that I had to make: Good fiscal policy says that you do what you can afford to do. At a time when you can afford more services, you have to tax to pay for those services. At a time when your province is in recession, when people are losing their jobs, you cannot afford to increase wages; you cannot afford to add new programs.

You must look to be as efficient and as effective at what you're doing as you can possibly be. You must look at the elimination of everything which is a wasteful expenditure. The one thing you must not do is take more money out of the economy through inappropriate taxation or create an environment where smuggling and tax avoidance become the order of the day. Bill 85 creates the wrong environment in the province of Ontario at this time.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): It may be found astounding to other members of the Legislature but my caucus is going to support this bill on second reading, even though this government has brought forward legislation which it has fouled up from time to time.

We just got through a number of bills. Yesterday we had third and final reading for advocacy and consent legislation. In that process we went through more amendments than there were sections in those bills, some 405 amendments to bills which had approximately 250 sections in total, and at the very last moment we had to deal with 120 amendments to those bills which we in the opposition were only given notice of about two days.

Therefore, when they bring forward that kind of legislation, it's sort of refreshing in a way to see that this piece of legislation actually makes some sense. It makes some sense in terms of dealing with the cross-border shopping issue.

Quite frankly, when I was briefed by the Ministry of Revenue officials, I said, "In order to really stop cross-border shopping, why don't they collect for you provincial sales tax at the border on all of the goods that come across?" The Ministry of Revenue said to me, "We would like that, but they won't do that for unless we combine provincial sales tax and the dreaded GST."

My party has stood out clear and has said that we should combine the GST and the PST, particularly to stop cross-border shopping. Not only that; it would make it much easier for business to deal with. They wouldn't have

to file two returns each month, keep two separate pots of money in order to pay two different governments two parts to this.

If in fact the government was really concerned about cross-border shopping it would bring in, I believe, much more extensive changes to the structure of its retail sales tax collection. Some politicians are very reticent about coming forward with a policy which would join the GST and PST. I understand that, if you can't stand up for what is probably right and logical. I just think that it's time that this government acted in the best interests of all of the people. If in fact the GST and the PST were joined, particularly for goods—if they didn't want to do it for services, that could be understood, but they could do it for goods—then the federal government would collect both the PST and the GST on items that are declared as they are brought across the border.

We are losing some money because of the inequities with regard to duties and taxes in bringing liquor and cigarettes across the border, which we're addressing here today, but we are missing much more than we are collecting under this bill. Therefore, I say to the member for Niagara Falls, who is here: If in fact her merchants in downtown Niagara Falls are concerned about cross-border shopping, I want her to tell them about the Progressive Conservative policy, which would in fact help their situation much more than this tiny piece of legislation which we could support.

I don't understand the reluctance of this government and, quite frankly, other provincial governments who have cross-border shopping problems to deal directly with the issue. People don't like the GST. They don't like the PST. Nobody likes taxes, but the fact of the matter is, when you add them together, they come to 15%. Why not just collect 15% instead of collecting 8% and 7%?

I want to say that every so often the government can bring forward a piece of legislation which we can support. So for people who are at home and who might be following this debate, these taxes are only on those items, being liquor or cigarettes, over and above the amount which a resident is allowed to bring back each time he or she is there for, I believe, 24 hours. I believe that's the time frame and I think each resident is allowed to bring back a litre of spirits and perhaps a carton of cigarettes. Not being a smoker, I don't bring them back very often except for gifts or something like that for somebody.

At any rate, if the person brings back more than that, these particular taxes and markups are included, and I can't argue against that. I don't like the fact that we have high taxation on wine or we have high taxation on liquor. The member for Etobicoke West talked about those. Quite frankly, being a very, very strong advocate of trying to get people to quit smoking, I do believe taxation is an important element in discouraging particularly young people from smoking and therefore, of all of the taxes that I support, the taxes on cigarettes, I think, are the most acceptable, if you want to put it that way.

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I want to say that what this tax does is, on an average bottle of wine that is brought across the border, under the present rules, on a bottle of wine which would cost \$14 in the United States and was claimed at the border, over and above the litre they would have brought in, it presently is \$2.63 which is charged at the border. This is going to increase twofold to \$5.51 on that bottle of wine, quite an increase in a markup, if you want to say, with regard to the wine coming in. But the markup, as I understand it with regard to the free trade agreement, has to be reasonable with regard to the markups we put on that same bottle in our stores.

In effect we support this bill because it evens the playing field with regard to the sale of liquor and cigarettes in this province. Therefore the bill makes sense and we will be supporting it.

**The Acting Speaker:** Questions and/or comments, the honourable member for—

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I thought you were going to recognize someone over there.

The Acting Speaker: No, I don't think so. The member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. It's always a privilege to listen to the member for Carleton as he performs in the House. He has over his very lengthy career given some very excellent speeches, and I've often heard people tell me about some of his more legendary speeches which he used to make at the cabinet table when he was dealing with the issue of freedom of information.

The freedom of information which he championed for so long ultimately resulted in the legislation which has been used to shield the government these days, but I wish only to bring to your attention those of his attributes to measure against his very insightful speech this evening on this particular legislation.

I wonder if the member when he replies to my remarks, with his very considerable experience here, might answer the question which is troubling me just a wee bit, and that is whether or not his leader, nicknamed or at least maybe self-described the taxfighter, would consider support from his critic for these measures to be at odds with their public speech.

I know there will be a speech by the member for Etobicoke West and others, because he will try and set the record straight, but I can't help but ask the question, how is the member for Carleton going to survive this assault on his leader's integrity as the taxfighter when he stands and says, "We are for these new tax measures"?

I understand that there is an issue of fairness and a whole series of other initiatives that might be used in reply, but Mr Harris, the member for Nipissing, has been so stalwart in his absolute opposition to taxation that I think there is a bit of a risk for the member for Carleton. He may not get to speak much more often.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Stockwell: It's unusual, and I'm very certain that a Liberal would find it unusual, that there could be a member in a caucus such as this who could stand up and present his own ideas, and ideas that may not be in tune

with the rest of caucus but are ideas that he believes in wholeheartedly.

The freedom of this caucus is the true test of democracy. This caucus proves on an ever-going-forward basis that democracy has no political boundaries or artificial lines drawn in neighbourhoods for where you can begin to think and where you can't. Unlike the government, and it seems to me unlike the Liberal Party, this caucus believes that each individual member can bring forward an opinion that is both valued and listened to.

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: I don't know if I should take any heckling from those across the floor after today in market value assessment. I will just give you forewarning that if you're going to heckle me, I will start a long and very heated debate on market value assessment, and I'd like not to do that, because we're in such a jovial form tonight.

I would like to compliment the member for Carleton, who has had a distinguished career and has put forward many good motions, many adopted in this House, while in government and in opposition. The ideas that he brings forth are most honest, sincere and very well thought out, unlike those who stand before us from the government side at times and simply mouth government policy. As I said before, on government policy, they suggest that they all agree.

Interjections: Ten, nine, eight, seven—

Mr Stockwell: There they go. There's a real—

**Interjections:** —six, five, four, three, two, one, zero.

Mr Stockwell: Mr Speaker, my time's closing, because we now have the members opposite counting down, like the brain surgeons they are.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Wiseman: I'd like to thank the member for his comments. I know that he sat on the finance and economic affairs committee while the presentations were being made about the cross-border shopping. I think he understands very well the issue of cross-border shopping and how this bill is going to impact on it.

I would like to say, however, in just the last few seconds, that one of the things we aren't going to do is to harmonize the GST with the PST. The reason for that is very straightforward: The GST is an extremely regressive tax which taxes many items that the PST does not tax, such as books and children's clothing. We think that these items should be tax-exempt, and we're going to keep them tax-exempt under provincial law.

So I'd say that while I thank the member for his support, I just wanted to clarify that.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Bradley: I'm intrigued by my friend the member for Carleton supporting a tax and expressing, on behalf of the Progressive Conservative Party, his support for this particular tax, which I know the member for Etobicoke West will be endorsing as well.

I look at this tax and try to remember when the member spoke, because I was listening carefully to what he said, and in fact he did not mention that this tax may be a forerunner to an increase in the tax on auto workers, because there is a tax, as you would know, Mr Speaker, that is a so-called gas guzzler tax. What it really is is a money guzzler tax that guzzles money from the pockets of the people of this province and then puts them in a circumstance where they're unable to purchase vehicles that they would like to purchase.

When I saw this tax I said, "This is what we're going to see next," because as soon as they talk about tobacco taxes and alcohol taxes, we start seeing them go to automobile taxes, whether it's a gas tax or it's the so-called tax on automobiles called the gas guzzler. I call it the tax on auto workers.

Now what this very deep recession we're in does is it puts us at a very great disadvantage, those of us who represent auto-making communities. We've lost, as you know, well over 3,000 jobs, at least that have been announced, almost 4,000 jobs at the present time. I just hope that this is a forerunner not to an increase in the tax on automobiles but to the Treasurer finally recognizing that he should withdraw that tax on vehicles and that he should suspend the provincial sales tax on automobiles for approximately six months to a year to spur those sales and get people into new vehicles.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Carleton has two minutes to make a response.

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Mr Sterling: I think it's important to note that when we suggested in our report to the economic affairs committee that we meld the GST and the PST, we recognized that there would be about a \$400-million to \$500-million windfall for the government of the day when it undertook that particular tax reform.

It's true that our party is not for new taxes. There's no question about that. What we do believe in, however, is that there can be tax reform within the system, and we view this as tax reform. We believe, for instance, that if you are addressing the cross-border shopping issue by doing this, then you should take the amount of money which you would gain from this measure and use it to drop the tax, say, on—the one we had suggested in our report, our minority dissent, to the economic affairs committee was that they decrease the gasoline tax 4.5 cents per litre and use the amount of money you gained with regard to combining the GST and the PST in order to bring that into a more competitive situation. We believe that tax policies should put us, in this province, in a competitive position with regard to other jurisdictions, and quite frankly, Bill 85 follows that general theme.

I don't believe you can go through government without having tax reform. We believe very strongly that border communities are suffering from this and this will help them in some small way, and we're proud to support it for those very reasons.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): Indeed I see it as my duty tonight to get up in this debate and speak for a few moments on this important issue of cross-border shopping, which really is what this tax is aimed at, and to share some thoughts on what I see is a very difficult challenge that we as a government face in these times of recession and in the context of a federal government that is hell bent on removing all borders in this country between ourselves and the United States, and by so doing, drop the quality of life and the standard of living to a level that is more in harmony with a Third World country than the kind of lifestyle we in our community, in our province and in this country have come to expect.

It's good also to follow the member for Carleton, because my thoughts will reflect to some degree some of his. I think this is an issue we should all drop our traditional boundaries or borders on and begin to work together more cooperatively. It's a challenge that faces all of us, and if we don't get a handle on it, we'll do immeasurable damage to the economies of the communities a lot of us represent.

In Sault Ste Marie, we've had an interesting process of coming together around this question. It wasn't long after I got elected that a study was done that showed that there was approximately \$140 million to \$145 million being spent across the river in Sault, Michigan, each year, which represents a significant number of jobs, a significant amount of profit to the business sector and indeed a significant amount of tax revenue to all levels of government. So the chamber of commerce, which paid for the study to be done, gathered all of us who had a concern and an interest, and that included myself, the federal member of Parliament from Sault Ste Marie, municipal politicians and others, to sit down and talk about this difficult issue.

The one most obvious way we all saw might be an answer to some degree to stemming the flow of dollars across the river was to make sure that those who were buying goods in Sault, Michigan, were paying the appropriate tax coming across the river so that we had a level playing field, and it was the business community itself that was supporting the idea of collecting taxes at the border.

When I came to Queen's Park and spoke to some of my colleagues and listened to the debate on the GST and came to understand why it was actually impossible for us to harmonize the PST with the GST, which is what the federal government wanted us to do if it was going to collect across the board the kinds of provincial sales taxes that we felt needed to be collected in order to create this level playing field that would give our businessmen on our side of the border a fair shake in this difficult economy—

Mr Bradley: How about businesswomen?

Mr Martin: Business people, business persons, whatever. It became obvious to me that we weren't going to be able to collect taxes on everything, but we would move as quickly and as intelligently as we could to collect taxes on those things that we, as different levels of government, could agree on. In this instance, after some long and difficult discussion and debate and negotiation, it has been

agreed that we could in fact together collect taxes on liquor and cigarettes, which are two of the rather—

Interjection: Big offenders.

Mr Martin: Yes, big offenders, that's right; two of the items that a lot of people like to buy across the river and bring back.

We in Sault Ste Marie are looking at a number of other initiatives that we might take. As a matter of fact, this government has been rather generous to all the cross-border zones, as identified in the last couple of years, by way of dollars to develop initiatives to do a whole lot of things—to help businesses with their marketing and in the area of service and do some interesting advertising, particularly around the season of Christmas—to try and entice people to stay on our side of the border and shop here because of the impact, of course, that it would have on our local economy and the taxes it would generate for the levels of government.

But in the last few months, on the invitation of the Premier of the province, when he was up to speak to the chamber of commerce—there was an interesting gathering of people—the labour council, myself, the federal member of Parliament, the chamber of commerce and municipal politicians and others began to gather information around the question of gasoline taxes. We've begun to study just what might be done on the question of gasoline taxes that would keep people on our side of the river so that they might purchase that commodity and bring into the government coffers the taxes that go along with that, and perhaps have an effect as well on the ability of our local dairy to sell milk, which is also very severely impacted by this whole question of cross-border shopping.

Anyway, I'm going to wrap up my few thoughts by saying that this is seen by me and many in my community as an important initiative in front of this challenge, and I will be, on behalf of many of my constituents, supporting our government as we bring this forward.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mrs Caplan: I spoke earlier on this, but I would like to comment on my friend from Sault Ste Marie's contention that this piece of legislation is connected to cross-border shopping. I would like to draw his attention to the statistics that have been gathered about cross-border shopping. We have seen significant progress. The day trips are down, and down significantly. The cross-border shopping problem we were experiencing here in Ontario of a couple of years ago seems to be getting better. I read into the record some of the reasons why: Ontario prices have come down, Ontario retailers are competing, and I believe that Ontario consumers have had their awareness and consciousness heightened about the damage cross-border shopping does to our community.

Bill 85 is nothing more than a tax grab. It will not have a significant impact on cross-border shopping. I know that the member opposite, while well meaning, is misguided. He comes from a border community. He knows that lowering gas prices in Sault Ste Marie would be more of a deterrent to those people who cross to Sault, Michigan, to fill up their tanks than collecting, or attempting to collect, tax on the purchases they may make. That's the point. I ask the member

opposite, have you read the studies which suggest that the gas prices in the border communities are one of the reasons that people are lured across the border? Why do you not acknowledge that this bill is a tax grab and nothing more?

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The Acting Speaker: Further comments and/or questions?

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I was very interested to find out that this member thought this was an important initiative. As we head into the Christmas season, with all the problems that we are facing in this province, to be dealing with this bill—quite frankly, this is not an important initiative.

He talked a little about advertising. All the advertising campaigns do is highlight the fact that booze, cigarettes and gasoline are cheaper in the United States. Do you really think this is going to stop people from going to the United States? All it does is highlight the fact that in all those commodities the product is cheaper in the United States. In a funny way, this helps drive more people down there. They say, "Look, the cigarettes are cheaper down there, the booze is cheaper down there, the gasoline is cheaper down there," and you have a government paying for advertising to tell the people of this province that that's what it is. Nobody is staying to shop.

He talks about the study on gasoline. You do not need to have another study to tell you that if you increase taxes, people are going to go elsewhere to buy the product. We've got a government that talks about studies, that it's going to study this and study that.

Mr Stockwell: Stakeholders.

Mr Carr: And stakeholders: "We're going to deal with these people and this group." You do not need to be a Rhodes scholar to understand that if you increase taxes, people are going to get around it: They're going to go to other jurisdictions, whether they be other provinces or the United States, to buy products.

Finally, the fact is that cross-border shopping is the biggest tax revolt, and this member stands and says we're going to have advertising campaigns to keep people in this province. They're leaving in droves to go to the United States, and they're going because the products are cheaper down there. And they aren't cheaper because the workers here charge too much or the companies can't compete; they are more expensive because the government cannot control its spending. You can't continue to tax, spend and borrow like there's no tomorrow. Otherwise, there will be nothing left in this province.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): The last two speakers have referred to the cross-border shopping that has been with us for some time, and I would like to give you an update on that. I have been following it quite carefully over the last year and a half, but let's back up a wee bit further. I believe it started as a revolution. Cross-border shopping has been going on in a border community like Niagara Falls, which has two direct bridges

from downtown to the downtown across the river, for centuries; let's put it that way. And it's a tradition both ways, back and forward. But since 1989, with free trade and then heightened with the GST two years ago, that's when the real revolution started.

A year ago, we had a campaign of advertising that was initiated by our government promoting why we should shop in Canada and the benefits of that. That campaign was certainly successful to some degree, and we're now examining it again to make it even more successful.

The outcomes of this? I think everyone in this House would agree that the merchants on this side in Ontario are becoming smarter and are advertising better. We're keeping more of our people here. You can see it in all the discount merchandise, and this is what people want. Obviously, in this recession, this is what we need.

People also realize that the taxes they pay here go to support our superior OHIP coverage, our education, our social programs and our quality of life. But what's happening now is that we are trying to bring the US customers with the lower dollar over to our side. We've got the Festival of Lights going on in the city of Niagara Falls. We are advertising, with the help of the Ontario government and the Canadian government, in many papers in the US, and we are now getting those US people coming to our side, and I think we have to build on those kinds of strengths.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): One final participant, the honourable member for St Catharines.

Mr Bradley: I thought that perhaps the reason they were implementing this tax which will bring them in some revenue was so they'd be able to pay for the many polls that are taken by the provincial government.

As you know, when he was in opposition, Premier Rae was very much opposed to the manipulation of public opinion, to the policies that were derived from the polling which is paid for out of the taxpayer's pocket. I think if people could see that the money that will be derived from this tax would be spent on something productive, they would find it much easier to accept than the things we believe it's going to be spent on.

I remember the Premier used to say that the opposition and the media and the public had the right to know the results of polls paid for by the government—that is, polls paid for by the taxpayer—immediately, not simply to have them kept within cabinet confines to make their policy and then release them nine months later, when they were no longer topical or particularly useful to anybody else.

**Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General):** Mr Speaker, what does this have to do with the tax?

Mr Bradley: The member for Rainy River asks what this has to do with the tax. Of course, what I'm clearly pointing out is what I think you're going to spend this tax on, and I'm wondering why the member for Sault Ste Marie did not talk about that.

**Hon Mr Hampton:** What does the chamber say in your town?

**Mr Bradley:** He asks what the chamber says. I would love to tell you what the local chamber of commerce has to say about your government, because it is extremely criti-

cal. These are the people trying to promote business in our community, promote tourism in our community. I meet with the other members from St Catharines and district and we go in to meet with the chamber of commerce, and it is almost uniformly critical of virtually everything you people are doing. I think they are going to be concerned that you're going to squander this money on self-congratulatory advertising and public opinion polls.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Sault Ste Marie has two minutes in response.

Mr Martin: I appreciate the opportunity to respond and thank my colleagues for the comments that were made. I would first like to say to the member for Oriole that I would rather say that she is the one who is misled, misdirected, and is attempting to mislead and misdirect the populace out there.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. Would the honourable member for Sault Ste Marie please reconsider.

Mr Martin: Yes, I reconsider; I withdraw.

However, I want to say that this issue is not a simple one. It is indeed very complex and it's going to require a number of initiatives, including the ones we've already taken on as a government and are working very hard to make sure are effective, in partnership with the chambers of commerce across the province and the labour councils and the communities which are impacted most directly by the cross-border shopping phenomenon.

Anybody would be wrong to think that the differential in gasoline prices is not a factor. In fact, we in Sault Ste Marie are looking at that very closely to see if there's something we can come up with that we could present to this government that could be accepted as an answer to that particular piece of the problem. It's a huge problem.

This legislation that we introduce here tonight will be a good stab at it. It's an initiative that I'm sure will be supported by the chambers of commerce across the province. It'll be supported by labour councils, certainly in my community. It'll be supported by anyone who is intelligent and thinking about this difficult dilemma and will contribute to a multipronged attack that this government has already initiated and will continue to initiate as we come to terms with the economy that we're in and this particular piece of that economy.

2030

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Cousens: When one listens to the New Democrats talk about Bill 85, the Tobacco Tax and Liquor Control Statute Law Amendment Act, you'd think they were talking about the most important single piece of legislation to come before this House since they came to power on September 6, 1990. You'd think we had before us today the piece of legislation that's going to get Ontario back to work, going to begin to balance the budget, going to begin to make Ontario healthy and strong again.

But no, what you're getting here is just another loophole being closed by the government: "If somebody's going to be a bootlegger, bringing liquor or cigarettes

across the border, then we're going to penalize them and collect the tax that's due on it." That is the great big piece of legislation, and we hear the member for Sault Ste Marie say, "This is so difficult to bring in; it's momentous," and the words he uses to describe it are words you'd use for something like a brand-new agreement between the people of Ontario and the rest of the world on how to make Ontario healthy again.

Here we are in the Legislature spending time talking about another tobacco tax and another liquor tax, and the rest of the province is sitting out there, many people unemployed, many people hurting, and wondering what it is Ontario is going to do to get Ontario strong and healthy again. This Legislature has spent more time finding ways of punishing people for surviving and to go after them to make sure that the coffers of the government would be that much fuller so it could misspend it.

If they had any confidence that the money was being well spent, they'd say, "I feel I'm part of Ontario and making it a good place to live." But instead what you've got is a government that restricts money for education, for the universities, and the schools aren't able to build the classrooms, aren't able to provide the backup they need. We're seeing the developmentally handicapped come, about 4,000 of them a couple of weeks ago, to Queen's Park to complain about the lack of funding. You've got groups all across the province saying, "Help," screaming for support, and the government, collecting another couple of million dollars through this tobacco tax, has done nothing to rebuild the confidence and the strength of this province.

What misplaced priorities this place has. We're looking at a province that was once the engine of Canada, and still can be and should be and has the makings of being that, but a province that is actually suffering today in a way that it's never suffered before. We're seeing unemployment at the level of maybe 12% here in the greater Toronto area. We're seeing people who are running out of unemployment insurance and having to go on welfare. You see more houses up for sale because people can't afford to make their payments because they don't have the revenue coming in. And what are we talking about? A tobacco and a liquor tax. Where are our priorities?

It's nothing like the Agenda for People that the New Democrats bragged about, that got them elected in September 1990. It has nothing to do with the grand agenda to make a province strong and healthy again. Here you've got the New Democrats coming in with another bill, another way of saying, "Hey, we'll cut that corner, we'll cut this corner."

They haven't begun, as a government, to deal with the problems of cross-border shopping. This becomes the mechanism the government uses: "Hey, let's fix them up on the liquor and on the tobacco that comes across the border illegally." Fine. Good. As far as I am concerned, if this bill were part of a comprehensive plan, if the government had some overall strategy to say, "We are going to do something about Ontario's economy," so that people would want to shop in Niagara Falls or Sault Ste Marie or in Canada, then I would support the bill easily. But it isn't.

It's like every other piece of legislation this government's coming out with; it's piecemeal.

In February they made some announcements that they'd something about cross-border shopping, and then seven or eight months later they come in with Bill 85, which is supposed to be the answer to it. What a pile of unbelievable, unadulterated garbage. That isn't what people are concerned about. They're saying: "Make Ontario strong. Let Ontario become the place where we want to shop, we want to buy, we want to grow. Look at the overall scene."

It's been raised already in the House. It's cheaper in the States to buy gas. It's cheaper to buy just about anything. Now that the dollar is starting to change, the value of the dollar is such that people will begin to say: "It's no longer the great big saving to go south of the border. Maybe we can start to buy here in Canada."

That's what we really want to see them do: buy here, shop Canadian, buy Canadian. But support Canadian manufacturers, support Canadian business, help the Canadians who are out there making an investment in a company to grow that company and build it, rather than punish it. Set a climate for Ontario so that we can be the kind of place we once were. What you're seeing instead from this government is a series of bills over a period of time which is going to drive Ontario further and further down in its standard of living, in its gross domestic product and just about everything. Bill 40 is the classic example of a government that lost sight of the overall picture.

This government, the New Democrats, brought in labour legislation. First of all, the process was wrong because it didn't involve business, it didn't involve the whole community. It was really the labour groups influencing Mr Rae and Mr Mackenzie to develop a concept to make Ontario more unionized. It's driven a huge wedge that separates business from labour and from government. That's the kind of thrust this government's had over the last two years.

In particular this last year, it's the single worst piece of legislation the government's come out with, because it's going to push Ontario into another era, into a place where you're not going to find outside investors. Our standard of living will go down unless we do something about it. We're seeing the whole business world shudder at what's going to happen in Ontario come January 1, when Bill 40 comes in.

Quebec lost one million more person-days in strikes from 1977 to the present, when it had the whole thing brought in where they weren't allowed to bring replacement workers on the floor of a plant. This government now has done it to Ontario, along with a plethora of other changes to the labour legislation, which puts a bias in Ontario that's pro-labour and anti-business. When you have them at odds with one another, then you start having a province that isn't growing together, working together.

How does that apply to Bill 85, the tobacco tax? I'm telling you what it does. It says that here is a province that isn't really pulling together, working together to make it the strong economic engine it's capable of being. I believe

in Ontario, but I also believe that we have a job to do, to work as legislators with the whole business community to develop a dream for this country again, develop a vision, the kind of thing our leader, Mike Harris, is saying.

Bring down your spending as a government. If this government had found ways of reducing its deficit from something like \$10 billion down to zero—each year this deficit begins to grow and grow. If the government were controlling its spending while it's trying to do some of these add-ons of tax, then there would be some balance, but there isn't. On the one hand, you've got government spending out of sight, and then you've got taxes growing and growing.

You're never going to feed this hungry animal known as the bureaucracy of the Ontario government, because it's always going to be hungry, always looking for more money, always more taxes. The problem is that you've got to do two things at the same time. You've got to reduce the level of taxation, so that the people in Ontario, who are already the most heavily taxed jurisdiction in the world, are somehow being protected from all the tax increases. For many of the people in this Legislature, we're much higher than the average person in Canada for our income earnings, because out of the public trough you have here in Ontario, we all get what seems to be an awful lot of money compared to so many others who are out there. I'm concerned, when you start having all the money in government, and this government keeps on feeding upon the population around it, that you have a government that's never, ever sated. So you have another tax, another way of solving the problem.

Why not solve the problem through more efficiencies in government? Why not solve the problem through generating a better climate for business to succeed and prosper? But no, here we are again in the Legislature, just before Christmas, bringing in another tax for the people in Ontario. I just find it so repulsive that we haven't got the big dream in focus, the big vision, the big sense of how we in Ontario can get Ontario back to work again, people pulling together, instead of the New Democrats coming out with their social agenda and then paying for it off the backs of the taxpayers of the province of Ontario.

I want to refer to some of the remarks of the Premier and put them in the light of Bill 85 and this tax legislation. Mr Rae, on October 14, 1992, sent a letter to a number of people, probably thousands, and I don't know the exact number. It was accompanied by a letter from the president of the Ontario New Democratic Party, soliciting funds for the New Democratic Party. At the bottom of it, it says: "Yes, I support Bob Rae and his work. I wish to contribute to the leader's fund. My contribution will be," and it puts a number of dollars they can have, or Visa or MasterCard. But in the letter that accompanied this appeal for funds, Mr Rae, who is bringing in this new tax, also said a number of things he's doing. I'd like to just contrast the two, how they fit in together.

#### 2040

Mr Rae said in his letter: "Whether it's the Liberal right or the Tory right, their message is always the same:

'If you want jobs, forget the justice agenda,' they say. 'Forget fairness.'"

First of all, I don't know how he can start putting words into the mouths of our caucus. You can do it with the Liberals because they've said all things. You saw that with the member for Oriole tonight, who, when she's in opposition, says quite a different thing about a tax bill than she did when she was in government, because the Liberals brought in more tax bills than even the New Democrats so far; of course, they were in there longer.

But the fact is that that is not true, when the Premier says that the Conservatives and the people I'm associated with say, "Forget the social agenda." That is not true. "Forget the justice agenda." That's not true. "Forget fairness." That's not true. I believe in fairness, I believe in equity, and our party believes in fairness, our party believes in equity.

The Premier goes on to say in his lovely fund-raising letter: "The wage protection fund: Thanks to our government, Ontario is the only province where all men and women are guaranteed to get the wage they are owed if their employer goes out of business or bankrupt. There's just no reason for workers to be cheated of their due through no fault of their own."

Well, it's not totally true. Do you get the whole wage you're owed? Not all of it. There's a certain limit they're owed, and in his own letter he says you get all the money. Hey, not true: You only get a certain amount of the money. Again, it's the kind of innuendo the Premier puts into his letter that just isn't valid.

Why is it that he gets away with it? I suppose when you're in power you can say what you want, when you want, how you want, to whom you want, and they're going to believe you. Well, I'll tell you something. We're not just taking it. We are going to unravel and reveal to the public at large just want a sham this New Democratic government is.

He goes on in his letter to say: "These are the programs the right tell the citizens of Ontario they ought to forget. They'd rather see social programs slashed and government made ineffective again." I tell you: "Government made ineffective again?" I've never seen it get so ineffective. I've never seen our tax dollars so abused and misspent than they have been by this government. Our riding offices can't get off the phone trying to get the problems dealt with where people want to get a birth certificate, because the government moved the registration desk up to Thunder Bay. Hey, they know how to wreck a system.

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): Oh, come on, Don. When did that happen?

Mr Cousens: Between the two of you, I can't separate the Liberals from the New Democrats, because they may start it, you're finishing it, and neither of you know how to run a good business well. You really don't know how to do it. You're both confused. To me, the public at large still sees it as a coalition, because in 1985, when David Peterson came to power, it was a matter of Bob Rae saying to him, "We're together." I'll tell you, I can't tell the difference.

The fact that you guys will say in a letter, and your Premier will say, that we would rather see social program

slashed, I'd like to know what social programs we would slash. The developmentally handicapped came to Queen's Park a few weeks ago; there were 4,000 people here on the steps of Queen's Park saying, "Do something for us." They're people who are 100% dependent on society, and there they are, asking us for a handout. How wrong. There isn't one of us in this House who should ever want to see the day again where the developmentally handicapped, people who are dependent upon society for help and support and its work, come out front of this Legislature, pleading and crying for money. What a sham, what a waste. Here is the government that came out with its Agenda for People and said it was going to do something for people, and those are the very people who have come now to protest on the front steps of Queen's Park. What a horrible, horrible scene.

That's what Bob Rae said in his letter so people would give to the New Democrats. I just hope some of those people stop and think before they send their cheque. He said that we'd rather see social programs slashed. There's one social program that Marion Boyd has slashed, and I will never, ever forget the day we saw those 4,000 people out in front of the Legislature. For her not to have reversed that position, for her and the tricommittee in the province of Ontario to reduce funding for people who are handicapped and in need—that is a social conscience issue that has to touch every one of us in this House, and we're not doing anything about it.

Bob Rae said we'd want to cut. You're the ones who have slashed the social budget and you're the ones who will be found guilty in the spring of 1995 when you go back to the public.

On goes Bob Rae: "The message of the right is nothing but a prescription for an 18th-century economy." I can't believe Premier Rae would say that, that we want to go to an 18th-century economy. I think you guys are doing it because you're driving Ontario business out of business. No one's going to want to come and invest here now. Investment from outsiders isn't coming in, so you're driving them out. You've turned the clock back; yes, sir. The New Democrats have turned the clock back so we're into a whole new era of reverse economics. Turn the clock back to some other century's approach.

Already we've gone into an approach that's like Sweden's. You're making Ontario the socialist centre for the world, because the rest of the world is going to democracy and freedom. We've got Bob Rae and socialism coming in rampantly, along with more taxes, more government spending on things we can't afford and driving the economy into the ground.

Mr Stockwell: Underground, what's left of it.

Mr Cousens: What's left is underground, because there's more business being done on the side, through barter systems and all kinds of sordid, sad stories. It had its beginnings in your time, and back to the Liberals. Maybe the seeds were there from the beginning of time.

However, when the Premier, with his pontificated approach—I mean, there's no one who stands on a higher pinnacle of power in Ontario than the Premier, and when

he said, "The message of the right is nothing but a prescription for an 18th-century economy," I just have to say the Premier is wrong. He is absolutely, totally, unequivocally wrong. I don't know where he's getting his facts from, I don't know who he's listening to, but he sure isn't listening to the people out there who are absolutely and utterly filled with dismay at the way this government is handling the economy, the way this government is driving business into the ground, the way this government is not establishing a climate for business, the way this government is not establishing a climate for business, the way this government is doing its own thing against the best interests of all the people of Ontario. A government that wanted to build by consensus, to bring all groups together, would be listening to and working with all those groups.

I like this line, when Bobby said, "In the two years since we were elected by Ontarians, I have worked steadily to recruit new investment." Dig that: New investment? What new investment has come into Ontario in the last two years since the dippers came to power? Not very much. I see the investment in my riding: more empty buildings, more commercial properties for sale, businesses closing down, hard, tough, mean times, and this government has done nothing to help business get going again and get it rolling.

I like this line too, Mr Rae speaking from his own high pinnacle: "I've crossed and recrossed 16 time zones from New York to Stuttgart to Tokyo and back." All I can say is that he may as well have stayed here, for all the good he did. We've had his ministers trekking around the world. The Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology has headed off to Pakistan and India and many parts of the world.

Mr Stockwell: Who did?

Mr Cousens: Ed Philip. And he doesn't even come back with an announcement of what he accomplished or did. There's no statement in the House, there's no coming forward to say he's accomplished anything. But he's travelling and spending taxpayers' money. I wouldn't mind him doing a bit of travelling if he did something for us, but instead he comes back and just sits at his desk, puts on the silly face and we don't know anything about it. I don't see any change in investment coming back.

I see more happening when Mayor Hazel McCallion of Mississauga heads off and goes and talks to people in China and other places to try to get them to come and bring their business to Mississauga. I see more by Mel Lastman going out there to build a community and make it right. I see the mayors and the people around Ontario trying to do something about the province of Ontario. I don't see anything coming from this socialist government that's helping things.

2050

Bob Rae said in his fund-raising letter, "I've crossed and recrossed 16 time zones." He could have stayed here and dealt with the problem of our police forces. At that crisis time, when we had the police, concerned as ever about the relationship between themselves and the government, asking for a meeting with the Premier, where does the Premier go? He hops on another plane and heads across

another 16 time zones. Why not stay here and have his own battles in this time zone so that here in Ontario we can deal with the issues that concern the people of Ontario?

He goes on to say in this fine letter, "Our New Democratic government is also taking direct actions to put Ontarians back to work." Tell me what. I don't know what they've done to put Ontarians back to work.

Mrs Caplan: They have done nothing.

Mr Cousens: Ontario citizens want to get back to work, and they've done nothing. I quote the member for Oriole. I haven't quoted you in my life, but the honourable member for Oriole just says that they've done nothing, and for once I agree with her. This is a new alliance between the member for Oriole and me.

What have you done to help people get back to work? They are screaming for help. They're looking for opportunity, they want to have a chance. They want to raise their kids, they want to send them to school and they want to send them out to learn a trade or a business or get an education. But what's this government done? Sweet nothing. Sweet, sweet nothing to get them back to work. Yet here it is in the Premier's letter to people who are going to give some money, "We're going to get them back to work."

What this government has done is come in today with another tax bill that says: "Yes, we are going to increase the tax on tobacco and on liquor." That's what they've done. I tell you, I compare this letter with what the government's doing—

Interjection.

**Mr Cousens:** You're not in your seat. You shouldn't be speaking.

The Acting Speaker: Order. Would the honourable member please address his remarks to the Chair. I hope that other members—yes, including the one who's speaking right now, who's not in his seat. Interjections are out of order, particularly when members are not in their seat.

Mr Cousens: I compliment the Speaker. I feel that the Speaker is doing everything he can to control this motley mob. It's tragic that they don't understand the rules of the House and live within them, the way I try to. I have to admit that I have had moments of failure.

But on with the Premier's letter. He had a lot to say. It's unfortunate that I can't find out how much money he raised through this sloppy letter. None the less, probably a lot of New Democrats got it and said: "Premier Rae, you've done so much to help Ontario. We're going to send you another little bit of money."

How he could ever say it, I don't know; he probably didn't have a straight face when he wrote it, or maybe someone else wrote it for him, but he said, "Our government has helped secure a \$140-million investment from General Electric to build energy-saving products with worldwide sales potential right here in our province." Well, I have been led to believe that that installation, fluorescent lighting and a few other things GE was going to do, was going to happen anyway, it was on the way. I attend many openings as a politician; I'm invited to go the ribbon-cutting and share in the very happy moment when there's a startup. Like every one of the politicians in this House, from all

parties, we go to those grand openings, cut the ribbon and say: "Isn't this wonderful? Keep up the good work. Keep growing, keep developing." Well, there was one that was going to come anyway, and all Mr Rae is trying to do is take the credit for what someone was going to do anyway.

As a politician, I'm invited to all those openings, and like most of us, I go to them and want to give them encouragement. I don't get invited to the closings, and over the last two years and longer, there have been more businesses go out of business, go bankrupt, close their doors and just forget about it, because they can't make any money in Ontario. The climate isn't right. Where do you see the politicians then? We're not there. We forget about them, and they're the suffering people. They're the suffering, hardworking people who in the past have been the pioneers who built this country, but the province has made it almost impossible for them to stay in business and to stay alive.

I only have a few moments left, and I want to touch on a couple of the other little nuggets in Premier Rae's letter. "When women receive only 65 or 70 cents on the dollar of what men are paid, our economy is being denied one of its best routes to innovation and growth." I happen to agree with him on that. "We're changing that," he says. "Our first step is to expand pay equity to include 400,000 more Ontario women."

Mr Bradley: Are they not keeping that promise?

Mr Cousens: I wanted to ask that. That's a good line. "Are they not keeping that promise?" asks the member for St Catharines. I want to know. Can this government testify and say, once and for all, that it is going to keep the promise to expand pay equity for 400,000 more Ontario women? Mr Rae said that in his letter to get money. How many thousands of women is he hoping to dupe on that line, saying, "Hey, I'm going to get you some money, so you give me some money." That's what the letter's all about, Premier Rae saying, "I want your money, so I'm going to put some money in your jeans." I'll tell you, there isn't any sense in this Legislature that this government is going to institute pay equity for women.

I like this line; this is another thing Bob Rae said in his fund-raising letter: "Through employment equity and antiracism programs, our New Democrat government will dismantle these barriers. We'll throw them on the trash pile." I don't know how you're doing that. I saw more done on reverse discrimination this last summer in what this government instituted with its summer works program, that caused others, who are not part of any one minority group, to feel left out, and I've seen this government, in its whole approach to racial issues, increase the tensions rather than decrease them.

I see the human rights situation in Ontario as abysmal. The backlog continues, and this government is not doing anything about it. They're disbanding the task force that's supposed to do something about the backlog in human rights. We still end up having people with massive issues of racial intolerance, and this government, which has pontificated in such a lofty and mighty way, says it is doing something.

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): Sure, Don. If you don't do anything about it, it'll just go away?

Mr Cousens: Oh, come on. I'm saying we have to do something about it, but don't say you're doing something when you're not. Then Premier Bob Rae says: "Our rightwing opponents miss no opportunity to deride our continued commitment to social justice. They think that fairness, that equal opportunity for all Ontarians, are luxuries we cannot afford." That's poppycock. He's trying to paint a picture of other political parties that may be something he has in his own mind but is not close to the reality, not close to the sense of social conscience that I know that members in our caucus have and even members in the Liberal caucus have, a sense of social conscience and social equity for all people in the province of Ontario. Yet Bob Rae comes along and says that we deride a commitment to social justice. He is wrong, and for the man that called David Peterson a liar, I wonder what I could call him now, except that the parliamentary system doesn't allow me to call him what he really is.

Mr Bradley: Go ahead.

Mr Cousens: No, I'm not going to. I don't want to get kicked out before I'm finished.

So here he is, Premier Bob Rae. He has the sense that only he is right. He's got all the answers. He comes along and says that we deride a commitment to social justice. That's not true, not true at all. Commitment to social justice is something that anyone elected to this Ontario Legislature, from every party, should share and most of us do share. In fact, I can't think of any member in this House of any party who doesn't have a strong social conscience, nor would there be anyone that I have met or talked with who would put into words or practice this comment by Premier Bob Rae, that we would deride "our continued commitment to social justice." That is totally an outright lie. It is not true. It is not possible. That is not where we're coming from, and yet that's what he says to try to raise money from his New Democratic fans.

I'm nearing the end: "Our government will bring a new, better style of economic management to Ontario. We'll work with the market, but we'll also make the market work to meet people's needs." What a sham. What a lie. What a mistake.

The problem is that the people believed Bob Rae back on September 6, 1990. They voted in a large, massive majority of New Democrats to run the government. So instead of dealing with the economic issues, we're tonight dealing with Bill 85, another bill to tax the smokers and tax the drinkers. Fine, go and tax them, but you haven't begun to deal with the big issues that make Ontario tick and make Ontario strong and make it a place to be proud of.

2100

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Ms Anne Swarbrick (Scarborough West): This is a debate on the second reading of Bill 85, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario.

I understand that the opposition in this House has been complaining that 30 minutes is not sufficient time to make a reasonable speech about a particular bill this House is dealing with, yet we've just listened to a 30-minute rambling diatribe which really dealt with a fund-raising letter used by Bob Rae within the New Democratic Party, not the government, and which was a 30-minute diatribe against this government on every kind of generality, with the exception of Bill 85, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario. I didn't hear one point with regard to that. I think this makes a sham of the opposition's complaints that 30 minutes is not sufficient time for them to reasonably debate a bill before this House, and I think it's that very kind of speech we just heard which causes the Ontario public, including me at times like these, to feel very cynical about the workings in this House.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Bradley: Since we are supposed to respond to the comments that are made by the speaker, I will certainly respond to the comments he has made and indicate that someone showed me the letter that goes to people who are supposed to donate money to the New Democratic Party, and in fact it has "Office of the Premier" on the outside.

Now, there's that disclaimer that Audrey McLaughlin puts on hers, and the disclaimer that Premier Rae puts on his. Nevertheless, it says "Office of the Premier" on the outside, so people think they're getting a letter from a really important individual in this province, namely, the Premier, and they open it up, of course, and find out that it is full of material which is not always as accurate as it might be.

One way people can save money is that if they purchase their NDP card, they can get a discount of 1% from the Bank of Montreal MasterCard. I thought the New Democratic Party was a party which wanted to see everyone have the same break in the province of Ontario, but here it is steering the business towards the Bank of Montreal. I wondered why the member for Markham, when he was talking about fund-raising, did not refer to the fact that the NDP does give special privileges to certain people in this province.

All my life I believed, from the days of Bob Carlin, a good member from northern Ontario who was drummed out of the NDP for being too left-wing, for being too progressive in his viewpoint—I would think that Bob Carlin, were he alive today, would be protesting some people having special privileges in this province by buying an NDP card.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Carr: As usual, the member for Markham has hit the nail right on the head. I know the other side doesn't want to hear it and I know the member for Scarborough West talks about "pathetic." I want to tell you what is pathetic.

What is pathetic is a member like the member for Scarborough West, who has worked literally years to get into this Legislature, and before Christmas, as we try and rush through the bills, what are the big bills we're dealing with? Employment equity, pay equity, all the things she fought for all her life? No, Bill 85. No one even knows what Bill 85 is. You want to talk about pathetic, member for Scarborough West? The member for Nickel Belt, who became Treasurer, for 20 years in this House, day after day, talked about programs for people. He becomes Treasurer, and Bill 85 is what he does when he gets in power. That is what is pathetic, a party that has wrangled and spoken for years and years to get into power about what it would do, and the members on the back bench who worked for years to get into power, and Bill 85 is what we are talking about as we head down to a recess before Christmas.

The member for Markham tells it like it is. The other side is pathetic. No one knows and no one cares about this Bill 85. I don't even know why we spend the time to pay people to put these in the members' binders each night. This is a pathetic piece of legislation. For the members on the other side, for the member for Scarborough West, to come into this Legislature and talk about other members, when they have fought all their lives—the big reform was going to happen, and what do we get from this government? Bill 85. No one knows, no one cares what it is. You're going to get about \$1.6 million from it.

I want to tell you what pathetic is: Pathetic is the other side and the NDP government in the province of Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): I am absolutely—

Mr Elston: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would understand that the member is still wanting to carry on with MVA. Did someone tell him that this is Bill 85 instead of Bill 94?

The Acting Speaker: Order. That's not a point of order.

Mr Mills: My mind is boggled when I hear the supreme Grinch of Christmas, the member for Markham, sitting over there and criticizing this government about taxes on cigarettes. What a short memory he's got, when that party was responsible for the most diabolical tax increases in this province's life when it had the ad valorem tax on gasoline, on diesel fuel, on tobacco, on cigarettes.

They weren't satisfied with the normal process. I used to do it for these people, and I would go out and I would find that the tax had gone down, and we'd come back and they'd say: "Go out again, we can't have a decrease in taxes. We cannot. Go out again. Don't go to any discount stores, don't go to any discount gas bars," because they increased the tax on all those commodities, not once a year, not in the budget, but every three months solid.

How you had the audacity to sit there and talk about this government raising taxes is absolutely beyond me. I cannot believe you are serious. You must have lost your senses to stand here and talk about that. It's a complete disgrace to get up and talk about this government with its taxes, when they are their own mothers of tax increases when they were in power. It's a disgrace and you should be ashamed of yourself.

4038

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Markham has two minutes in response.

Mr Cousens: I woke them up, anyway. It'll soon be feeding time.

First of all, the member for Durham East was a tax collector himself, so he made his money as a tax collector. He was known as the NDP dipsticker back a long time ago, so he's quite aware of what taxes were and how people came to this country and how you had to have people collect it. Obviously, you did a good job and you remember something from the past.

I thank the member for Oakville South. I think you really highlighted that the speech that I tried to give was one that really said that you, as a government, have lost sight of the real challenge and opportunity that the people of Ontario gave you. What is pathetic is the fact that you had a chance to do something. You've got two years, and if you keep running it the way it is, you're going to run Ontario right into the ground.

I'd forgotten, and I thank the member for St Catharines for pointing it out, that the letter I quoted to you from Bob Rae is very much government business. Right at the top of it is "Office of the Premier," Bob Rae. So this is him bragging about his government's accomplishments, and there he is—

[Applause]

Mr Cousens: Well, there's nothing to be proud of in what he had to say in this document. All you have to do is take it piece by piece and part by part, and you'll find then, member for Scarborough West, that it is something to be thinking about. The fact that this government is spending so much time bringing in such a small, meaningless bill, compared to the overall picture that has to be dealt with—that is your mistake. You, as a keen, intelligent, hardworking person among the New Democrats, should be forcing this government to do the kinds of things you believe in, and it's not. They have lost their social conscience, they have lost their business conscience, they have lost the future next government.

I see you stand and make the comments you did and talk about cynicism. I say to you, you should become far more cynical about the promises you made and how you're living up to them, because you've broken the promise with the people of Ontario.

2110

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Bill 85?

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I think some of the partisan shots we just heard show what the problem is with this province. In the last 10 years, we have had all three parties in power, and all three parties have taken the same measures in their budgets, in their taxation policy, yet we try to solve the problems of today by pointing fingers at yesterday and the day before.

I would like to agree with the member for Etobicoke West, who said we have reached the limits of tax tolerance. Anybody who goes out into his constituency and talks with the people will realize it. It doesn't matter whether you talk to a businessman, a labourer, somebody on welfare, some-

body in management, whatever, the first story you hear from every one of your constituents is that there's too much taxation, that they are overly taxed, whether it's by the provincial government, federal government, municipal government or the school board. Taxation has just reached the saturation point and they can't tolerate it any more.

Upon reading what Bill 85 is about, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario, you wouldn't think there would be something to oppose, but the fact that it's a tax measure, the fact that the ordinary Canadian resident reacts with aversion to any mention of the word "tax" is one of the things that creates a sense of opposition.

The other thing that's wrong with it is that it's similar to the tax the NDP put on used cars. You'd say, what is the connection? I had Mr McCallum call me and say, "It's making honest people pay for people who cheat the government." He says, "Make the penalty more severe for cheaters, instead of hitting everybody." In the case of the automobile tax, he says, "It's hitting the working man because the wealthy don't buy used cars."

It's the same situation here. The wealthy don't go cross-border shopping to save money; they go out of luxury. It's people who have been taxed to death here, who cannot make ends meet, who are forced by our high taxation, by our high prices, to cross the border and shop in the States. The solution to cross-border shopping is not higher taxation of whatever kind; it is a reduction in price. As on tobacco and alcohol the highest component of price is taxes, I suggest the solution to cross-border shopping is a reduction in taxes.

You'd say: "The government has problems balancing the budget. It's got a \$10-billion deficit which it is trying hard to meet. There's a recession verging on depression, if it hasn't reached that stage. People are losing jobs by some 500 a week. Companies are going bankrupt daily. How can the government afford to lose a source of revenue?" But the problem is, not one government in this country, at any level, has tried the other approach of reducing taxation as a stimulant, to leave more money with the people to have extra money to spend. I think this is an approach that somebody should be trying.

Now, in Bill 85, there's one measure I do like, and that is the fines for smuggling. People caught smuggling tobacco will be subject to a fine of between \$300 and \$10,000 and the confiscation of goods. That in itself is good, but the corollary to that is that the profits on smuggling are so lucrative that these fines are insignificant. They are not a deterrent to people who are really determined to smuggle.

For instance, I have read stories that drug smugglers have switched from smuggling drugs to smuggling tobacco. Why? Because it's more profitable and there's less risk, because if you're caught smuggling drugs, the penalties are severe, and if you're caught smuggling alcohol or tobacco, the penalties are insignificant in comparison to the profit. So on the one hand, we're trying to deter smuggling by increasing the fines, but on the other hand, because of the increased costs due to taxes, because of the differential in prices, more people are inclined to smuggle.

I'd just like to draw the parallel between most of the countries of eastern Europe during the time of the Iron Curtain and when the borders were really strongly guarded: That was when smuggling was in its heyday. The black market was what made the economy run in those countries because the profits to be made were so great that they outweighed any deterrent, the severe penalties for getting caught.

You don't even have to look at the former Iron Curtain countries; you just have to look at Italy. In Italy, the black market economy is so strong that when Italy is asked to attend a conference of finance ministers, they actually have two attendees: one for the regular market, and one of the black market, because that is how strong the black market activity is in Italy. What has caused it? Again, excessive taxes.

I think we have to start learning from the experiences worldwide to avoid repeating the mistakes that have been made elsewhere. As many of our colleagues have said, I don't think anybody comes into this House, runs for office, trying to make matters worse. I think we all try to do better either for our community or for our region or for the province as a whole, depending on our broad our outlook is. But I think sometimes we get so caught up in ideology, or so caught up in the trees that we miss the forest. I think this is one of those situations, where we are trying to avoid one evil and we're creating another evil.

There has been mention in this House regarding the time allocation and the fact that we have been wandering in our speeches, while we've complained so much about the 30-minute time limit. I can just give you my own experience. I have been prepared to speak time and again on various bills in this House and prepared to speak for 30 minutes. My normal limit would be 10 to 15 minutes to make sense, but bringing a lot of material with me, I think I could drag it out to 30 minutes; there are other members in this House who can probably speak for days and still be coherent and still make sense and still come up with new ideas.

#### Interjection: Sean Conway.

Mr Sola: Yes, the member for Renfrew North is one of those. I came prepared quite often with a stack of material so that I would be able to make my points over a 30-minute time period, and when I arrived here, I found out that there had been an agreement among the House leaders that despite the 30-minute time limit, because of time allocation that either I would not speak, or I would cut my time in half so that another member would be able to speak, or I would start speaking and I'd receive a note that, because of the shortage of time, I would have to give up my speaking turn so that somebody else would be able to speak. So while 30 minutes sounds long, if there would not be time allocation tied in with the 30 minutes on most bills, I think we would have sufficient time for most members in this House to express their opinion.

#### 2120

But there's another point I'd like to make. Recently, the government brought in a bill, or several bills, in which they had over 100 amendments. With 100 amendments, if

you took just one minute to speak on each amendment, you'd be speaking for 100 minutes, which would be almost four times your allocated time limit. On 100 amendments, it wouldn't take much genius to be able to construct several sentences to take up one minute of time.

We have had several bills in which there have been hundreds of amendments brought in, and not just brought in, but brought in at the last moment, sometimes not even giving sufficient notice to the critics so they could prepare a response or see whether they're acceptable, whether they could be in agreement with the amendment or not.

Those are some of the problems with time constraints, although I must admit that in my own instance 30 minutes would be more than ample time.

On another topic, I think we have to try to act together to try to solve the problems of this province. I think the partisan bickering that is going on in this House is making us lose face, if it's possible, with our electorate, and it is making it impossible for us to solve the problems of this province, because we're trying to make political points. This goes for the government as well as the opposition parties; none of us is an angel in that regard.

With the hole the province finds itself in, with the economy being in the doldrums as deeply as it is, I think all of our constituents expect us to try to improve matters, because whichever party follows this party in power, it will be better off, the better off the province is. If we leave the province in such a shape that nobody will be able to pull it out of the hole it's dug itself into—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): We're trying.

**Mr Sola:** Yes, you are really trying. I think, unfortunately, that you're succeeding, Mr Treasurer. That's one of our problems. You should try filling the hole instead of digging a deeper hole.

Hon Mr Laughren: I always spoke highly of you.

Mr Sola: Well, I speak highly of you, and that's why I can't understand how come the measures you bring before this House are not in keeping with my high opinion of you.

Hon Mr Laughren: Former higher opinion.

Mr Sola: No, I still have a high opinion. I think you're doing some of these things in spite of yourself, because you're so tied in to your ideology that you can't cut the ties that bind. If you just studied the problems that your ideology got all of eastern Europe into, even Sweden—you know, we don't hear enough about the Swedish case on this side of the ocean. We still hold it up as a model of democratic socialism, but if you read some of the European papers and you hear the problems that Sweden is in, it's almost a carbon copy of what we are experiencing right now.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): Don't take it from the newspapers.

Mr Sola: Well, studies by experts; not just newspapers but studies you get from experts. You get introduced to the studies by reading newspaper reports on those studies and then you read the studies to fill in the blanks that the newspaper reports create in your mind.

I must say that I have been horrified to see that using Sweden as a model is a worst-case scenario for us, because we may wind up in the same state Sweden is in right now. Sweden is trying to go, believe it or not, a little bit to the free market system in order to get itself out of its doldrums, so I think we have to look at that aspect.

When I talk to constituents, the one thing they all say is to let the private sector solve the problems; let the private sector create jobs; don't tie the private sector's hands. This especially comes from small businessmen. For instance, with every measure you've taken, even the \$50 registration fee, small businessmen in my riding were infuriated. Some of them had just finished registering, then they got this notice saying that if they did not re-register they would be liable to a fine of \$1,500 or something like that.

What offended them was, first, that there was a decree that they had to do this even though they had already fulfilled their responsibilities, and then there's all these other little nagging things. It doesn't seem like much to us, but every piece of paper a small businessman has to process means dollars, means work lost or one additional worker laid off because the manager had to do all the work himself. It builds up to a point where our small business people, the ones who create-I don't know, depending on which study you believe—anywhere from 67% to 80% of the jobs, are feeling most of the effect of any measure we bring in here, whether it's registration, whether it's taxation. The big companies have enough staff to delegate to look after these problems. It's the small companies that find themselves in the hole, that find themselves in trouble the more roadblocks we place in their way.

One of the problems I have with Bill 85 is just the message: one more new tax—actually, two more new taxes: one on liquor, one on tobacco. If anything, I think the timing is wrong, as in everything else, whether it's Bill 40 or all our other measures. If we send the wrong message to the business community at the wrong time, or the wrong message to our taxpaying public at the wrong time, we're creating a state of confusion, a state of uncertainty which will keep them from participating in the economy—that means spending—and thereby adding to our economic woes instead of trying to be a small cog in our economic recovery.

As I said before, the government should be examining lowering taxes on gas, tobacco, liquor and anything else as a means of trying to stimulate the economy, because when you give the other message, you're adding to the depression of the economy.

I think the member for Markham castigated the Peterson government earlier, because of some remarks that the member for Oriole had made, about the many tax increases during our reign. Well, I can tell you one thing: When you compare the economy during the years 1985 to 1990 and the economy today, there was a world of difference. There were many tax increases, but there were many problems that had to be solved.

#### 2130

On the other hand, if you ask most residents in Ontario how they look on the Peterson years, I think they look back on them with nostalgia, and if they had their druthers I think they would rather have Premier Peterson in the seat on the other side of the House than Premier Rae. It was strange. After that 1990 election, for the first few months when you went around the province you couldn't find a person who had not voted for the NDP. But the strange thing is that if you go back to these same people today, they swear up and down that they never voted for the NDP, that they never would and they never could. That shows you how fleeting popularity is.

Interjection.

Mr Sola: As a matter of fact, speaking of Jim Bradley, I read a newspaper report from his home town in which they actually advocated, believe this or not, that would it not be preferable to have Mr Jim Bradley in the portfolio of Minister of the Environment than the present non-minister?

Mr Hope: I disagree with you on that.

Mr Sola: Well, this is the situation. I can tell you one thing: Mr Bradley was not exactly the favourite pin-up boy of the mayor of Mississauga. They had more than one set-to during his tenure as Minister of the Environment, but right now he seems to come out very favourably in comparison.

That's how fleeting fame is in this business, that's how fleeting popularity is. That's why we have to do our utmost to take advantage, when we are in power, to do what's best for the province, for the majority of the people. We have to forget the fact that we were advocates of certain single-interest groups when we were on this side of the House. When we sit on the other side of the House we have to represent everybody, even those who voted against us.

When you look at the way most of the province is responding to no matter what measure the NDP government brings up, there's something lacking: consultation, whether it's sufficient, whether it's sufficiently advanced, whether it's after the fact, I don't know. But right now on Bill 80, I'm receiving lots of correspondence, from unions at that; if you took off the letterhead you would think it was business groups writing on Bill 40. They're using the exact same terminology: "no consultation," "authoritarian," "divisive." You name it, and the word is there.

I'm just saying we have to be cognizant of the fact that those people who supported us at election time expect us to perform at a level that is acceptable to everybody.

As I said, I would have a difficult time coming up with something new for 30 minutes, but I would just like to conclude by saying the following: I think we have overreached ourselves with our partisan politics in this House, and that's on both sides of the House. I think it's fair game to liven things up a bit, to add some sense of joviality, but when we are dealing with the serious crisis this province is in, we have to try to coordinate our efforts to dig this province out of the hole it's in so that we create a sense of optimism, which is definitely lacking in this province, and that is probably one of the greatest hindrances to a turnaround. We have to get our act together and we have to try to solve the problems of this province and not add to them.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Carr: I want to comment very briefly on a couple of things the member for Mississauga East said. First of

all, I agree that we should be cooperating. But I think the public out there should know that I was supposed to speak this evening on long-term care; I was going to bring up my files and, I swear, they were stacked this high. I had replies from people talking about long-term care, I had two submissions from the Halton region. I sat and listened to some of the speakers today to get a sense of that bill. I found out about 10 minutes before I was going to speak that closure was going to be invoked. I am not one who goes on longwinded, but I really, honestly, truly believe I could have gone on 30 minutes with some practical solutions, but I was restricted because of the time allocation. So I think the public should know that, when we sometimes get a little carried away in this House in a partisan manner. I had some constructive ideas I wanted to bring forward that I could not speak on tonight because the government invoked closure and brought in this Bill 85.

Also, another point about cooperating: That's why we put these two New Directions papers together. Yes, we complained, but we put out the two New Directions papers, one last year and one this year. For those people who don't know, President Clinton won the election and I wrote away for his plan, the Bill Clinton plan; I thought I was going to get this big document. Ladies and gentlemen, people watching TV, this is the Bill Clinton plan we heard so much about, that he became President of the United States on, 31 pages, Putting People First. On the back it has a return address: "Bill Clinton for President, PO Box 615." This is the Clinton plan that won him the presidency of the United States. This is the Ontario Progressive Conservatives's plan, put together by 20 people in two years. It's twice as big in terms of both length and size. So maybe we are sometimes partisan, but there are some constructive ideas. I hope I get more of a chance to bring them forward.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I just wanted to make one or two comments about what the member for Mississauga East had to say regarding crossborder shopping. I do appreciate his perspective, but having lived virtually my entire life in the Niagara Peninsula and realizing how much cross-border shopping, or in fact cross-border working, are part of people's lives, I think some of the comments he makes are probably not quite appropriate. People have been shopping across the border since the bridges have existed. People in Kitchener ran bus tours into Rochester for a weekend because they've had the 48-hour trips and they can do their shopping and come back with \$300 worth of purchases. But what's interesting is that in the St Catharines Standard of yesterday, there was an article regarding the change in cross-border shopping, that that particular influx has changed, that places like Messina, New York, are experiencing an extreme change in people's shopping direction. From the US they are coming back into Ontario, realizing that there is a price advantage as a result of the change in the dollar. Shopping analysts have looked at prices in the States and in Toronto—not exactly always the

cheapest city in Ontario or in Canada—and have found that prices in Toronto are extremely competitive with anything that was previously offered in the United States. So really and truly, the cross-border shopping situation has changed.

2140

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Caplan: I rise to compliment my colleague the member for Mississauga East. The member for Niagara, who acknowledged that in fact the situation has changed, also helped to make the point that this particular piece of legislation, Bill 85, is a tax grab.

I listened very carefully to my colleague from Mississauga East, and I thought he made his points very clearly and very succinctly. He's always worked very hard to represent the people of Mississauga East, both within our caucus and here in the Legislature, and I think this evening as he participated in the debate on Bill 85, he represented those interests of his constituents in a very articulate and thoughtful way.

I wanted to rise both to compliment him and to suggest to the members of this House that it would be helpful to the policy development in this place if they took some of the ideas and the suggestions that come from members on this side of the House, who do try to be helpful and thoughtful in policy development, and not to assume that because there's a suggestion coming from the opposition benches perhaps it wouldn't be in the interests of the New Democrats to consider that and to change the policies.

Mr Hope: Tell us what you used to say.

Mrs Caplan: The member for Chatham-Kent, who's not in his seat, interjects. He was not here in the House when the NDP sat in opposition, but as members of the government, we were always open to good ideas and thoughtful suggestions that came from members of the opposition. I would encourage the members of the NDP government to not assume that they know everything, to not assume that they have a market on the only new ideas, and to listen to members like Mr Sola, the member for Mississauga East, and others who want to be helpful during these difficult times.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Stockwell: I was just meaning to get up to compliment the member for Mississauga East. You know, it is true that sometimes members can stand and offer some sound advice. I think the member for Oakville South did just that, and the member for Oriole, and the member for Mississauga East did exactly the same. It seems to me that the point that was being made was fair and reasonable, thought out, that maybe this just isn't the route you should be going.

Maybe this tax is the kind of tax that continues to exacerbate a problem that has been created because of taxes, and that problem is that it's getting so expensive to buy cigarettes today that it has created this black market of smuggling. Maybe, just maybe, the route to go is to examine processes, through the Ministry of Health, to warn against

the evils of smoking rather than simply taking the easy way out and grabbing at revenue to prop up the coffers—

Mr Hope: Reinstate prohibition, right?

Mr Stockwell: The member across the floor says, "Reinstate prohibition." That's not what I'm trying to point out. The argument you're making is that this is a sin tax and you need to increase the taxes to discourage people from partaking in it. The point I'm making is that you're being counterproductive. By increasing the taxes, you make it more lucrative for the smugglers to get involved and you lose revenue from all those people who would have bought it at the stores. I think the member for Mississauga East offered that kind of wisdom.

I point to the member for Oakville saying it's kind of hyperbole to suggest that we should be embarrassed by ourselves, when this government is holding us down here not for pay equity or employment equity but for Bill 85, which is nothing more than a \$1.6-million tax grab.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Mississauga East has two minutes in response.

Mr Sola: I'd like to thank all the members for their participation. To the member for Oakville South, I just hope that Bill Clinton's plan, all 31 pages of it, doesn't turn into another Agenda for People. That would lead to his downfall in four years' time, because it is one thing to put something on paper; it is another thing to live up to the commitments made on that paper.

That may be the biggest lesson we can learn from the Agenda for People and from the performance of this government: During elections we should not make promises we cannot afford to keep. That is one thing I have heard from every constituent I have visited and from every voter in the province I have spoken to. It doesn't matter which party it is, they've all made commitments in the heat of battle during an election which, when they were faced with the reality and the responsibility of government, they could not or would not keep. It puts an added burden on us to be more reasonable during election campaigns.

To the member for St Catharines-Brock, I'd like to point out that I think she made the case I was trying to make, that it's price, not deterrents, that determines whether people go cross-border shopping or not. When the price south of the border became either too expensive in comparison to Canadian prices or approximately equal, people stopped cross-border shopping. Therefore, if the greatest component of price on the Canadian side of the border is tax, maybe we could pre-empt any possibility of cross-border shopping again by reducing the taxes.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Bill 85?

Mr Carr: I'd like to add a couple of comments. My constituency office, I guess about three months ago, was broken into. I got a call at about 7:30 one morning; an officer from the Halton Regional Police called me at 7:30 in the morning, as I was getting breakfast with the children and talking with my wife. He asked: "Do you know where I am? I'm officer such and such from the Halton Regional Police. I'm standing in your office."

What had happened is that, through the night, some criminals had broken into the office next door, had tun-

nelled right through the wall in my constituency office and right through to the wall adjacent to me, which was attached to a variety store. Of course, being a politician, I wondered when I first got there what the heck they were doing in my office; what did they want? Most of the government brochures and pamphlets we give away free, so why would they have to come in the middle of the night?

But what they were after is that the variety store next to me had cigarettes that were on the shelf of the wall attached to my wall. The criminals broke in next door, a dental office, broke right through my wall and carved a big hole in the wall and took all the cigarettes off the shelf of the variety store. Before any criminals get any idea, I want to tell you they've replaced that now with a steel case. But what happened, very simply, is that they were stealing cigarettes.

What I said to the officer when I got down there—being a non-smoker, I was a little amazed—is, "This must be a first in all of Halton." He laughed a little cynically at me. Being a politician, I'd been out and had ridden and spent an evening with the undercover drug police of Halton. He said, "This happens at least once a night." Because of the high taxes, the officer said, people are stealing cigarettes. They stole about \$10,000 worth, and \$10,000 worth is not a great amount. It was a very small amount; they simply filled up a garbage bag. What it shows is that people go to any length to avoid taxes.

The reason is very simple, and the reason I brought up that anecdote: People will not only cross the border to shop, but you've got people who historically have bought cigarettes and paid the taxes because of the health care system who are now buying them on the black market. The police officer said they'll sell this \$10,000—that was the retail value with the markup—for about \$5,000. People are buying them left and right, honest people—they will actually deliver them to people—because people want to avoid paying taxes.

We as politicians, who sometimes are so totally out of touch, think to solve the problem we'll just increase the sin taxes on cigarettes and on liquor, and people will pay it. I want to tell you, they don't. We've talked a little in his Legislature about how people will cross-border shop, and there are people that will do that en masse and in droves to get around that, and that's the essence of why this bill is put in place. But there are also people who will buy from the black market. There are people who probably never thought of stealing who will do it.

A lot of people thought that if you increase the taxes to a certain point people will stop smoking. Well, they don't. They end up stealing and cross-border shopping.

The whole issue of taxation, from the Treasurer's standpoint, is that they'll get \$1.6 million, maybe \$5 million, a very small amount, when about a week ago the auditor came in with his report that identified some of the controls that are lacking. Here we are debating the bills on basically a very small amount of tax revenue, but we never have any debates on how we're going to control spending. Those two are intimately tied. You're never, never going to be able to provide any tax relief if you cannot control spending.

The auditor said it; it isn't me speaking about the out-of-control spending. The auditor, a week ago, talked about the controls on social assistance. Basically, he said there are no controls on social assistance, and the figure he used is about \$150 million. We in this Legislature are debating a bill that will bring in \$1.6 million to maybe \$5 million—I'm not sure of the exact amount, but let's say \$5 million at the outside—at a time when we're losing \$150 million because we don't put controls in place.

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If you operate a small variety store, a garden store, a big manufacturer, the Ford Motor Co, you know you have to have controls in place to control costs. The private sector knows that, the workers on the shop floor know that, but the government does not. That is why this particular bill needs to come in.

Instead of debating how we're going to control spending, we, in all our wisdom, are trying to decide how we're going to squeeze more out of people by taxing them at the border when they come across having bought products. There are all sorts of plans on how that's going to work and we're going to advertise it and people are going to say, "My goodness, I didn't realize cross-border shopping costs jobs." Of course people know that, but the people doing it aren't going out and buying Jaguars with the extra money. These are the average, hardworking people who are trying to put their kids through school, trying to provide lunch money for the kids.

It's not the rich people who are going down and doing some of the shopping; it's the hardworking, average person doing this. The rich people will pay the extra—whatever amount it boils down to—per package for cigarettes, cigars or tiparellos or whatever they smoke. The person being hurt by this is the average working person who says: "Enough is enough. I'm the one being taxed."

The other side talked earlier about all the health care programs we have here. I honestly, truly believe that the average person wouldn't mind paying the taxes, but the auditor came out and said we're blowing \$150 million, the auditor came out and said there are no controls over the health care cards and we've got 300,000 bogus cards out there, that we don't know where they are, that we could have people coming in from the United States doing crossborder health shopping using these cards and we have no way of knowing.

The sad part is that we're trying to get \$5 million worth of revenue at a time when the Health minister can't tell us whether we're spending \$5 million, \$10 million, \$300 million or \$400 million on these bogus health cards. If it were not so ridiculous that we are spending time dealing with this bill, it would actually be funny, but with the economic situation we have, it isn't funny.

When you look at other areas, non-profit housing, the auditor said the same thing. We're trying to bring in \$5 million, a worthwhile goal, but we're worrying about mice in the basement while there are elephants on the roof. At the same time we're trying to bring in \$5 million with this bill, we are spending on non-profit housing—not my words, I say to the other side—triple what it costs the private sector. At a time when the costs for land and con-

struction were going down because we're in a depression, a recession, what was happening to the non-profit—or government-run, as I call it—housing in the province of Ontario? The per-unit costs were going up at the same time that they were going down in the private sector because of the recession.

This whole issue of where we're spending money and the taxes I think bothers people, not because of the \$5 million we're going to catch from some poor, hardworking guy who smuggles across an extra package of cigarettes because he can't afford it and because, quite frankly, he can't stop because it's an addiction. If it were easy to stop—I'm fortunate; being an athlete, I never started smoking. But it's not as easy as just saying, "We'll tax him so much he'll stop." Most of these people can't stop, and the amounts we're going to bring in are very small potatoes versus the very large expenditures going on.

The other side always says: "Where can we control expenditures? Dr Spend and Dr Save." Well, we haven't told you where we can save thousands of dollars, we haven't told you where we can save millions of dollars; what we've talked about is billions of dollars. It is not us saying it. At a time when we're debating Bill 85 for \$5 million, the auditor has identified billions in non-profit housing, in social assistance and in the health care system with the health cards.

So as we wind down before Christmas—and I know people are anxious to get on with some of the other bills—it is a wee bit sad and a wee bit ironic that we're worrying about a bill that will bring in about \$5 million at a time when we are blowing, through black holes and endless spending, billions and billions of dollars.

Another quick one is Ataratiri, and I know this isn't this government's fault. That was non-profit government-run housing. We will have spent \$1 billion of taxpayers' money by the time Metro kicks in, and we will not have one unit of housing in Ontario. We didn't spend one minute debating that debacle, and yet we are debating for a few hours here tonight a bill that will bring in \$5 million. The government of Ontario spills more than that in about a half-hour.

For the side that's opposite, at the end of this government's mandate we will spend, just to pay the interest alone—not for the goods roads or the health care system or the environment or all the education programs—it will cost us \$15,000 a minute, and that clock keeps ticking 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days of the year.

My math isn't that great off the top of my head, but \$15,000 a minute, and we're talking about a bill that will bring in \$5 million. We will spend more on interest payments alone on the provincial debt while we're debating this bill than this bill will bring in. That's the sad, ironic part of this bill. I know people are at home saying, "That's crazy, you're not spending that much." Take a look at the figures. They're not my figures. They're in the last fiscal report of how much we spend annually.

I had the legislative research—not parliamentary people—take a look and divide it by the number of days in the year, and that's what it will be at the end of this mandate. Historically, when this government took over, the deficit was about \$35 billion. It will hit \$62 billion. It's projected to go to \$100 billion over the next five years; \$100 billion is what the accumulated deficit will be. And what are we debating? A bill that will bring in about \$5 million. If it wasn't so ridiculous, it would be sad.

When you look at the statistics, and see the indebtedness of everybody in this province—provincially, we're heading to \$7,500 each; federally, it's about \$15,000 because of the spending that went on there for decades. When you add it up for every man, woman and child in this province, we're in debt to the tune of about \$22,000 for every man, woman and child. As I said to my family the other day—I'm married with three kids, five people in the family—the debt that we owe provincially and federally is more than our mortgage is.

When I go to schools and we talk about the health care and the education system and I talk about some of the figures, the kids sit up very quickly. They have a politician come in, and they figure: "Typical politician. What's he going to tell us?" But when I tell them how far we are sinking them in debt, the grade 10 students at QE Park school—who will be down tomorrow, as a matter of fact, I believe, for a tour down here—sat up very straight when I talked about what the deficit is in this province. We don't have any debates on how we're going to control it, and that's why we put New Directions together, because we wanted to be practical about some of the solutions, and I'll touch on them in a minute.

But we will spend more time debating a bill that will bring in \$5 million than we will controlling spending. That's why a year ago we put together this New Directions paper. We talked about some of the tough choices on where we can control spending, and how we can reduce taxes. When you look at the numbers, and I will do this for the benefit of some of the members on the other side, if you reduce the provincial sales tax by one percentage point, it saves about \$1 billion. That's how much you'd bring into the economy by giving it back to the taxpayers in tax relief, so they could then go out and buy the cars or the fridges or the stoves.

Historically, that's what happened in the mid-1980s when the Conservatives were in power. Instead of increasing taxes to get \$5 million out of people, they said, "We'll give some opportunity for tax relief." They did it on autos. I come from Oakville, with a Ford Motor Co plant there. They said, "To spur investment, to keep the jobs here in Oakville, we will reduce the sales tax on cars," so that people who were thinking of purchasing and maybe put it off because they were concerned about the cost, would all of a sudden take a look at buying that car.

#### 2200

I want to tell you how consumers think. One of the car dealers told me, over one of the other taxes, I think the \$75 gas guzzler tax: "I have people come in who talk to me about buying a car. They will pay \$1,200 extra if I tell them to put whitewalls on the car, but when I tell them it's \$75, a lousy \$75, in tax going to the province of Ontario or to the federal government, they say, 'I'm not going to do it, I don't want to pay that,' and walk right out of the showroom."

They will pay \$1,200 to get all the fancy instruments they maybe don't need or whitewalls or the push-button windows, but when it comes to taxes, people resent paying it. They don't resent paying it for the good roads or the health care system or the education system, but they resent it when they see how it is blown, like we saw last week in the auditor's report.

I know this government said, "We've got it under control and we're taking a look at it," and I guess the 1990 and 1991 reports, certainly the 1990 one, were a reflection of the previous government. But when you look at the waste and see the expenditures, you wonder why people get upset about a small amount like this bill, \$5 million, when we are blowing billions and billions of dollars. You wouldn't mind if there were some long-term plan to control or if you had politicians who were talking about it to try and deal with it.

I want to tell you the horror. This particular Legislature in the new year will be dealing with a budget. I had to fight—and the member for Lincoln was very helpful—to get the standing committee on finance and economic affairs to hold pre-budget hearings in January. Historically, we have always done that to give the public a chance to look at where we're spending money. We'll have bills go out to public hearings for auto insurance and some of the other bills. I had to fight because nobody else thought about it. I'm on the finance and economic committee, and I said, "What are we doing for pre-budget?" We usually have people come in and talk about finances and economics and tax so we can hear what people have to say on bills like Bill 85. Nobody had talked about it.

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): We were going to do that.

Mr Carr: One of the members who's on there is saying they were going to do that. I hope so, because we talked about it. As you know, a big part of the budget is the MUSH sector, the municipalities, universities, school boards and hospitals, where about 40% of the transfer payments go. That's already been decided upon and they won't have a chance, that decision's been made, not because of what they said in any public hearings but because of what happened with the fiscal necessity the Treasurer was faced with. I say to the member for Oxford, who's on the finance committee with me and who I know is interested in this as well, we need to take a hard look at where we are taxing and spending because the people are fed up.

This whole issue of the market value in Toronto: We had days and days of people coming in and talking about the taxes and how they're going to leave. The government ultimately may have listened, although it was ironic to hear the House leader say he'd heard all he wanted to hear and there was no point having the hearings, then lo and behold, Tuesday of this week it gets changed. You never know, in this business.

But the problem you've got with taxpayers is that they are upset because we're the highest-taxed province in Canada, the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America. Nobody is talking about how we're going to control

spending. All we're talking about is how we're going to increase spending.

That's what this bill is as we head into the Christmas season; not how we're going to get any expenditure controls in place, how we're going to reduce taxes so we can put more money back in the pockets of the hardworking men and women of this province. That isn't the discussion here. It's how can we gouge a few more dimes, nickels and pennies out of our already beleaguered taxpayers?

What will probably be even more important than this bill, the Treasurer and the Premier have already said there'll be big tax increases next time. A year from now, we'll be dealing with a bill like 85 that won't bring in \$5 million, it'll bring in \$10 million. The problem is that every economist who came before the pre-budget finance hearings last year—and the member for Oxford will remember this—said if you increase taxes any more your bottom-line revenue is actually going to decrease, because the rich people, the hardworking people, the middle class, the poor people, are going to go across the border to shop, they're going to try to avoid the gasoline tax, the taxes on cigarettes, the taxes on booze; that we cannot afford any more tax increases.

In the last election nobody expected Bob Rae to do that. I disagreed with him on a lot of policies, I didn't agree with the Agenda for the People, but I didn't believe he was going to increase taxes to the dramatic extent he did, because I fought the last election fighting the Liberals on the tax issue.

And what did we get in this last budget? In the first budget that came in, he said, "There's no room to tax so we're not going to have any tax increases in the budget because we can't do it." That was the first budget. Last year, he came in with massive tax increases. Quite frankly, this is small potatoes compared to the 14% surtax on anyone making \$53,000 a year. In Bob Rae's Ontario, the average hardworking men and women making \$53,000 never thought they were going to get hit with this massive surtax of 14%.

The problem with that tax is that most people thought the federal government got that, because income tax is collected federally, even though some of it goes to the province. When they get hit with the massive tax increases and the surtax put in place for the middle class by a socialist government, they are going to be horrified.

I didn't get a chance to debate that bill because the post-budget debates were shut down, even though it affected more people in my riding than Bill 85 will. I didn't get a chance to speak on that, and during that period I didn't get a chance to articulate the position—we didn't get to do it before, although I'm not surprised because I didn't believe the government was going to listen anyway—of the people of my riding, in Oakville and Burlington, on this massive surtax.

I'm pleased to get a chance to do it tonight on Bill 85, but when I see the preparation out there on these bills, that the pre-budget hearings are going to take place when the Treasurer has already said, "Regardless of what people say, we're going to have increase the taxes," I don't know where it will end.

I know the members have talked about trying to stem cross-border shopping. If this legislation is your answer to stemming cross-border shopping, you're going to be a failure, because this will not do it.

Mr Elston: It's too late. You're killing jobs.

Mr Carr: It is killing jobs in the province of Ontario, but what we've got to learn is that it's the tax increases, the over-regulation, the over-legislating that's been going on in this province by all political parties of all stripes, by governments at all levels, that are killing industry in the province of Ontario.

Contrary to what the members opposite think, that we love to get up here and jump all over the government for these bills, it is really a sad state of affairs when we are debating, as we wind down this session, a bill that will draw probably less than \$5 million, at a time when we are spending \$53 billion in the province.

I am pleased to add a few thoughts on the bill we are dealing with tonight. I will close, because I know there are some speakers who want to get on to a more important piece of legislation dealing with some of the seniors. I know the member for Etobicoke West and some of the other members will have a little bit to say on that.

But I say to the members opposite, the opposition party has in all good faith put some ideas together. Whether it's tax decreases in the blueprint, or spending controls, whether it's our Blueprint for Learning, I believe there are some practical, commonsense solutions out there, and I encourage the other side to take a look at them, because if we do not, we will destroy this province.

In conclusion, I will say that when I look at this piece of legislation before us tonight, when there was so much hope about what those on the other side were going to do, it is rather pathetic that we're dealing with this bill so far into a recession that is destroying the economic base of this province. It is with a great deal of sadness that I look at this bill and say that this government has no idea where to find revenue, how to control expenditures. The people who are being hurt by this aren't the people in this Legislature. It's the average hardworking men and women in Etobicoke and York and Rexdale and Oakville and in Burlington that are being hurt by this disaster, this government.

I will close by saying that this government, as is usual, has not hit the mark. I wish the members would take a long, hard look at the legislation and come in with something practical that will allow some opportunity for tax relief for the beleaguered taxpayers of Ontario.

2210

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Sutherland: I listened intently to the member for Oakville South. First of all, I want to refute his claims that this government isn't controlling spending. His comments undermine the efforts of the Treasurer, the Health minister and many other ministers. Let's be quite clear that we have controlled spending significantly in the last budget. I want to remind people that the reason we're running into shortfalls is not because expenditures are out of control; it's because revenues are down.

I want to make another thing quite clear: In those efforts to control spending, I am quite confident that this government is going to try to do that in a very fair and very humane manner. We're not going to leave people hanging out there in the cold. He talked about us doing this before Christmas. In our efforts to control spending, I certainly believe we are not going to do it in the same way the federal government has done. We understand that the federal government has financial difficulties, but the move last week by the federal government and the federal finance minister to say that the unemployed people are the ones who are going to have to pay the price for keeping finances under control is very cold-hearted, in my view, and shows a real lack of understanding of what unemployed people are going through; denying benefits to people who may have to quit their jobs because their spouse is transferred or something of that nature. That is a clear difference.

The member for Oakville South mentioned Frank Miller's budget from 1982 and 1983. He talked about automobiles. He should have mentioned that appliances and furniture were also available. Unfortunately, if we tried to do that today, that wouldn't create as many jobs, because most of those manufacturers have left the province as a result of federal government policies.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Conway: I've had the opportunity to listen to most of this debate tonight as it winds down; I don't think there are any other speakers. I simply wanted to say in responding to the comments of the last speaker, the member from Oakville, that he raises the whole issue of the burden of taxation. Bill 85 is a very specific and limited measure that seeks to deal with the problem of cross-border shopping. I think it has to be stated again—it's been indicated earlier—that part of the problem we face with the smuggling issue is the level of taxation.

I don't smoke and I'm quite happy to impose a very heavy level of taxation on smoking, but it's very clear to me that people will not stop smoking just because you pile up the taxes; they are going to apparently pursue other avenues. We're going to have to take account of that and develop strategies to cope with it. As I've said in my earlier remarks, the level of black marketeering in tobacco in my part of eastern Ontario has reached historic highs at the present time.

I hear and I expect that the Ontario Provincial Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are working and are having some success at apprehending a number of the culprits, but the issue remains that the price is so much higher in this country than in the United States that there is a very real encouragement, almost, for people who want to engage in that kind of illegal activity to try to pursue it.

I just make the final observation—well, no, I won't make any final observation beyond saying that the problem is a pressing one and it's not just a matter of more enforcement. It is going to be, I'm afraid, a matter of just looking at the price and tax regimes in the Canadian provinces.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Sola: I'd like to congratulate the member on his well-thought-out words and also for his suggestions, because I think it's incumbent upon all members to try to help solve the problems of this province.

But once again, to touch on the smuggling factor, when taxes get so high that the government appears to be sort of a robber baron, I think the ordinary taxpayer then starts looking at smuggling not as a crime but as a chivalrous deed almost, because the criminal is the government and anything that can be done to thwart the government is right. I think that's the point we've reached here in this province and in the country.

As I stated before and as the member has stated, every level of government has piled tax upon tax, especially on so-called sin taxes. The major portion of the price of those so-called sin products is taxes. Because the major portion of that is taxes, that means the government is directly responsible for forcing otherwise law-abiding citizens into either turning to smuggling or countenancing smuggling by purchasing the product.

This is reminiscent of many Third World countries, where the smugglers and the people who circumvent the laws for financial profit are looked upon as heroes and not as criminals, because the government is looked upon as being responsible for forcing the people to circumvent the laws, disobey the laws and break the laws. We are the authors of our own misfortune.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Elston: I just wish to say that the honourable member has raised several interesting issues, some of them dealing with overexpenditure. I wanted to remind him that while he complains about some of these expenditures and while the member for Oxford goes on about what a good job his government is doing in managing its budgetary problems, neither of the two gentlemen really took to heart the fact that the New Democrats are really trying to establish a pay-as-you-go type of program.

One of the things is that they have decided to pay all of the expenses of Raúl Castro to be here. In fact, OMAF paid for that entire visit, we are told. It's no wonder that we want to tax the people who are coming back from shopping in the United States, so we can pay for projects like that so that expert information can come to Ontario from other jurisdictions.

With programs like that, the member for Oakville South would be well-advised to tell the people a little more about other worthy expenditures which have been deemed to be appropriate and in the interests of the taxpayers of Ontario. There are all kinds of worthy projects these people have decided to work on. The fact that not everybody gets to benefit from the expenditures that are made by this government is of minor concern.

A little earlier, the member for St Catharines stood and talked about the affiliation card that is given to the New Democrats to allow them special discounts with a Master-Card when they join the club. These special privileges for

members of the New Democratic Party and these special payments to special projects by the New Democrats are becoming the hallmark of this former party of equity and fairness and justice for all. How just? It is just for New Democrats. It is just for the élite, and this party has created a brand-new élite.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Oakville South has two minutes in response.

Mr Carr: I'm pleased to sum up a little bit. I hope I've added to the debate here this evening, because I know that some of the points I was trying to raise were in the spirit of trying to be helpful.

To the member for Oxford who says they've got their expenditures under control, well, I want to tell you, we do not rest lightly when you say that. I say to the public, don't believe me, don't believe the member for Oxford, because we both have our political agenda. Take a look at the auditor, who said that social assistance is out of control and that you have no controls on it. Take a look at the auditor, who said that government-run non-profit housing is triple the cost of the private sector. Take a look at all of that book, which has pages and pages of misspending by this government.

Finally, the member for Oxford talks about what the federal government is doing. With his friend Audrey Mc-Laughlin being at 14% in the polls in Ontario, it's ironic that the person he is slamming, the Prime Minister, is at 20% and she's at 14%. If he honestly, truly believes that the federal government is where it's at, I'm sure Audrey McLaughlin would like to have a bright person like him run in the next election. Put your seat up, because the Progressive Conservatives of the province of Ontario are looking forward to bringing the seat of Oxford back to the Conservatives. We'll be lucky to see this member even receive the same amount of votes from his family. If he truly believes that the federal government is where all the action is and where all the problems are in unemployment insurance, I am sure Audrey McLaughlin would love to have you run and represent the federal party. Unfortunately, with his record here, I'm sure he will not even get his own family to vote for him.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Durham West has up to two minutes to respond. No? My apologies. Further debate?

Mr Wiseman, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, has moved second reading of Bill 85. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

2220

INCOME TAX AND ONTARIO PENSIONERS PROPERTY TAX ASSISTANCE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'IMPÔT SUR LE REVENU ET L'ALLÉGEMENT DE L'IMPÔT FONCIER DES RETRAITÉS DE L'ONTARIO

Mr Wiseman, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur le revenu, prévoyant des crédits d'impôt sur le revenu pour les personnes âgées et visant à éliminer progressivement les subventions prévues par la Loi sur l'allégement de l'impôt foncier des retraités de l'Ontario.

**The Speaker (Hon David Warner):** Does the member have any opening remarks?

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): The purpose of this bill is to pass changes arising from the Treasurer's budget of April 30, 1992, to provide an income tax credit to seniors and to phase out the Ontario tax grants program.

Changes to the Income Tax Act replace the grants with refundable property tax and sales tax credits for seniors. The tax grants programs will end with seniors receiving their final grants in 1992. Beginning with the 1992 taxation year, seniors may be eligible for a property and sales tax credit while filing their personal income tax returns. These new credits are designed to give higher benefits to low-income seniors, which results in increased support to over 350,000 seniors' households.

Changes to the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act reduce the maximum property tax grant in 1992 to \$450 from \$600 and eliminate the property and sales tax grants effective January 1, 1993.

This bill also puts into effect amendments to the Income Tax Act that increase the personal income tax rate and the Ontario surtax. The purpose of these changes is to increase the fairness of the income tax system. The personal income tax rate will increase to 54.5% of the basic federal tax for 1992 and to 55% for 1993 and the following years.

For 1992, the Ontario surtax will be 7% of Ontario personal income tax between \$5,500 and \$10,000, and 14% over \$10,000. After 1992, the surtax increases to 14% of Ontario personal income tax between \$5,500 and 20% over \$8,000.

In his budget, the Treasurer also proposed that from 1992 on, the basic Ontario tax reduction will increase to \$175 from \$167. The amounts that low-income taxpayers can claim for each dependent child under 19 and each dependent child with a disability will go up to \$375 from \$350. These changes to the Ontario tax reduction program will be carried out through a change to regulations under the Income Tax Act.

This bill increases fairness for taxpayers by allowing them to ask for tax reassessments beyond the normal three-year time limit and greater time extensions, where necessary, for filing tax returns, objections and appeals. These changes are necessary to bring the federal and provincial income taxes in line, as required under the tax collection agreement between Ontario and the federal government.

The Speaker: Are there any questions and/or comments? If not, we invite debate.

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I listened with interest to what the parliamentary assistant for the minister had to say about this.

Interjection.

Mrs Caplan: In fact, I have quite a lot to say and I know the Minister of Agriculture and Food will be listening quite intently, because I have a slightly different perspective, as he can well imagine, than the parliamentary assistant.

As I reviewed this piece of legislation in my responsibility as critic for the Ministry of Revenue, the conclusion I came to was that while the NDP, Bob Rae, the Premier, and his government, like to talk about "fair," this piece of legislation has nothing to do with "fair." This legislation is all about more taxes for the Treasurer and more taxes for the government treasury. That's what this piece of legislation is about, and nobody should be deceived.

I'm going to take a few minutes, if I can-

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): You've never been just a few minutes, Elinor.

Mrs Caplan: It may be more than a few minutes, the member for Markham says. I think this is a significant piece of tax legislation and I would like to take some time, because I think it's important for people who are watching tonight even at this late hour, or those who may, while clicking channels in the future, reviewing the legislative channel; they want to hear about what we call Bill 31.

Bill 31 has actually three very distinct and significant components. The first, as the parliamentary assistant said, is the change to the personal income tax rate. This is a very significant part of this bill. Under this bill, the NDP government, Bob Rae's government, will increase the rate of Ontario personal income tax to 54.5% of federal personal income tax for the 1992 taxation year. That is a 1.5 percentage point increase above the current rate. That is not only more than the rate of inflation, that is the most misguided of fiscal policies in the midst of one of the worst recessions this province has ever faced, and certainly the most difficult economic times Ontario has faced in decades.

Anyone who has listened to basic economic principles of fiscal planning will tell you that the midst of a recession is not the time to take money out of the pockets of consumers, that is not the time to take money out of the economy. That is the time when you want to instil confidence and stability, and that confidence should breed the kind of environment where consumers will be willing to spend. By increasing personal income tax in the midst of a recession, by taking money away from consumers, this NDP government, in my opinion, is stalling and slowing the economic recovery we should already have been experiencing.

#### 2230

The reason I used the words "should already have been" is because this was announced in the budget of last spring, and even before it is before this House for debate, it has already had a chilling effect on the economy of Ontario. That cannot be overemphasized. Bill 31, which increases personal income tax, has gone quite a distance to ensuring that the recovery from this devastating recession in the province of Ontario will be slower and more painful than it had to be. The responsibility for that economic and

fiscal taxation policy sits squarely with Bob Rae, Treasurer Floyd Laughren and his cabinet.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Bob Rae and his gang.

Mrs Caplan: As my colleague the member for Bruce says, Bob Rae and his gang, but I would suggest that Premier Bob Rae must take primary responsibility as leader of the government for having the kind of economic and fiscal policy which is slowing the economic recovery of the province of Ontario.

We see businesses leaving. Every day the rate of personal bankruptcy is increasing. The number of people losing their jobs since this government took power in the fall of 1990 has been, on average, in excess of 550 jobs per day. When this government has an opportunity in its budget, through its budgetary and fiscal policy, to make things better, it produces bills such as Bill 31 which simply make it worse.

Bill 31 increases the personal income tax rate in the 1992 taxation year, as I said, to 54.5% of the federal personal income tax rate. I said that's a 1.5% increase from the current rate. To make matters worse, in 1993 this legislation will permit the Treasurer of Ontario and Premier Bob Rae to further increase the income tax rate to 55% of the basic federal income tax rate. Overall, this revenue move, as the Treasurer likes to refer to it, will bring into the provincial coffers \$580 million in new taxes, in new revenue, for 1993 and beyond; \$580 million from just this one revenue move to increase personal income taxes to 55% of the basic federal income tax rate.

That's just one portion of Bill 31. It's a particularly insidious portion. It was referred to by the parliamentary assistant as fair, and I would challenge him and the Premier to say what is fair about taking money from the pockets of middle-income earners in the province of Ontario in the middle of a recession. Nothing is fair about that. Nothing is fair about taking money from middle-income earners in the midst of a recession when they are worried about whether they are going to have a job tomorrow, when they are worried about the economy and when they would very much like to have those additional dollars to stimulate the economy by being able to go out and spend.

The taxes have a double whammy. One, they upset and demoralize people in the midst of a recession and, second, they take away from the people what we need them to do the most: They take away from them the incentive and the ability to spend, to help spur the economy, to get the economy going and to help lead Ontario out of this recession.

Bill 31, by raising personal income tax, has had a very negative effect already on the economy of this province, and it will continue until the next budget, where we already hear the Treasurer and the Premier musing about further tax increases. But I believe that's a red herring; I don't believe they're going to do it. I believe they're preparing the province for the worst so they can say: "We really never intended to increase taxes. We know the province just cannot bear any more taxes during these difficult and devastating times."

Bill 31 has another section, and this one is actually quite surprising coming from a socialist government. This section, the income tax surcharge changes, sets a whole new level for who is rich in Bob Rae's Ontario. The income tax surcharge changes are as follows: The NDP government proposes to reduce the income level at which an Ontarian would start paying the provincial surtax for wealthy taxpayers.

Mr Elston: Reduce it? Shameful.

Mrs Caplan: I agree with my colleague the member for Bruce that this is shameful, and I see my colleague who's not sitting in his place, the member for Sault Ste Marie. But I know that if he were sitting in his place he would then be able to interject.

It's quite interesting because in NDP Ontario, in Bob Rae's Ontario, after the passage of Bill 31, you are considered wealthy if you earn \$53,000 a year. I don't know how many people who earn \$53,000 a year consider themselves wealthy. I know they may consider themselves fortunate to have a job, as businesses are closing and going bankrupt in NDP Ontario, but they certainly do not consider themselves wealthy. The changes are based upon income tax payable, and when Bill 31 passes, people earning about \$53,000 will begin immediately paying the high-income surtax. By 1993 the tax rate doubles. This is quite an insidious part of Bill 31.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): That's the entire cabinet. It's going to hit all the parliamentary secretaries; that means everybody on the other side who's breathing.

Mrs Caplan: The member for St Catharines is very worried about the GM workers, who would very much like to have job security, who would very much like to have the support of this government to ensure that they might qualify one day for more taxes from the NDP government—or maybe they wouldn't like more taxes from the NDP government; I think they would just like their jobs.

Interjection.

Mrs Caplan: Mr Speaker, I would draw to your attention that the member who is interjecting is not in his seat.

**The Speaker:** The member for Halton North was about to either be quiet or move to his proper seat. The member for Oriole has the floor.

Mrs Caplan: I know it's difficult for members of the government caucus to hear the truth about the impact of their proposed legislation and how people who are working in Ontario today feel about increased taxation in the midst of a recession by an NDP labour-socialist government, a government that they never believed would consider \$53,000 as wealthy. They never would have believed that from an NDP socialist-labour government. They are not only disappointed; many of the constituents in the riding of Oriole who understand the tax changes that this government is bringing about are distressed and disgusted. They said: "We would never have believed this from Bob Rae. We would never have believed this kind of unfairness."

**Mr Elston:** It's not what Lennox Farrell said they were running for, was it?

Mrs Caplan: My colleague the member for Bruce refers to the election campaign in 1990, when my opponent, the NDP candidate, Mr Farrell, never once mentioned the fact that if you earn \$53,000 in income the NDP would consider you wealthy. But then again, nothing in the Agenda for People suggested that if you were earning \$53,000 a year you would be considered wealthy by the NDP. In fact, nothing Mr Farrell and the NDP promised in 1990's summer campaign bears any resemblance whatever to what Mr Rae is doing today. I didn't read this in the Agenda for People.

2240

Mr Bradley: I have a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'd like to call the member to task for the speech she's making now, because she hasn't explained that everybody in the province of Ontario had their income tax raised as of July 1 regardless of how much money they were making, not just the people earning \$53,000 and over. I think she should correct that. That's where the surcharge comes in, but everybody had their taxes increased.

The Speaker: That's a point of intense interest, but not of order.

Mr Wiseman: Point of order, Mr Speaker: In fact, both members are incorrect in making their statements, because there are at least two groups in the province who have their taxes reduced because of this bill and not increased. Most of what the member has said is factually incorrect and not based on any accurate assessment of these numbers.

**The Speaker:** The member does not have a point of order. It may be of some interest to someone, but the member for Oriole has the floor.

Mrs Caplan: As I pointed out—and I'm very grateful to my colleague from St Catharines, Mr Bradley, because it does give me the opportunity to repeat what I said a few moments ago—there are three parts to this bill and I have been, at this point in time, discussing the second portion of the bill, which is the income tax surcharge. I've mentioned the personal income tax rate change, but I'll go back to that, because that is a very, very significant part of the bill.

At this time I really would like to focus on the income tax surcharge changes. It's interesting, because the parliamentary assistant, I think, could do well to listen to the remarks; he might understand the bill by the time it passes. I suggest that he read it carefully, because it's very distressing to have a parliamentary assistant who's so uninformed about a piece of legislation the government is passing.

In 1993, as I said, the tax rate will double. After 1992 the government expects to net approximately \$360 million by lowering the surcharge threshold. The parliamentary assistant will stand in his place and say this bill is about fairness. I say, when you expect to net \$360 million by lowering the surtax threshold to \$53,000, that is nothing but a tax grab and has nothing, I say with respect to the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Revenue, to do with fairness. I would also say to the parliamentary assistant that people who will now be paying the wealth surtax at the level of \$53,000 taxable income don't think it's fair

that that be called a surtax on wealth, because they do not believe they should be considered wealthy at that income level.

The third part of this bill, which I think has created a lot of confusion and distress, is the change to the seniors' benefit program. Bill 31 changes the existing seniors' financial assistance to a tax-based program from a tax grant. I for one have always looked at how you structure your program to ensure that in fact you are helping where it is needed the most. I personally had some concerns about the structuring of the grant program, but I object very much to the way Bob Rae and the NDP have introduced this particular change for seniors, because it again is a tax grab. It's a tax grab from the senior citizens of this province and it has been portrayed as something other than that. I would suggest to you, sir, that this is the kind of rhetoric coming from the government that makes people, particularly senior citizens, lose confidence and become very upset and distressed about what the government's going to do to them next.

Let me, if I can for a minute, just explain how this works from my perspective. Under the old system, before Bill 31, eligible seniors received a flat grant of \$700, regardless of their income level. The new system would link the level of provincial benefits to a senior's income so that the higher the senior's income, the lower his or her benefit from the provincial government. This provision is one which seniors have a lot of concern about.

Mr Speaker, when you look at what the implications are for the seniors tax grant, I'd like to spend just a couple of minutes describing in some detail why the seniors of this province do not see this as fair.

Mr Elston: This is the same as Mulroney, isn't it?

Mrs Caplan: My colleague asks if this is similar to what federal Prime Minister Mulroney has done to senior citizens. I will say that while this isn't the same, there are some similarities. Prime Minister Mulroney tried to de-index pensions for seniors. What the NDP has done is what's called clawback. They've clawed back \$100 million from a grants program targeted to help senior citizens remain in their homes, remain independent and keep their dignity and live in the community.

What they have done is change that grants program, taken \$100 million out of the program, rework the program and, to justify this, what they have done is they've given a few dollars to the poorest of seniors. When I say "a few dollars," the poorest of seniors are getting about \$20 more—

**Mr Bradley:** Is that all?

Mrs Caplan: That's all, \$20 more, and those seniors who are at the upper end are now getting nothing.

The program now puts \$100 million into the treasury, and this is fair? Absolutely not, I say to the parliamentary assistant. It is not as though they reformed this to say, "We are going to restructure and reallocate the resources on the basis of need." No, that's not what they did. What they did was they actually took \$100 million out of this program, and the seniors in this province are \$100 million poorer because of the New Democrats and Bob Rae and Bill 31.

I think it's important that people understand what the effects of Bill 31 will be. It is a complicated piece of legislation, and that's why I'm taking this time to be as clear as I can be in explaining what the provisions of this bill will be.

I know that my constituents in the riding of Oriole are worried about it; not only are the senior citizens worried about it, and I have a number of senior citizens, just a little higher than the provincial average of seniors. I have seniors who are really concerned about their ability to maintain their homes through this difficult recession.

I can say that the other thing they're concerned about is the many reforms. Particularly, the seniors in Oriole are now paying for drugs that until recently they didn't have to pay for. As the municipality gets dumped on and raises its property taxes, the seniors in Oriole are facing ever-higher costs. What has happened? The NDP government, in the name of reform and fairness, has taken \$100 million away from senior citizens in Ontario.

People say to me, "Elinor, why are they doing this?" They say, "We don't understand." I'd like to take a couple of minutes to explain why I think this has happened.

2250

I believe the reason Bill 31 is a tax grab in the midst of the worst recession facing this province in decades is really a result of the economic mismanagement and the very serious mistakes this government made upon assuming office in the fall of 1990. The province today, because of those serious policy errors—and we warned you about it. We told you. We offered you advice. You ignored everything we had to tell you. Because you ignored that advice, the province today faces higher unemployment, a higher deficit and declining revenues.

This is because of Bob Rae's inability to bring forward a credible economic renewal plan. The reason I've used the word "credible" is because confidence is so very important in the renewal of the economy. This NDP government, Bob Rae's government, has done nothing to instil confidence in the business community. They have done nothing to instil confidence in the consumers. The people of Ontario are suffering because of your inability to bring forward a credible plan.

Moving ahead with Bill 40 hurt your credibility and hurt the confidence of the province of Ontario. Many of the bills that you have brought forward in the tax area—the budget itself, which suggested the need for future tax increases, has seriously affected the economy and the confidence of investors in Ontario. That's because of your policies.

I see the members opposite smiling and joking. This is no joking matter. Let me tell you, the people of this province are quite desperate. They are desperate for leadership and a credible recovery plan, and they are suffering because of your inability to be able to show that kind of leadership. Instead, you bring forward Bill 31, which does exactly the opposite of what needs to be done in this province at this time.

I would like to argue in this debate that because of the economic mismanagement and the lack of fiscal responsibility and the lack of fiscal planning of this NDP government, the Treasurer now is desperate for new sources of revenue. I would say to him and I would say to Bob Rae that higher taxes will not reduce the deficit. The only way to deal with deficit reduction is to get the economy moving; to create jobs so that people are paying income tax, so they are paying sales tax. The more you increase taxes, the more businesses will go bankrupt. The more you increase taxes, the more people will not have the money to purchase to pay sales tax.

Interjections.

Mrs Caplan: It distresses me that in a serious debate on economic policy, as the discussion of Bill 31, members of the government benches are not interested in listening. They're not interested in the advice or the suggestions. That's very distressing to me.

I say to the members of the government caucus, higher taxes will not lead to deficit reduction; higher taxes will only leave consumers with less to spend. In the long run, less consumer spending will mean higher unemployment and larger budget deficits.

I'm pleased that the Treasurer has been able to join us this evening, because he is the architect of the budget that has gone astray. He is the architect of the fiscal and economic policy of this government, which is seen as misguided and unfair. I was in this House between 1985 and 1990 and I heard the eloquence of the now Treasurer as he spoke during budget debates and budget times. Having listened to those debates, I am surprised and I know the people of the province are surprised that he has taken the disastrous economic route he has chosen.

The parliamentary assistant talked about fairness, but the fact is that under Bill 31, people earning above \$60,000 will pay more to the Ontario government in higher provincial income taxes than they will receive in the surtax reductions from Ottawa.

We've talked a little bit about how this government really likes to look around to find somebody to blame. I think most of us would admit that all the problems that face the province of Ontario are not the fault of the Treasurer alone. We know, for example, that some of the high-dollar policies on free trade and others have contributed to the challenges faced by the Treasurer. But there is one thing this government must take absolute and complete responsibility for. When the federal government cut taxes and reduced the personal income tax, what did this provincial government do? What did Treasurer Laughren do? What did Premier Bob Rae do? He moved in and took all the revenues—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): You're not stupid.

Mrs Caplan: —that the federal government had cut and then some, and the Treasurer sits there and says, "We're not stupid."

Hon Mr Laughren: No, I said, "You're not stupid."

Mrs Caplan: I will tell you, Treasurer, that it is not fair for your parliamentary assistant to talk—

Mr Wiseman: Point of order, Mr Speaker.

**The Speaker:** Point of order? The member for Durham West believes he has a point of order.

**Mr Wiseman:** I know the member wouldn't want to have on record something that is factually incorrect. Her last statement, saying the Treasurer took all the funds from the federal government is factually incorrect and not accurate.

**The Speaker:** The member will know that he can rise to correct his own record but not anyone else's. The member for Oriole has the floor.

Mrs Caplan: I stand by the statement. I will say it again, because it is correct. Treasurer Laughren took every nickel of the federal tax cut and then some in his budget. If he told you he didn't, you had better have another chat with him, because he knows that the truth is that he took every nickel of that federal tax cut and then he added to it. That, sir, is not fair. It is not fair—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mrs Caplan: —parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Revenue, it is not fair for your Treasurer and your Premier to stand and talk about fairness, to stand day after day in their places, blaming the federal government for all your woes and mismanagement and then move in and take back their tax cut. That's not fair.

Bill 31 also, as I said, reduces the income threshold above which Ontarians pay the wealth or the high-income surtax. Let me tell you what exists today, just so you can see how serious this really is, and why this is seen as unfair. Under the existing legislation today, only taxpayers earning more than \$84,000 pay an Ontario surtax on their income; \$84,000, that's what's in place today. With Bill 31, the changes in this NDP legislation, people earning more than \$53,000 will be paying the high-income surtax to the provincial treasury.

2300

Again, the Treasurer has said this move was necessary in order to deal with the government's deficit troubles, and I understand that he is dealing with a deficit of almost \$10 billion. I will say to the Treasurer that I remember the day he told the truth in this House. He knows full well that what he inherited was a triple A credit rating, a balanced operating budget, an operating budget that had been in balance, and a balanced operating budget is something this Treasurer is now saying is wishful thinking for the future.

I would say to you that it is unbecoming of the Treasurer because he knows what he inherited. He inherited a province that was at the beginning of a recession and it was his fiscal and economic policies that have made the situation worse, and for that he must accept responsibility.

For the 1992 taxation year, the Ontario surtax will be calculated as 7% of Ontario personal income tax between \$5,500 and \$10,000 and 14% of Ontario personal income tax in excess of \$10,000.

**Mr Bradley:** Now you're starting to hit Richard Johnston.

Mrs Caplan: That's what this bill is about. For 1993 and beyond, the Ontario surtax will be calculated as 14%

of the Ontario personal income tax, \$5,500 and \$8,000, and 20% of the Ontario personal income tax in excess of \$8,000. Those are very, very significant tax changes, very, very significant.

**Mr Bradley:** We should bring in Stanley Knowles and sit him at this table to hear this.

Hon Mr Laughren: You can hit Elinor over the head with the mace.

Mrs Caplan: the Treasurer just made a joke. I don't think these times are worthy of joke-making, Mr Treasurer, as we are debating a very serious piece of tax legislation, even though it is 11 o'clock at night. To have the Treasurer sitting here making jokes, especially jokes about violence against women, distresses me personally, since he was suggesting that I was the woman and he was the one wielding the mace. I accept that he was in good humour, attempting to be funny, and that there was no personal malice intended.

This is a very serious debate and I am-

Interjections.

Mrs Caplan: Are you going to call order, Mr Speaker?

**Mr Bradley:** Is that Darcy McKeough sitting across there?

Mr Elston: That's Darcy McKeough. It's actually John White. Get another sweater, John.

Mrs Caplan: Mr Speaker, I'm attempting to engage in serious debate on Bill 31.

The Speaker: I realize that the member for Oriole is attempting, quite valiantly, to address a very serious issue in a very serious way, and it would be very helpful if the members would provide the appropriate attention.

Mr Elston: On a point of order, Mr Speaker, just for a moment: There has been so much harping, there really has been so much harping, I'm wondering if the government party would like to have a recess so they could actually go out and study this bill so that they wouldn't have to harp and make so many mistakes as they try to deal with the speech being made. Perhaps I could ask for unanimous consent to allow the members of the government to go and study this legislation so they'd know what they are were harping about. Mr Speaker, could I do that?

The Speaker: The member wishes to ask for unanimous consent.

Mr Elston: I'm just asking your direction. Could I ask for unanimous consent?

**The Speaker:** Well, you can ask for unanimous consent for just about anything.

Mr Elston: If it keeps up, perhaps.

The Speaker: Oh, I see. Okay. A very useful suggestion from the member for Bruce, as always, but currently the member for Oriole has the floor and she may wish to resume her remarks.

Mrs Caplan: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I've spent considerable time studying this piece of legislation and attempting to explain it not only to my constituents, but to those people who are watching this debate, because

I think that often tax policy is something which people misunderstand or once it is in effect they sort of wonder: "How did this happen? What does it mean?" I would hope in the time remaining that I will be able to explain further to the people watching this debate and to my own constituents in the riding of Oriole how important taxation policy, fiscal policy and economic policy is to both wealth creation and the state of the economic health of the province of Ontario.

I've outlined in some detail the effects of Bill 31 and I'd like to, if I could, just add a little bit of additional information because there are many people in the riding of Oriole, who do not consider themselves wealthy or high-income earners, who are earning \$53,000 or slightly more.

In effect, I would say to anyone in that category that if you are a single-income earner who makes above \$53,000, you will pay the high-income surtax under Bill 31. As with personal income tax changes, the government has imposed a higher rate on what it considers higher-income earners under the last half of 1992. In this case, Ontarians will start paying 14% of Ontario personal tax in excess of \$5,500 starting July 1, 1992.

For the parliamentary assistant, who didn't seem to understand this, this is where you had the provincial treasury moving in to take back what the federal government had given as a tax cut, and then it went on into the next fiscal year. But in this fiscal year, as you will recall, the amount of the federal tax cut was calculated to be about \$150 million in Ontario. Guess what the revenue expectations are in 1992-93 from the surtax changes? They are \$150 million, identical to what the federal income tax was estimated to produce. What's even more insidious is that the amount of the new tax revenues increases to \$360 million in the 1993 fiscal year and beyond.

Those are the facts. Those are the facts as they relate to Bill 31, and I see nothing in this bill so far which would suggest, as the parliamentary assistant did, that this is in any way fair. It is not fair to take \$100 million away from the senior citizens of this province. It is not fair to tell people who are earning \$53,000 a year that they are high-income earners. It is not fair to take back the \$150-million tax cut that was promised by the federal government and then increase that to \$360 million in the next fiscal year. That is not fair by any stretch of the imagination.

Mr Speaker, I'm going to give you the totals. In part I, personal income tax rate changes, we had a total of \$580 million in new taxes; in part II, the surtax changes, another \$360 million; and we had \$100 million saved clawed back from the seniors tax program. If you total all those up, you get over \$1 billion, and now we're going to talk about the tax reduction component of this piece of legislation.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

2310

Mrs Caplan: The parliamentary assistant said that this bill contains tax reductions, and it does. I want to outline for you, in the light of this \$1-billion tax grab, what the tax reductions are.

As a minor part of Bill 31, the government plans to enrich the Ontario tax reduction program for 1992 and subsequent years. Starting in 1992 the basic reduction will be increased to \$175, and this will increase to \$375, depending on the circumstances. These reductions total, in annual savings to Ontario taxpayers, \$10 million. On the one hand, you have a billion-dollar tax grab and, on the other hand, you have a \$10-million tax reduction program. They are taking a billion dollars and they're saying it's fair that they're only reducing the tax burden on those least able to pay by \$10 million.

That may be fair to the parliamentary assistant, that may be fair to Bob Rae, but I don't think that's fair, the people in Oriole riding don't think that's fair and the people of the province of Ontario don't see anything about it that's fair. They understand that that kind of new math is why this province is having the problems we are having.

When the parliamentary assistant and the Minister of Revenue talk about the tax reduction component of Bill 31 and then you compare it with the tax grab of Bill 31, you see \$1 billion compared to \$10 million, and they have the temerity to suggest that this bill is about fairness. I would say, Mr Speaker, you understand why people are disappointed, why they don't believe and why they are in a state of shock when they see this kind of policy coming from an NDP government.

The final piece of Bill 31 brings provincial tax law into line with certain changes the federal government introduced with its February budget. This is the part that actually does make me laugh, because I remember the Minister of Revenue standing in her place saying that the one thing they were never going to do was harmonize with the federal government. They did exactly that in Bill 31, because it harmonizes their taxation with the federal government.

I'm not saying that's a bad thing. I'm not criticizing that component of the bill. What I am criticizing is that they say one thing and they do the opposite and they wonder why people have no confidence in them. The Minister of Revenue stood in her place and said: "We are not going to harmonize our taxes and our tax policy with the federal government. We will never do that." Why did she say that? Because that's what Bob Rae said. Bob Rae said, "We are not going to harmonize our taxation policy with the policies of the Mulroney government." What does Bill 31 do? It harmonizes federal tax policy and the NDP provincial tax policy.

Interjection.

Mrs Caplan: Treasurer, that's not funny. Treasurer, nobody's laughing. Treasurer, I'm glad you're not laughing, because the people of this province can't believe your government again has broken its word, has told them one thing and is doing the exact opposite.

Mr Bradley: That's a daily occurrence.

Mrs Caplan: While they are seeing this day by day, a daily occurrence, they can't get used to it. They keep believing. They keep believing that maybe there is a principle left in the NDP. But sadly, each day we see that the

last of the principles and the last of principled government are upon us.

In Bill 31 the NDP government in Ontario agrees to adopt some federal rules for filing tax objections and tax appeals. I happen to think that's a good idea. I really think that makes it easier for small business. I think it makes good sense to do that. What I don't think makes good sense is to have these people, this NDP government stand up on one day and tell people, "We'll never do that," and then quietly, quietly put it in in Bill 31 and kind of hope nobody will notice it. Not one word from the parliamentary assistant about the harmonization with federal tax policy; not one word from the Minister of Revenue on the harmonization of tax policy; not one word on the fact that it makes it easier for business on their filings, both for objections and appeals; not one word about that.

It's very important that you tell people what you're doing and it's even more important that if you have changed your mind, you stand up and tell them, "We've changed our minds." But you don't do that. At 11:15 at night, when we're talking about Bill 31, you're hoping nobody will notice.

I could go on for some time, but I really believe that it is important at this late hour that we realize that Bill 31 is a significant piece of tax legislation, that many believe the NDP is adrift when it comes to tax policy. I am seeing here, and I have in my hand, headlines that say "NDP Mishmash on Tax Policy," November 1992; "Mini Budget Puts Blue Tinge on Pink Floyd"; a headline that says "Poor Folks Carry an Unfair Tax Burden" and, also in December 1992, a headline that says "Taxes to Rise, Rae Warns."

My message for this evening is, I don't believe that. I believe the tax hype warning that we are reading about in the newspapers is just a new spin so that when the Treasurer comes out with his budget that contains no taxes, they'll be able to say, "Aren't we wonderful?"

But I want to remind people on this evening in December that this government has already taken the biggest tax hit, over \$1.5 billion. This NDP government, which does not like to hear the truth—and this was reported November 1992. This year Bob Rae hit the taxpayers of Ontario with a \$1.6-billion tax hit, the biggest in Confederation.

Let me tell you something: People in the province of Ontario heard you loud and clear when you said you were going to be different. The difference, after two years of government, is that they don't like what they see, they are concerned about your tax policy, they don't believe what you're doing is fair and, further, they know that you're doing it not only openly and aboveboard in legislation like Bill 31, but also insidiously by regulation as you raise fees and attempt to deal with a budget disaster of your own making.

The Treasurer is here, the hour is late, and I would say to you, Mr Speaker, that I have no confidence that Bill 31 is going to help the economy of the province of Ontario. I have no confidence that Bill 31 is going to help with the economic recovery in the province of Ontario and, on behalf of my constituents in the riding of Oriole, I want to express my dismay and my distress and offer the Treasurer and the government my assistance, if I can, to help them

understand what the implications are of their misguided policies, because I entered public life to see if I could make a positive difference. I believe that no matter where you sit in this Legislature you can do that, but it is extremely difficult when the government opposite refuses that help, refuses that assistance and refuses to even listen. 2320

**The Speaker:** I thank the member for Oriole for her contribution to the debate and welcome questions and/or comments. The member for Markham.

Mr Cousens: One of the aspects that indeed the member for Oriole has been able to touch on is that this is a very major piece of legislation. I don't think there's any doubt about that. The fact that the member has touched on a number of the fundamental issues that surround this bill, I think, has done credit to the whole bill. There is so much to it that I'm surprised that the honourable member when she was speaking didn't refer to one of the sections of the bill.

I would like to ask her, in her comments, if she would comment on section 5:

"(1) Section 151, subsections 152(1), (2), (3), (3.1), (4), (4.1), (4.2), (5), (6), (7) and (8) and 153 (1), (1.1), (1.2), (1.3), (1.4), (2) and (3) and 227(8.3) and (8.4) of the federal act apply for the purposes of this act and, in the application thereof, any reference therein to section 150 or to subsection 150(1) of the federal act shall be read to include a reference to subsection 9(1) of this act."

How could you talk about this bill and not touch upon section 5? I mean this bill is filled with these kinds of paragraphs. I have to tell you, Mr Speaker, I want this member who has spoken so eloquently on all the other parts to comment on this particular part. I asked the Treasurer to give me his comment on it, and since he couldn't find his glasses, he didn't dare make any comment. He said he'd have to have a lawyer to check that one out.

That's the problem with this bill. You know something, it touches on so many aspects, but the first thing is it would take a Philadelphia lawyer or a Markham lawyer to really understand it, and there isn't a Markham lawyer around here.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): They don't mention the word "gouge" once in it.

Mr Cousens: That's right, this bill doesn't mention the word "gouge" and yet it's full of gouging. All I'm trying to say is, it's a complicated act. The member has done something to uncomplicate it; maybe she could explain some of the complications.

**The Speaker:** The member for Durham West.

Mr Wiseman: I would like to hark back and have the Legislature reflect on what was said by the Liberal Party when this bill was first introduced by the Tories.

Mr Stuart Smith stated that "he has helped the people at the top of the income ladder at the expense of the people at the bottom of the income ladder."

Mr Peterson said: "Would the Treasurer not agree that...in the name of universality, the low-income, poor pensioner will get nothing more, or marginally more, or even less in a number of circumstances? Would he agree that what he has done in the name of getting his grant checked out twice a year is make an unnaturally large transfer to the wealthier pensioners?"

Mr Peterson said on June 13: "We in the Ontario Liberal Party have serious reservations about this bill, about its fundamental lack of equity and its unnecessary administrative costs.... Only a Tory government could dream up such a plan to redistribute wealth to those who already have most of it."

They forgot about this when they were in power. Instead that party increased the basic income tax by five full percentage points from 1986 to 1990. Not only did they do that; the Liberals when in power imposed a surtax of 3% of income tax payable over \$5,000. This was supposed to be a temporary tax for the 1986 taxation year only. However temporary it was, in 1988 the Liberals increased the surtax by 7% to 10% and increased the threshold over \$10,000.

Not only was the member for Oriole wrong about that, she was wrong about many other things as well. All of these things were done while they were in power. They ignored it; they didn't have the guts to change the inequity in this pension system. We're doing it and we're doing it in a fair way. I hope to elaborate on that a little more later.

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I'd like to congratulate the member for Oriole for a comprehensive overview of Bill 31. But at the same time, I would like to respond to the catcalls and interjections from the other side about their Liberal inheritance.

I'd like to quote from the auditor's report of 1991, pages 14 and 15, and listen carefully: "Ontario has had only one surplus in the last 20 years (year ended March 31, 1990)." This is your Liberal inheritance, and once the NDP took over management of the economy, things went topsyturvy and there was a major variance with the projections of the budget.

"The major factors contributing to this variance were" the following:

"The extent of the recession, which was obviously not foreseen at the time of the budget;

"Total revenues were down by approximately \$1.1 billion due primarily to the influence of the recession on taxation revenues. Excluding special payments, total expenditures were up by approximately \$1 billion, with the increase in social assistance payments the major contributing factor.

"Special payments which were not provided for in the budget"—but decided by the NDP government when it took over. These special payments totalled \$924 million, and they were spent on the Ontario teachers' pension fund and the Urban Transportation Development Corp, among other things.

So when they talk about the Liberal inheritance, they are complaining about having inherited a balanced budget and a projected surplus, and since then we have had \$10-billion deficits.

**The Speaker:** Any other questions or comments? The member for St Catharines.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): Rotation, Mr Chair.

Mr Elston: They were slow.
Mr Bradley: Get the Tory up.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Just relax. We normally try to provide a balance, but also the first member to his or her feet. The primary speaker was on this side of the House. It would be helpful to have two people from this side. We looked to the Conservatives and there wasn't anyone interested.

Mr Stockwell: Right here. Can you miss this shirt?

**The Speaker:** The member for Etobicoke West has found his seat, in which case we will allow the member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: Thank you, Mr Speaker. Trying to determine whether five years ago some ex-Premier, who was an opposition leader then, would have thought this was a good idea or not and whether some previous government had a surplus in some year or not really is a rather academic exercise at this time.

At this time we're faced with the economy literally in shambles. We've got six dumps in Durham. We've got 15 dumps across Metro. We have unemployment running rampant. We have a government that is basically bankrupt, and we have government backbenchers arguing about whether or not five years ago some Premier who was in opposition then said something about a seniors' tax credit.

I guess the point that needs to be made is, the member for Oriole spoke about the present day and about the situation we find ourselves in, and the present day that we find ourselves in, regardless of the situation, was the situation

this government knew all about.

They made a significant number of promises in the Agenda for People. They can't fulfil practically any of them. They have increased taxes second to no government—non-debatable. They have deficits that are not rivalled by any provincial government anywhere at any time. They've increased taxes on the gas guzzler union tax, on personal income tax, they talk about minimum corporate tax they couldn't deliver on, and it's rather insulting to hear this government, from a member with six dumps in his riding, come forward and start discussing about a Premier in opposition who spoke about that. If you want to talk about broken promises, sidle up to the corner office and Bob Rae's got three hours' worth.

The Speaker: The member for Oriole has up to two minutes for her response.

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Mrs Caplan: No one gives much credence to the utterances of the parliamentary assistant, so I'm not going to dignify his utterances with a reply.

I will point out that the member for Markham makes a very good point. When I was discussing the bill at some length, I said that it was very complicated. I also suggested quite strongly and forcefully that this bill harmonizes tax policy with the federal tax policies and that this NDP government was in some way trying to bring that in in a way that would be unnoticed. I want to thank the member

for Markham for pointing out exactly what I was talking about, because it's that kind of gobbledegook in the legislation that is confusing, complex and irritating to anybody who looks at the bill. It also suggests, in legislative language, that this NDP government is attempting to do something it would prefer nobody really understands, which really is harmonization with federal tax policies.

Bill 31 is a significant piece of legislation. It does not do justice to this government when it stands there and says this is fair, because there is nothing fair about this taxation policy at this time in the midst of a very serious recession in Ontario.

The taxpayers are feeling burdened. The taxpayers today in Ontario feel that the last thing they need is a government that adds to their burden and their problems. We need the consumers of this province to have confidence and to start spending to help us out of the recession. We need businesses to have confidence to invest in Ontario and to know that Ontario is being well and properly managed. Bill 31 does not do that. It does not give confidence to seniors, it does not give confidence to seniors, it does not give confidence to business or investors and, frankly, Bill 31 is misguided in the extreme.

The Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): I want to enter the debate here tonight. There are two major tax changes included in Bill 31. One deals with income taxes, which I find very, very distasteful, particularly with regard to lower-income earners in this province.

I find it absolutely amazing that someone earning as little as \$10,000 a year—you know what happened? Don Mazankowski and Brian Mulroney gave him a niggardly decrease in taxes of \$10, and you know what this Treasurer did? He took the \$10 back. From \$10,000 they gave him \$10 off, and this Treasurer comes in and scoops \$10 off somebody earning \$10,000 a year.

Somebody who's earning \$20,000 a year: Brian Mulroney took \$45 off the tax that person owed to the federal government. You know what Floyd Laughren did? Floyd Laughren came along and took \$45 off a guy or a women earning \$20,000 a year.

Now, this is the party that was supposed to represent the working poor, as they are sometimes called, or the people who are not doing as well as other people in society. I can't believe these income tax increases that were put forward by the Treasurer of this province. I cannot believe that an NDP Treasurer would scrape off \$45 more in taxes from somebody earning as little as \$20,000 a year. It's disgraceful, and you know what? We've heard these people across the way, these people in an NDP government, talk about Brian Mulroney so many times in this Legislature, how bad Brian Mulroney is. Well, I'll tell you, Brian Mulroney is kinder to the working poor in this province than Bob Rae is, and that's proven here in Bill 31.

Interjections.

**Mr Sterling:** I suggest you read the bill. Read the bill. The bill is that Floyd Laughren and Bob Rae take \$45 away from somebody earning as little as \$20,000 a year. It's in the briefing notes from the Ministry of Revenue. It's

terrible. What was the Agenda for People all about? Was it an agenda for unions? Was it an agenda for people earning \$60,000, \$70,000 a year? This is disgraceful. This bill is disgraceful.

I also want to talk about income tax rates in general. You know that we have to be competitive with other jurisdictions, so I asked the Ministry of Revenue to obtain for me the income tax rates for various different states which we might be competing with. In other words, our businesses here might have to compete with businesses in New York state, Michigan, Ohio, North Carolina, Massachusetts. There is a charge that we are losing businesses to those kinds of states. So I asked Ministry of Revenue officials to get for me the income tax rates in those places, and you know what? The difference in income tax between just about any state that I look at and Ontario is somewhere between 11% and 12% for somebody earning around the \$50,000 mark, up to a 15% difference for somebody who is earning, let's say, over that amount.

What we would like to do is attract the very best people to our province. We would like to attract into our province people who have money, because if they have money they invest that money, usually in the community they support. If you are a person who is able to earn that kind of money either in Ontario or down in the United States and you have the choice of being either here or there, I ask you, are you going to pay 10% to 15% more in tax in order to live in this jurisdiction or live in another jurisdiction in the United States?

Mr Stockwell: And that's not fear-mongering; that's just a fact.

Mr Sterling: Those are the facts. There are the facts as supplied to me, on my request, by the Ministry of Revenue in the province of Ontario.

The other thing that is very prevalent in the United States is that if you have a mortgage on your home in the United States, you can deduct that interest from your income before you put it down.

Hon Mr Laughren: That's national, isn't it? That's federal.

Mr Sterling: That's what I said. In the United States, Floyd, you can deduct interest from your mortgage that you pay.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Normie, tell us about the capital gains part of that.

Mr Sterling: Well, there are some downsides, but we're talking about income tax at this point. The member over here would like me to talk about capital gains and the downsides in the United States. When you die, that comes into your estate and you have to pay—listen, nobody on this side thinks for a moment that in the next budget this Treasurer is not going to reintroduce succession duty taxes, which were done away with by the PC government in 1978. This Treasurer has threatened in the past to reintroduce inheritance tax, and I'm receiving letters from seniors in my riding who are not only getting ripped off by his last budget but are starting to expect that they're going to get ripped off in the future.

I guess perhaps one of the most galling parts of the Treasurer's introductions with regard to the reform of the property tax system is going back to 1984, when the federal government tried the very same kind of manoeuvre with old age pensions. I think some people in here will remember that Brian Mulroney, when he arrived on the scene, found that he could help some seniors who needed more than their old age pension by clawing back, from seniors who earn more than \$40,000, some of the old age pension and giving that to the more needy old age pensioners.

I can remember Ed Broadbent and all the NDP caucus in Ottawa screaming and yelling and saying: "This is disastrous. You should have universality. It doesn't matter whether or not a senior is earning \$10,000 or \$20,000 or \$30,000 or \$50,000 a year. They should still get the old age pension. To heck with the poor ones, because everything should be universal."

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What do we have here? We have a proposal by this government—I want to say too that in the 1984 scheme Brian Mulroney put in front of these rascals, what Brian Mulroney was doing was not adjusting the total amount of the payout; all he was going to do was pay out more to the poor seniors and take some away from our more able seniors in terms of their income.

Do you know what's happening with this property tax? Last year, we spent about \$400 million—I could be out by a little bit on that—on property tax. Now what's happening in this little shift that we're undertaking is that not only is the Treasurer changing the rules with regard to who gets it, but he's reducing the total payout by \$80 million to \$100 million. That's \$80 million, to \$100 million, this Treasurer is ripping off the backs of our seniors with regard to property tax payments.

I can remember the hues and cries about taxes like the GST, about the federal government; it was going to collect a lot more and all this kind of stuff. At least with regard to that particular tax, when they collected it, they collected the same amount as they did with the former manufacturers sales tax, plus the amounts they paid out to less able citizens, with regard to the GST payouts to less able citizens of our country.

It's very hard for any politician to even talk about the GST with all these politicians saying, "Yeah, it was bad; it was terrible," and all the rest of it. I don't like the GST. I don't like any taxes, and particularly taxes which are up front.

We've had a big fight about market value assessment this week where the government has done a major retreat with regard to that whole tax, and the reason is that people see property taxes. They don't see income taxes. Income taxes are almost taxes that are done underneath the rug, so to speak. People don't really relate to income taxes because they never write out a cheque at the end of the year for their income tax. The majority of the people have it checked off their pay, and in fact many of them receive taxes back.

I want to say that we are very much opposed to both of these taxes, for the reasons I stated. The fact is that the

Treasurer is not paying out the same amount as he was paying out under the old property tax program.

I must say that I do give some support for a shift in the kind of way the program works. Our party has said in the past that we agree that we should be helping out seniors and people in our communities who are less able to take care of themselves.

It wasn't our party that in the last election talked about universality. It has never been we in opposition who have talked about universality, about this unreal dream that government can continue to pay out millions and millions of dollars endlessly on programs and apply them universally across the whole population. I think most people in the community now accept that universality with regard to programs is a thing of the past, that we just can't afford it. We'd like to be able to do it, but you can't do it.

But it's so hypocritical of this government to come forward now with this sort of pious idea and change of reasoning, change of logic which has been put forward in this kind of legislation and put forward in this bill.

Interjections.

Mr Sterling: Mr Speaker, I'm having a great deal of difficulty keeping my mind on this because of the fact that some green-shirted colleagues of mine are carrying on conversations in the near vicinity of my seat.

As you know, Mr Speaker, I can be fairly succinct in my remarks with regard to the legislation. I think the reasons I have expressed here tonight for my opposition are clear. I want to say that groups like the United Senior Citizens of Ontario, in its report to the government of Ontario, opposed the property and sales tax grant change. I read from their brief to the government:

"We have protested the discontinuance of the \$600 property tax grant and the \$50 sales tax grant for senior citizens. The government has indicated that these grants will be recovered through our income tax return. Since many seniors live below the poverty line and consequently do not pay taxes, we protest any action that will bring about any reduction in the grants, not only to those not taxable, but to all seniors. We furthermore submit that the increasing tax burden to seniors on fixed incomes becomes unbearable. We strongly urge the government to eliminate all sales tax to seniors in order to alleviate this condition."

I agree in part with the submission put forward.

I guess, if I could say in summary, the government, in this tax increase, is taking provincial sales tax to 54.5% of the federal tax this year and is sneaking in another increase for next year; it is increasing it to 55% next year. With regard to the surtax, they are increasing it to 14% this year and to 20% next year.

A few years ago, when the former the Liberal government was there, the federal government started to reduce personal income taxes. They started to reduce their rate of personal income tax. Every time the federal government reduced the taxes in the late 1980s, the provincial Liberal government picked that up. In other words, they'd go down a point; Bob Nixon would increase it a point. He started at about 47%. We are now at 55% of the basic federal tax.

What we have seen through both of these governments—the Liberal government with regard to Peterson—is that any time the federal government gave the taxpayer a break, the provincial Liberals picked it up. Under the NDP government, every time the federal government has given the taxpayer a break, the provincial government has picked it up. I want to say that in terms of the former Liberal government, it was a little kinder to the poorer taxpayer. There was a difference in the way Mr Nixon handled how he picked those points up. He wasn't any kinder to the general taxpayer, but he was kinder to the person who was earning \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year. I will give Mr Nixon that.

I have said that we are now in the position in this province where our combined tax load is somewhere in the neighbourhood of about 35% to 36% of the income we earn. It seems to be getting higher every year. I just don't know how far we can go along with regard to taxation in this province before we discourage everyone who is earning a certain amount of money from leaving this country.

I want to also say with regard to income taxes that countries like Sweden, which this New Democratic Party has often referred to as a model, about three or four years ago decided that it would drop personal income taxes. The reason they dropped their personal income taxes was because they were losing their very best people to other European communities. They couldn't keep their engineers, their scientists and their entrepreneurs in their country.

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I represent a high-tech area of this province: the city of Kanata. I have some great employers in my area: Newbridge Networks Corp; Bell-Northern Research is not far out of my constituency; I have Mitel. I have a whole host of high-tech firms. Now, those engineers, those scientists, those mathematicians who work in those plants, can sell their skills anywhere.

I'm a lawyer. I'm trained in Ontario and if I want to practise law, I'm restricted in where I can go and practise that law. I have to stay in the province of Ontario. But these very high-skilled people who work in firms in the city of Kanata, in the city of Nepean and in the Ottawa-Carleton area can sell their services wherever they want. They can go to North Carolina, and in North Carolina they're going to pay 15% less in income tax, so the bleeding of the technical people, the engineers, the scientists etc, who really make the money for this country—I want to tell you that with firms like Newbridge, Gandalf and Mitel, 85% of their product is exported outside this country. They bring money into this country. They bring fresh money into this country. They are really wealth creators, because they're not just regenerating the cash and trading it from one Canadian to the other. They're making money by selling their products to England, France, the United States, all over this world.

My concern is that as our income taxes continue to rise and come out of sync with the people we have to compete with in terms of our manufacturing sector, we are going to lose our very good people to those other jurisdictions. As I say, Sweden and Europe and all the European countries

have recently dropped their income tax levels. They've sought other ways to obtain their taxes because they have realized that if you keep your income taxes up, you drive your good people out.

We not only oppose these tax increases because they are putting a heavier and heavier burden on the average taxpayer, but it doesn't make sense in terms of our competitiveness and our ability to provide a higher standard of living for our people of Ontario.

As I opened my remarks, I referred to probably the worst part of this particular tax proposal, and that is that it takes away from the very low end of our taxpayers. It takes away from people who are earning as little as \$10,000. This bill taxes people who are earning \$10,000 a year, and the NDP is proud of this? They're going to vote for this piece of legislation that takes away \$10 from somebody earning \$10,000. I can't believe it. I can't believe that any government would be so insensitive as to take away from somebody who is earning \$10,000 a year.

I got a letter from a young man in the city of Nepean who wrote to me and is earning \$20,000 a year. He wrote to me and he said, "Mr Sterling, I don't understand how the New Democratic Party, which claimed that it represented the small guy, the little guy, the guy who's not earning a lot of money, how is it that Mr Laughren is taking away from me \$45 a year?"

I can't believe it, Floyd, that, in spite of everything else you would do with regard to this bill, you would scoop \$45 from somebody who's earning as little as \$20,000. I mean, \$45 for somebody who's earning \$20,000, that's a fair junk of dough for that person. Some \$45 according to your document; \$45 according to the Ministry of Revenue document. He might be saying, "This is taxable income," and all the rest of it. Okay, maybe it's somebody earning \$26,000 a year and maybe it's \$23 a year. I don't care whether it's \$23 or \$45; \$25 to somebody who's earning \$20,000 is a lot of money. I don't know where they can get it. They have tight budgets. You're literally taking food out of their mouths. That's really what it comes down to.

I know we're getting close to the end of the day, but I think I've expressed my disdain for this piece of legislation. We will, of course, be strenuously voting against this. I understand the government needs it before January 1. It's unfortunate. I would like to go across this province and talk to people who wrote to me, people who are earning \$20,000 or less. I'd really like to hear from them, but we understand that the government has to have this in order to implement it by next year.

I only wish the Treasurer was honest with our senior citizens and didn't take \$80 million away from them. Many of the people in the Ottawa-Carleton area that I represent who are seniors are going to be suffering from a market value assessment imposition in the Ottawa-Carleton area. A lot of those people are perhaps going to be forced from their homes because they won't be able to pay the property tax. That \$80 million that the Treasurer is scooping out of that pot, which was paid to pensioners this year, would help a lot of the people in my constituency.

I ask the Treasurer to reconsider keeping the money constant at least, for this year, and then perhaps considering something less for future years.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Carleton for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments.

Mr Wiseman: All the doom and gloom that the member has said, really, when you look at it—11% of the population has an income of over \$50,000. This surtax represents a grand total increase of two cents out of every dollar above the net amount. Over 350,000 seniors will in fact receive more money than they did this year; in fact, it is possible for a senior this year who qualifies to achieve upwards of \$1,450 in grant and tax credit for this year, in terms of a double hit.

I think it's important to recognize that the senior who will not receive this funding will have to have an income of over \$50,000. If it's an invested income, then they would have to have, at an 8% interest rate, somewhere in the neighbourhood of well over \$500,000 in the bank.

So it is incorrect to say that what we're doing is hurting the person on the lowest end. In fact, under the tax credit system that will be in effect in 1993, it is possible for the poorest senior to receive upwards of \$1,000 in terms of a tax credit.

I have heard from my constituents, who have said on an ongoing basis, "Make sure that the money that is going to people, goes to people who have the most need." What is happening here is exactly that. This bill represents a move towards more equity and fairness in the system than was previously in existence. There are 350,000 seniors who will benefit and 89% of the population who will see no increase in their taxes.

The Speaker: The member for St Catharines.

Mr Bradley: I am surprised that the previous speaker had any time at all to be dealing with this matter, as I would have thought he would be dealing with the six dumps that have been placed in his constituency by the present Minister of the Environment and by the NDP patronage appointee, the former member for Peterborough, Walter Pitman.

Anyway, in regard to this tax, the member for Carleton, as usual, was able to characterize this tax the way it really is. He talked about the seniors' tax credit program, which penalizes those seniors who have saved their money over the years, people who didn't spend it on a lot of things that would have brought pleasure to them throughout their lifetime, put the money in the bank, put it in RSPs and saved it for their retirement. Then the Treasurer came along and cut the transfers to the municipalities, so their property taxes went up, and this year of all years they need more money, and what's happening? The Treasurer's taking the money away.

The income tax increase of this bill was slipped in, in the middle of the summer to take advantage of the federal government's relinquishing that tax. I can't believe this Treasurer was responsible. I have to believe the orders came from the Premier's office for that particular tax increase to take place. Third, lowering the threshold for the application of the Ontario high-income surcharge to \$53,000 is going to catch a lot of people such as auto workers, who worked many hours of overtime and were able to earn that kind of money, only to have this government take the money away from those auto workers who are going to the need it in the year ahead.

The Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr Conway: I want to just say a few things about these remarks by my friend from Manotick. I'm going to have more to say on this bill tomorrow or whenever, but I think he raises a couple of very good points.

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): The member for Manotick?

**Mr Conway:** The member from Manotick, yes.

**Mr Elston:** Manotick is a very fine community in the riding of Carleton.

Mr Conway: Just a couple of things. I certainly will not be supporting this legislation, but I will say that this will probably set me apart from some of my colleagues. I personally condemned the Davis government 12 or 14 years ago or whenever it was that it made the change from the seniors' property tax credit program to the tax grant program. I have not changed my views from those days in the early 1980s or whenever that change was made.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): But you are voting against it.

Mr Conway: I cannot support the other elements of this policy. I'm telling you, I am a Liberal, and I find it extremely—

Hon Mr Laughren: Despite fiscal conservativeness.

Mr Conway: No, I'm being honest. I know the politics for an opposition politician are to stand up and denounce the whole policy. That part of this policy which seeks to tailor the available moneys to those seniors who need the money will get my support. I condemn absolutely the tax policy contained in this bill that hammers those in the lower income brackets.

Hon Mr Laughren: That is opposition politics.

Mr Conway: That is not opposition politics.

Hon Mr Laughren: Nothing wrong with opposition politics. Don't be so sensitive.

Mr Conway: No, I'm telling you it's a very legitimate criticism for any small-l liberal and any social democrat to make. The member from Manotick is quite right to draw it to the attention of this House tonight.

But I simply say that when this government and this Legislature face the kind of fiscal mess that we've got ourselves into, I'm going to tell you that these kinds of adjustments are as nothing compared to the kinds of miserable things we're going to have to visit on people if we don't get our economic house in order.

The Speaker: It being 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until—

Interjection.

**The Speaker:** All right. We can (inaudible) the will to do that.

It's 12 of the clock and this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow.

The House adjourned at 1200.

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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 9 December 1992

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35e législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mercredi 9 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Wednesday 9 December 1992

The House met at 1330. Prayers.

#### **MEMBERS' STATEMENTS**

#### CONSEIL SCOLAIRE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE D'OTTAWA-CARLETON

M. Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa-Est) : Hier, nous avons demandé au ministre de l'Éducation de nous informer de ses intentions face au Conseil scolaire public de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Sa réponse m'a beaucoup déçu et je me suis demandé si le ministre pouvait vraiment se permettre d'imposer sa volonté à ce conseil scolaire et de le garder en tutelle indéfiniment.

Comme ses collègues ont pris l'habitude de le faire, le ministre de l'Éducation s'est dépêché de faire porter le blâme sur les conseillers scolaires. Je ne suis pas convaincu que les conseillers scolaires sont la seule cause du problème. Même si c'était le cas, c'est encore la responsabilité du gouvernement d'apporter des solutions au problème. Vous avez toujours refusé de rencontrer les membres du conseil scolaire. Ces gens-là pourraient peutêtre vous suggérer des solutions.

La tutelle dure depuis quatorze mois. C'est beaucoup trop long. Je ne pense pas que vous avez réussi à régler les problèmes financiers du conseil scolaire pendant ces quatorze mois. Je ne pense pas non plus que vous avez contribué à offrir un enseignement de qualité comparable aux élèves francophones de la région. Il y a au moins 2700 personnes qui vous l'ont dit hier.

Dites-nous comment vous allez régler le problème. Retirez-vous du dossier si vous n'êtes pas capable de faire quoi que ce soit.

Monsieur le ministre, la tutelle a duré trop longtemps et il est urgent de remettre aux élus la responsabilité d'administrer leur conseil.

#### MEMBER FOR BURLINGTON SOUTH

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I wish to acknowledge the recent honour that was bestowed on my colleague and good friend Cam Jackson, the member for Burlington South.

In recognition of his outstanding community service, Cam was invested in the Order of St John in October in a ceremony at Christ Church Cathedral in Ottawa by the Governor General of Canada. Also receiving honours were Richard Rohmer, QC, and former Liberal MPP James Breithaupt. The nomination of the member for Burlington South to the order was officially approved by Her Majesty Oueen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada.

The Order of St John was founded in the Middle Ages as the Knights of the White Cross, whose chief responsibility was to protect and defend orphans, widows and the poor. It has since evolved into a charitable organization honouring individuals who live in the spirit of its original ideals.

Cam is the divisional president of the St John Ambulance 406C cadet division in Burlington. He is the founding chair of Burlington Food Share, a coalition of food banks providing relief to the needy. He has organized the first-ever city-wide food drive and has raised funds to establish the first school-based children's breakfast program in his community. It is no surprise, then, that our leader, Mike Harris, appointed Cam as the party's social services and children's services advocate.

The people of Burlington have come to know Cam Jackson as a hardworking MPP who is always ready to come to their assistance. On their behalf and on behalf of all of us here, I congratulate my colleague the member for Burlington South and a serving brother of the Order of St John.

#### SECOND BASE YOUTH SHELTER

Ms Anne Swarbrick (Scarborough West): Second Base Youth Shelter is now under construction in my riding of Scarborough West thanks to \$2.6 million in funding from my government's Ministry of Community and Social Services.

The shelter will provide crisis intervention, guidance and shelter for 40 homeless youth of both sexes. Second Base will help prevent the greater problems that can result when young people from Scarborough and surrounding areas are compelled to leave their home communities and go downtown for help.

In the members' gallery today are the chair of the board of directors, Brenda Ryan, and the vice-chair, Worrick Russell. These are two of Second Base's extremely dedicated and talented board members. They are now engaged in a very active fund-raising drive to raise \$190,000 for furniture, equipment and startup funds.

Ms Ryan, Mr Russell and their board are requesting personal meetings with corporate boards of directors, employee charity groups, unions and community service clubs. One company has already assisted them with \$2,500 in computer software. Centennial College will be placing co-op students with them next year. Operation Springboard is supplying numerous volunteers. Second Base has a student awareness and school fund-raising program appealing to students to help raise funds.

And Second Base is appealing to public figures like those of us here in this Legislature to help. I have contributed \$300 for the purchase of one of the shelter's beds. I challenge the members of this Legislature and other public figures in and around Scarborough to match my pledge.

#### HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): The Minister of Transportation knows how important the speedy construction of Highway 416 is for the economy of eastern Ontario. The

minister also knows that if his officials award a contract number, the project normally is ready to go.

I was recently told that sections of the 416 project from Century Road to the 401 were given a contract number in early fall. Normally, this means that tenders would be called shortly thereafter; however, for some totally unexplained reason, the contract numbers for the 416 were cancelled, thereby putting the much-needed construction on hold and throwing the whole highway completion schedule into turmoil.

I'm calling on the minister to clear up the confusion. Why were the contract numbers cancelled? Are he and his government still committed to the completion of the 416 from Ottawa to the 401? If so—and I see the Premier here—when will the project south of Century Road go to tender, and what is the new time line of the NDP government for having the four-lane link finished between the nation's capital and the 401?

Today I've written the minister asking for an official response. This is an issue of vital importance, not just for the economic wellbeing of the Ottawa-Carleton area but for eastern Ontario at large. Hundreds of jobs are at stake. At a time when employment is sorely needed, the last thing we want is the provincial government holding up projects that have already been approved.

1340

#### HYDRO RATES

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): North York Hydro recently announced that it would be boycotting Ontario's 8.2% rate increase. I would like to take this opportunity to publicly support the efforts of North York Hydro and to convey to the Minister of Energy the message that excessive rate increases will not be tolerated by the people of Ontario.

The public cannot afford the exorbitant tax increases this government continues to implement. As North York Mayor Mel Lastman has pointed out, Hydro rates have risen over 30% since 1991. To quote Mayor Lastman, "Our beleaguered taxpayers have had enough of neverending price hikes, and something must be done."

The Association of Major Power Consumers in Ontario recently commented that Ontario Hydro is helping drive industry out of the province with its whopping rate increases. The association further warned that Ontario Hydro would do permanent damage to the province if it did not clean up its financial act.

Every time Hydro rates increase, jobs are lost. The government must act now to protect employment in Ontario. The government should be implementing policies that encourage investment and create jobs. In these difficult financial times, the government must pursue avenues that ease the tax burden on the people of Ontario. The public cannot afford to pay any more taxes.

I urge the Minister of Energy to listen to North York Hydro and Mayor Mel Lastman and take immediate steps to cut the never-ending rate increases being imposed by Ontario Hydro.

#### EXTEND-A-FAMILY SCARBOROUGH

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): I am pleased to rise today to give recognition to Extend-A-Family Scarborough.

Extend-A-Family was founded in 1981 by a group of parents with developmentally handicapped children who wanted their children to be part of community life. It is the only Metro Extend-A-Family to serve both adults and children.

Their mandate is to connect people with physical or developmental handicaps with other people in their communities through friendship. This gives the person an opportunity to develop a fulfilling and much-needed social network outside of paid staff and family, while at the same time giving parents and care givers some relief. Individuals are matched with volunteers, friendship and support circles, or are assisted in becoming part of existing community groups and clubs.

While preparing this statement, I read through Extend-A-Family's 10th-anniversary book, In Celebration of Friendship, in search of one story that would exemplify the valuable contribution Extend-A-Family has made to Scarborough. But it was difficult to find just one story; this book is full of stories of people who have been helped and have helped each other to form lifelong friendships.

I would encourage all members of this House to read this anniversary book of stories, verse, pictures and poems. I can assure you that it is heartfelt, touching and enjoyable.

The present staff at Extend-A-Family Scarborough are Helen Dionne, Alison Baxter, Jeannie Cooper, Linda Dawe and Cathy Bloomfield. Please join me in congratulating them on their commitment and dedication to this organization and to their community.

#### **AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY**

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): As General Motors workers in St Catharines and Windsor face the bleak news about temporary and permanent job losses and auto workers across Ontario become more apprehensive about the future of the auto industry in our province, the Ontario government would be wise to review the suggestions I offered several months ago to assist this vital part of the provincial economy.

I recommend that the provincial government establish a special division within the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology to deal exclusively and on a priority basis with the problems confronting the auto industry, and that this new department develop a comprehensive strategy to retain all auto operations in Ontario at present and to encourage new investment in the automotive sector.

I call upon the Ontario government to abandon its ill-conceived and damaging so-called gas guzzler tax and suspend the provincial sales tax on motor vehicles temporarily to encourage consumers to replace their fuelinefficient and polluting older vehicles with new, fuel-efficient vehicles with modern, effective pollution-control devices. Both the economy and the environment would be the winners, and employees in the auto sector would at last have some reason for encouragement.

Such action would be well received by the purple ribbon movement, the Fighting for our Working Future Niagara-Hamilton campaign, which will be involved in a demonstration in front of General Motors on Ontario Street, Saturday, at 12 noon.

#### POLICE USE OF FORCE

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I will be tabling a petition today which calls on the government to begin supporting Ontario's police officers, to discontinue its effort to restrict the police from performing their duties to protect all law-abiding citizens.

Mrs Christine Edward of Barrie, who is anything but a political activist, felt very strongly about the NDP's negative and confrontational approach to policing and police in this province and gathered nearly 3,000 signatures on a petition. She did so in only four days.

In a letter to the Premier, which still hasn't received a response, Mrs Edward outlines that as mother of children aged 13 and 10, she is alarmed at the increase in violent crime in Ontario. She believes there have been too many incidents where innocent people have been abducted and murdered, and what happened to Kristen French is every parent's nightmare.

She says we need to enhance police enforcement, but the Rae government has moved in the opposite direction. She writes: "There has been irrefutable growing public support; still your government continues to ignore it."

She talks about the Premier's own personal security, the officers with the nine-millimetre guns, saying, "There should not be double standards when protecting you and your family with specially trained bodyguards and up-to-date arsenal while placing further restrictions on police officers."

"Instead of dictating to the police," Christine goes on to say that Mr Rae's "government should be consulting with experienced professional police officials to bring enforcement techniques into the 1990s."

Thank you, Christine, for getting involved and speaking out on behalf of your community.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): Yesterday's announcement on market value assessment sent a shock wave throughout many communities in Metro which were expecting property tax reductions commencing January 1993.

While we all recognize that there are many flaws in Metro's plan, it is my understanding and it is our understanding that Metro will proceed to develop a new plan. It is my intention to work with Chairman Alan Tonks and to work with Metro councillors and to work with my many colleagues here today to ensure that a speedy, new plan—

Interjections.

#### The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Perruzza: —is developed and comes back to us for implementation. We are looking to develop a plan that's manageable, acceptable, fair and addresses many of the concerns—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Mr Perruzza:** —that were outlined yesterday by the minister responsible.

I've advised Metro Chairman Alan Tonks-

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): Bye, bye, Tony.

**The Speaker:** The member for Oriole, please come to order.

Mr Perruzza: —through a letter which I sent to him today that it is my intention to work with them. I look forward to working with many of my colleagues in my party and in the other parties to ensure that the plan that does come back this time is a flawless plan that ensures there will be some fairness in our property tax system throughout Metro, because there are many communities which have been paying far too much for far too long, which are looking property tax relief that they deserve.

#### **ORAL OUESTIONS**

#### RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Premier. Frankly, I was somewhat appalled yesterday by your absolute refusal to answer any questions regarding the Carl Masters investigation. You refuse to give any explanation for Mr Masters's resignation or to discuss the investigations that have taken place or why they took place. You won't even disclose to the taxpayers of this province how much the episode is going to cost them. Frankly, that is completely unacceptable.

Perhaps today you would be willing to be more accountable to the people of Ontario. In March, your government brought in very specific procedures for the investigation of harassment complaints. We note again that you have already trained over 500 employees to investigate harassment complaints, yet in this situation you hired an outside law firm to investigate the allegations at public expense, and now you won't disclose what the investigation revealed.

Premier, surely it would not violate the privacy laws for you to simply reveal why you ordered a special investigation of the Carl Masters case when your government already had a team to investigate precisely these sorts of complaints. If you won't want to answer this basic question for us in the House, will you at least tell Ontario taxpayers?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I really have nothing to add to the answer that I gave yesterday, and I believe I'm really acting on the best possible advice in giving that answer.

1350

Mrs McLeod: Premier, it is clear, and has been clear from the beginning when we first raised our questions about this situation, that you are determined to use the freedom of information act to deny the public basic information about the case.

We are not asking you for confidential personal information. We've not asked you to disclose identities. You will not even tell us why you ordered a special investigation when you already had a process in place. Answering

that question is surely not a violation of the freedom of information act. You will not tell us when the investigation concluded or when it presented its report. You won't tell us what the investigation cost. Premier, you won't even do us the courtesy of admitting that you're keeping silent because you have reached a legal agreement to do so. I can tell you that your continued total silence leaves us coming only to that conclusion.

Will you stop hiding behind the legislation and simply tell the people of this province what they have a right to know? When did your special investigators present their report? When you received the report, did you ask for Mr Masters's resignation and did you not reach a legal agreement that puts a gag order on all parties?

Hon Mr Rae: I simply repeat the answer I've given and say to the honourable member that this government has an obligation to protect the privacy rights of many individuals, and we have to live by that.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The final supplementary, the Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs McLeod: Premier, you will understand that given your silence, given your refusal to answer even the most basic questions, questions which do not in any way violate the freedom of information act through your answers, we cannot understand the standards you apply.

You have reportedly trained more than 500 employees to investigate sexual harassment complaints, yet when the Minister of Tourism and Recreation was accused, you sent in the Ontario Provincial Police. When your appointee as agent general, Carl Masters, stood accused, you hired an outside law firm to investigate. There is absolutely no consistency in your approach to investigating or reporting allegations of sexual harassment.

Premier, your silence and your stonewalling on this issue have invited rumours and speculation which, I repeat, is unfair to all concerned. I ask you, Premier, why are some people treated differently in Bob Rae's Ontario? Can you explain what it was about these cases that led you to deal with them so differently and outside your normal procedures? Premier, how can you expect the people of this province to have any faith in your judgement and how you handle these issues when you show no consistency?

Hon Mr Rae: I know the member disagrees with many things we do and I accept that, but I simply have to tell her that I really have nothing to add to the answers I gave her yesterday.

The Speaker: New question.

Mrs McLeod: I did my very best to place questions which clearly the Premier could respond to without any violation of the freedom of information act and I continue to be appalled at this refusal to hear any of the questions or provide any of the answers.

#### ONTARIO HYDRO PRESIDENT

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I will turn my attention again to the Premier and to a second issue, because we have today some questions about Ontario Hydro, as the committee has now moved to confirm

Maurice Strong's appointment as the new chairman and chief executive officer of the Hydro board.

We all know very well that Mr Strong will become the second Ontario Hydro chair in two years, and what we have seen in that two-year period is that the planning processes in Hydro are in absolute chaos; Ontario Hydro's finances are in a complete state of disaster; this government has intervened in Hydro's affairs on a regular basis, and when we try to get to the bottom of things, such as the firing of former president Al Holt and the awarding of his \$1.2-million settlement, the government intervenes once again and places a gag order on witnesses to the committee.

Before Mr Strong takes on his new role, I believe we have a right to know what has already happened and how this government has been involved in the fiasco that has led us to today. I would ask the Premier very directly: Will you now order your Minister of Energy to direct the members of that committee to remove the gag order placed on Mr Holt, on board members, on civil servants, and subpoena them as witnesses to the resources committee so that we can find out what happened once and for all?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): The minister is not here to answer the member's questions in any considered detail, and I would simply say to her that the decisions that were made by the Hydro board with respect to Mr Holt and Mr Holt's decisions with respect to his future have been made and I don't intend to interfere with those decisions.

Mrs McLeod: Premier, I hope that in your absence you were following what was happening on this issue and the responses of your Minister of Energy. Your Minister of Energy responded to earlier questions in this House about what happened with the Al Holt firing by first of all saying he had no responsibility for it and then by saying that any questions we had could be cleared in committee and that the committee would tell all.

He then moved to place gag orders on Mr Holt and on others who could have told all at that committee. The government members of that committee by majority refused to act to subpoena those people as witnesses, so the committee could hear no one but your Minister of Energy. Premier, it is your responsibility to direct the Minister of Energy and your members on that committee to subpoena those witnesses so we can get to the bottom of this.

I would suggest, Premier, that your government has already given itself powers to issue directives that Hydro must follow and that your Minister of Energy has directly involved himself in the firing of the president. Now he claims he wasn't involved. He puts a gag order on our attempts to find out what really happened. In the meantime, you've stacked the board of directors at Hydro to make sure Hydro carries out your government's wishes.

It seems to us that your government interferes in Hydro affairs when you want to and you distance yourself from Hydro when it is politically embarrassing for you to be seen to be responsible. So today, as Maurice Strong is confirmed as chairman and CEO of Ontario Hydro, I ask, given your track record, what assurances have you given Maurice

Strong that he will be able to do what needs to be done at Hydro without your partisan ideological intervention?

Hon Mr Rae: I can say to the honourable member that I have a very high regard for Mr Strong. I hope she does too. I know there are many members of her political party who have very strong views about Mr Strong and his abilities, and I know there are many members of her own party who are appalled by the kinds of questions that have been posed by some of her colleagues with respect to Mr Strong's integrity and his ability.

I want to say directly to the honourable member that I hope very much that Mr Strong has her support, as well as the support of the leader of the third party. The one discussion I had with Mr Strong recently was where I encouraged him very much to meet with the Leader of the Opposition, as well as with the leader of the third party, to discuss the situation at Ontario Hydro and to discuss as clearly and as fully as possible the challenges Hydro faces.

Hydro does face enormous challenges. It is one of the central challenges of the province in the 1990s. It does face problems because of its accumulated debt of some \$37 billion, much of which was accumulated in the last few years, and the fact that because of the recession, Ontario Hydro's revenues have been severely affected.

This is posing an enormous challenge for the corporation. We believe the corporation is equal to the task, and we also believe that the leadership of the corporation is equal to the task of affecting some major changes which are obviously now under way that are going to begin to get hydro rates under control and get a sense of greater openness to the business realities of Ontario in the 1990s from one of the largest corporations in Canada.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: It's our obligation to do that. Mr Strong has the full support of the government in proceeding, and I know he will be wanting to talk to the Leader of the Opposition as well as the leader of the third party about the kinds of directions that can be taken.

Mrs McLeod: The question was not a question about the government's or our confidence in Mr Strong. The question was about the authority this government is actually going to give to Mr Strong, given its confidence in him, to do what needs to be done at Ontario Hydro.

I wonder, if the Premier has the kind of confidence which he has just expressed in Mr Strong, whether or not he has given any consideration to allowing Mr Strong to take on the role not only of chair and chief executive officer but of president of Hydro, undoing some of the chaos they created with their changes to the Power Corporation Act.

#### 1400

I would remind the Premier that Maurice Strong is to be chairman and chief executive officer at a salary of \$425,000 and that he replaces Marc Eliesen, the former chair and chief executive officer, who was making a salary of some \$260,000. There is a difference there of \$165,000 in salary.

When Mr Eliesen departed after only 16 months in that office, this government hired an American consulting firm

to search for a replacement and paid that firm \$100,000. This government then fired the president of Ontario Hydro and gave him a settlement that we believe is \$1.2 million, or in that order. The government is now apparently in the process of hiring a new president.

By our calculations the government has already spent \$1.5 million beyond what it expected to pay for the senior executives of Ontario Hydro just 16 months ago. The situation is still one of absolute chaos, and we have reason to wonder what's coming next.

I ask the Premier, could Mr Strong, at his salary of \$425,000, given your confidence in him, not do the president's job? If you are determined on hiring a new president of Ontario Hydro, are you going to go ahead and hire the same consulting firm at the same kind of cost? And what do you intend to pay the new president you seem determined to hire?

Hon Mr Rae: These are decisions that'll be made by the Hydro board, and the member knows that full well. Mr Strong and the members of the board, yes, it's true, are appointed on the recommendation of the government, but it's also important to stress that at that point the decisions are then made by the Hydro board, and are made obviously in conjunction with the decisions of the views of the chairman.

The member talks about what she describes as the chaos of the last year and a half. How could one describe the neglect that took place under her very nose when she was the Minister of Natural Resources and the Minister of Energy? She knows full well the problems that were faced by the corporation. She knows full well the inheritance that she personally left to the people of Ontario in the form of increases in the double digits into the indefinite future in the 1990s.

That is the inheritance the member is trying to avoid, and those are the responsibilities she is trying to avoid. We are now having to clean up this mess that has been left to us by the Liberal government and by her leadership of Ontario Hydro. It's a tough job but somebody has to do it, and we're prepared to do it.

The Speaker: New question, the third party; the leader of the third party.

Interjections.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): It's been seven years of neglect in so many areas. However, my question is not to the Minister of Natural Resources. Most people in the resource industries have pretty well given up on him.

The Speaker: To whom is your question directed?

Mr. Harris: He was speaking, Mr Speaker, so I thought I should at least comment to him.

#### RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My question is to the Premier. Mr Premier, your appointment, Carl Masters, was paid by the Ontario taxpayers. Mr Masters was in a high-profile position of trust and authority. Serious allegations were made against him. By refusing to provide fundamental answers about this whole situation, you are doing Carl Masters an injustice. But most significantly, Mr Premier, as I pointed out to you yesterday, you are doing the women who made the allegations an injustice. You are doing an injustice to all men and women in this province who are concerned about sexual harassment in the workplace. By not giving us answers you are once again sending out a signal to women who have been victims that your government doesn't take this issue seriously.

Premier, we want to know, we are entitled to know, why your appointment, Carl Masters, resigned.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): Again, I honestly believe, in terms of all the advice I've been given, that the answers I've given to the House are the only answers I can properly give.

Mr Harris: Premier, I want this Legislature and the people of Ontario to be very clear: You cut a deal with Carl Masters to remain silent on the issue; you voluntarily made a choice, voluntarily cut a deal to remain silent on the issue. Now you're using the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act as a front for this deal. This deal that your government voluntarily cut is the one that is preventing information from coming forward that those who are concerned about sexual harassment in this province are insisting on and certainly believe should come forward.

You are using legislation that is supposed to be a public safeguard, and you are using it to cover your government's political backside. I ask you this: Do you not understand the very dangerous precedent that you are setting as Premier in using the freedom of information act this way? Do you not understand that, aside from this issue? Do you not understand the very dangerous precedent that you are setting?

Hon Mr Rae: I simply say to the honourable member that all premiers have to take decisions and act on the basis of the best advice that we receive, and that's exactly what I'm doing.

Mr Harris: Premier, we're dealing with your appointment here. We're dealing with an issue that I thought you were concerned about and I thought your party and your government were concerned about. Apparently, all that was just rhetoric to get elected and rhetoric that you've come forward with.

Premier, I pointed out to you yesterday that clause 21(2)(a) of the freedom of information act allows information to be disclosed when "the disclosure is desirable for the purpose of subjecting the activities of the government of Ontario and its agencies to public scrutiny." This was put into the freedom of information act. This was agreed to; they felt it was important to put this section into the act.

I'd like to ask you this, Premier: Why do you think that section was put into the act? If sexual harassment of women in the offices of the Ontario government is not enough reason to deserve public scrutiny, can you tell me what possibly is more important than that and why this section of the act would ever apply? Can you answer me what is more important than that, that perhaps the drafters of the act would have put this section in to have public scrutiny of? What is more important than that?

Hon Mr Rae: I think it's important for the honourable member to look at the whole of the law and to look at the whole of the law with respect to the importance of the protection of privacy. When you put it in the context of that overall, I think the decision that we're making is one that probably other governments would make as well.

#### NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): My question is to the Premier. I have a copy of a memo from the auditor, dated June 24, 1992, to Mr Dan Burns, Deputy Minister of Housing. I'd like to share with the Premier a number of items on non-profit housing programs that were in fact included in this memo that somehow did not make it to the final auditor's report that was tabled before this House.

One of the things the auditor spoke about in this draft that in fact was sent to the Ministry of Housing and somehow got omitted was that there was a row house project where the president of a cooperative housing group converted a three-bedroom, second-floor unit into an abnormally large master bedroom, complete with a bathroom en suite, and was in the process of installing a whirlpool tub. Two bedrooms were added to the basement. These modifications were noted by the ministry inspector only after construction was essentially completed. At that late stage, the ministry's only option was to require the president to establish a trust fund to convert the unit back to its original condition when the unit is vacated.

At the time of this audit that the auditor speaks about, this trust fund had still not been established. My question is: How could this, in the draft copy sent to the ministry officials in June, have been omitted in the final copy of the auditor's report that we just received?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think the Minister of Housing should be able to answer that question.

1410

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): The auditor's report process is one in which the auditor outlines to each ministry, as I'm sure the member will know, what items he or she wishes to question in the review, and the ministry then responds. If the auditor is satisfied with the response, obviously the auditor will decide that it doesn't go into the final report. The ministry has no control over the auditor's final report.

Mr Stockwell: To the minister: I guess the question I'm asking is, one, process; and two, did this happen? If it did happen, I have some very serious concerns about your operation, the non-profit housing program.

Now, why this got dropped, you'll have to tell me. The auditor agreed to drop this. My question to you is, did this happen? If it did happen, why do you think it was not included and what do you think is the reason why this wasn't on the public documentation we have?

Let me quote you another example. In one case we noted that the project was approved in two phases, the first at 156% over MUP, maximum unit price, and the second at 165% of the approved MUP, because of the interest built up from a lengthy OMB process as well as site-specific

building requirements imposed by the municipality. The additional costs amounted to \$4.5 million. Get this: The result was—I'm doing my best, Mr Speaker—that 80 bachelor apartments in the second phase cost almost \$16 million.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member complete his question, please.

Mr Stockwell: That's \$200,000 per unit. While neighbourhood opposition occurred in only about 20% of our sample, it did add significantly to cost. The question I have for the minister is: Hey, this got omitted. I accept the fact it got omitted. Is this information accurate and, if so, how did this get omitted?

Hon Ms Gigantes: The process is the one I explained in which the auditor raises cases. There are, in the course of the administration of a program of the nature of the non-profit housing program since 1986, a number of cases that will raise problems. The member has raised two which the auditor has reviewed, and the auditor chose, having received an explanation from the ministry, not to put them in the final report. The member would have to ask the auditor why they were not in the final report.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): No. We are asking you.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Ms Gigantes: I should point out that since 1986 there have been 40,000 units of non-profit housing built under this program, and the cases that the member cites which were raised by the auditors are ones which have created problems in the course of that program. I think the auditor probably felt that the way in which the Ministry of Housing had tried to handle these problems was a suitable way.

Mr Stockwell: This is 28 pages, this memo. Right through the entire memo there are entire sections totally omitted. Now my question to the minister was, did they happen? If they happened, this is nothing but an absolute and categorical ripoff of the taxpayers—ripoff, case closed.

I know for a fact, through calls that I made today, that a few of these instances that were left out in fact took place. I'll read you one last one. The auditor headed this one up "Risky Land Purchases":

"In fact, in three of the 40 projects reviewed, the soil was subsequently found to be significantly contaminated after the land had already been purchased. The cost of removing the contaminated soil was \$900,000, \$600,000 and \$100,000 respectively." The auditor went on to say, "We also noted one project which was opposed by the local municipality because the site was located on a 100-year-old floodplain but which the ministry approved." This ministry approved it without conducting a proper assessment, despite the risk of flood damage. So get this: They built it on a floodplain—

**The Speaker:** And your question, please.

**Mr Stockwell:** —without the proper assessments, and in the spring of 1991—

**The Speaker:** Does the member have a question?

Mr Stockwell: This is the question, Mr Speaker. In the spring of 1991, shortly after completion, about one third of the units were flooded for three months. That is unbelievably incompetent.

The Speaker: Would the member please place a question.

Mr Stockwell: Absolutely incompetent. So I ask the minister, did this in fact take place, what was the cost to the taxpayers and what has your ministry done about ensuring this does not take place in the future?

Hon Ms Gigantes: If I could speak to the question of the project that was built on a 100-year floodplain, in fact it flooded not once but twice, and the auditor noted that in the initial information that he discussed with the ministry and the ministry pointed out, quite different from what the member is now saying, that all necessary approvals had been undertaken by the ministry in fact, including the conservation authority. There had been approvals for the type of building that was undertaken on that land.

There are many sites in Ontario which may cause problems, and that happens not only in the non-profit building program but in the private development program that is carried on by private developers in this province. It is frequently the case that soil tests, which are routinely undertaken by the Ministry of Housing, will not reveal, for example, that there is a buried oil tank nobody knew anything about on any records that has been leaking for many years. That happens to private developers and it happens to programs that are undertaken with public resources.

Out of 41,000 units that have been built since 1986, which the auditor has reviewed, he cited a few examples of some very significant problems. Some of them he didn't put in the final report because he understood that the explanations he received were satisfactory.

#### JOHN PIPER

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): My question is to the Premier on the Piper-Grandview scandal. On Monday, November 30, your Attorney General told this House the legal advice his office gave your principal secretary, Melody Morrison, was that Mr Piper did have the right to enter and recover only his personal property, that she should go into the office with him and, the important part, Premier, that the OPP was not aware in advance that Mr Piper was removing two boxes.

All objective observers acknowledge it was a gross error in judgement by the Attorney General in not having the OPP informed in advance about the removal of documents, since the OPP was asked to investigate two days earlier. The Attorney General also said that the OPP has an opportunity to further follow up on Melody Morrison's involvement in the removal of documents.

My question to the Premier is this. As a result of your lack of leadership on November 30, when this issue was breaking, your Attorney General had to stand in this House and report that your principal secretary was under a cloud of suspicion and being further questioned by the OPP about Piper's activities and your Attorney General had to admit facts disclosing his grievous error in not informing the OPP in advance about the removal of documents from

John Piper's office. Will you tell the House what discussions you held on Friday, November 20, Saturday, November 21, and Sunday, November 22, with Melody Morrison on any matter touching on the Piper affair?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I've already indicated clearly to the member on a number of other occasions a couple of weeks ago that I would not comment further on this matter precisely because it's now under a police investigation.

Mr Chiarelli: That brings me to my supplementary. The Premier will hide behind the OPP; he refuses to hide behind the truth. Premier, I want to read a short passage to you.

"Many people have begun to question the fairness and independence of the justice system. This erosion of confidence must be stopped and public confidence restored. This can only be accomplished through the unwavering and visible application of the principles of absolute fairness and independence."

That is from the royal commission on the Donald Marshall prosecution.

#### 1420

Premier, my question is this: Given your office obtained Judi Harris's criminal record, given the smear campaign conducted by your office, given your office sending lawyers into the courthouse to get more confidential information, given the release of that information, given the court-ordered sealing of the file, given the Attorney General not notifying the OPP in advance about the removal of documents, given your principal secretary, Melody Morrison, being subjected to unusual OPP questioning, you must now apply the principle of absolute fairness and independence. Will you either appoint an independent special prosecutor to instruct the police and receive their reports, or will you ask an Attorney General from another province to investigate and prosecute as was done in the Milgaard case?

You and the Ministry of the Attorney General are morally foreclosed from having anything to do with the investigation—

**The Speaker:** Will the member complete his question, please.

Mr Chiarelli: —and prosecution of this issue. Premier, the credibility of the administration of justice in the province of Ontario—

The Speaker: The question has been asked. Premier?

Hon Mr Rae: It's precisely because of my conviction and belief with respect to the independence of the process that I won't have any further comment to make.

#### RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I'd like to ask a question of the Attorney General. The Ontario taxpayers paid for a report, an investigation, to be done in the whole Carl Masters affair. I'd like to ask you, Mr Attorney General, who in the Ontario government authorized and then received that report and I'd like to ask you, Mr Attorney General, where is that report today? Thirdly, could you tell me if that report has been turned over to the Ontario Provincial Police?

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I understand the leader of the third party's interest in this issue. However, as I am sure the third party leader knows, this matter has been dealt with and I am not at liberty to comment further on the matter at this time.

Mr Harris: Mr Attorney General, I didn't ask you anything about any details. I asked you who authorized or commissioned the report and the paying of that money, I asked you where the report was and if it's been turned over to the Ontario Provincial Police. There is nothing, absolutely nothing in the secret deal your Premier cut with Mr Masters to prevent you from answering that and there is nothing in the privacy of information legislation to prevent you from answering that.

While you contemplate that and answer those questions, I would like to ask you as well if you are aware of any charges in Ontario or any other jurisdiction that are to be laid against Mr Masters, or of any ongoing investigation in Ontario or another jurisdiction that may lead to charges being laid against Mr Masters. Could you tell us that too?

Hon Mr Hampton: I am not aware of any charges, and I can relay that information to the leader of the third party with confidence. As well, I am not aware in any way of a particular criminal allegation that would have happened in this province, and therefore I'd not aware that the OPP have been involved in any matter like this.

#### COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTRES

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): My question is for the Minister of Culture and Communications. Several weeks ago, the member for Cambridge asked about funding for the community information centre in his riding. York East too is served by the neighbourhood information centre. This centre is an integral part of the information and community services in our area. It is not a library, it does not provide the services of a library, it provides important human services, connections to unemployment, welfare, day care, food banks and shelter. Can the minister tell me why funding is being cut to CICs at the end of this year?

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): I'd like to thank the member for the question. I know how concerned he is about community information centres. I know how concerned many members are. Just before question period, the member for Grey hand-delivered a letter to me about community information centres and a binder for information, so I know it's on everybody's mind.

I do want to say that we are well aware of their importance, we're well aware of the statistics that show their use and we understand that they are especially important and that times are tough. But it was not this government that cut the spending; it was the previous government that cut spending. They capped the number of centres and they cut spending. It was this government under the previous minister that found one-time funding for community information centres. It was this ministry and this minister who continued that one-time funding solution for the community information centres.

But I want to tell you that one-time funding and interim funding is not the solution to the community information problem. I am actively working with the treasury board, I am actively working with the Management Board to find a long-term solution to the funding for community information centres.

Mr Malkowski: Minister, can you tell me what solutions you propose to replace these grass-roots organizations which know and articulate so well the needs of the communities they serve?

Hon Mrs Haslam: The Treasurer is looking at some scenarios along with my ministry and along with Management Board. We are trying to expedite a solution to the problem. As I mentioned, that would not be just an interim solution. We are diligently working towards that solution and as soon as that solution is announceable, I will be announcing it.

#### LANDFILL

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. About two and a half weeks ago the minister's Interim Waste Authority finally released its long-awaited short list of potential mega-landfill sites in the greater Toronto area. They identified sites on prime farm land; they identified sites near thriving communities and people's homes; they identified sites in environmentally sensitive areas; they identified sites of natural and scientific interest; and indeed they identified a site within the very area that has been chosen as the Rouge provincial and national park in the Markham-Scarborough area. The park was identified by a citizens' committee set up by the minister's colleague the Minister of Natural Resources.

I want to tell the Minister of the Environment that the people throughout the greater Toronto area are angry, they are concerned, they are offended and they are extremely upset by the choice of sites the IWA has made and the lack of opportunity to discuss real alternatives to the agenda the minister has set for the IWA and waste disposal in the greater Toronto area.

I want to ask the minister simply this: Given that these sites all violate fundamental principles of sound environmental policy, have you had any second thoughts about the IWA process? Do you continue to be committed to that process and the sites they have identified for a new megadump in the greater Toronto area?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): Let me try to address the variety of points the member has raised both in his question and in his preamble, and let me start by saying that he has a lot of information about the specific sites. He characterizes them as "unsuitable" or "inappropriate." The hydrogeological testing on those sites has not been completed. The evaluation of those sites has not been completed. That is precisely the kind of process the Interim Waste Authority is undergoing.

If in fact a particular site has the characteristics the member identifies, that will of course be part of the consideration of the environmental assessment and will ultimately be decided by the Environmental Assessment Board, at which time all of the people who the member acknowledges—and I agree with him are highly upset at the fact that a landfill might go in their immediate community—will not only have the opportunity but will be facilitated by intervenor funding, by assistance and participatory funding even before that, to make their argument, not before the member opposite, not before me, but before a board established under the Environmental Assessment Act, an independent and an impartial review of the environmental assessment that is being done.

1430

Mr Sorbara: I simply say to the minister, one does not need hydrogeological tests to identify prime farm land. One doesn't need hydrogeological tests to identify a site that's next to a community of 20,000. You don't need tests to identify a site that's right in the middle of the new Rouge Valley park.

Minister, I've been scouring the newspapers, and I can't find one commentator or editorialist who agrees with the process you've set up. I have listened to the people of my own community, who say you simply refuse to take into consideration principles of social equity that say, in the town of Vaughan, for example, that 20 million tonnes is enough.

Even the very environmental groups that you used to consider were on your side oppose the process you've undertaken. I have a press release here from some 39 environmental groups, and if I could just quote what the press release says, at least in part, it says: "The IWA should stop its current site selection process." It goes on to say that the search must stop, and the IWA must stop building megadumps in archaic ways, and that what it's doing flies in the face of sound environmental principles.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Will the member place his question, please.

Mr Sorbara: I ask the minister again, in view of the fact that there's virtually no public support for your policy, not even among the very environmental groups that you used to look to for your support, will the minister now admit that the IWA process has failed and begin to look at new solutions to solve the garbage crisis that you have single-handedly created in the greater Toronto area?

Hon Mrs Grier: The member is, as so often happens, selective in his use of quotations. Let me point out to him that there's not an environmental group in this province that does not support the initiatives this government has taken to put waste reduction first in our waste management plan, and that there is not another government that has achieved the amount of diversion from landfill that this government has, in meeting our goal of a 25% diversion by the end of 1992.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me also remind the member that the environmental groups he is quoting praise and support this government, and continued, in the press release he is quoting, to say that incineration is not an option—it is for the members opposite; that transportation to northern Ontario is not an option—it is for the members opposite.

If the member wants editorials that support the process this government has initiated, let him read the newspapers in northern Ontario, in Marmora, in Halton, in Plympton, in Guelph and all around this province.

#### **HYDRO RATES**

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): My question is for the Minister of Energy. This morning, I had the privilege of being part of the committee to interview your new chairman of Ontario Hydro, and I must say, he is an outstanding statesman, and he certainly has a wide variety of experience. But this morning, the chairman of Ontario Hydro, Mr Strong, had a great opportunity to come forward and instil some little bit of confidence in the industry and the Association of Major Power Consumers in Ontario and all users here in Ontario. He failed to do that. We asked him straight out how long it would take under his chairmanship to bring Ontario Hydro rates into line with inflation. We were shocked by the answer. He said up to 10 years.

That is not acceptable to this province of Ontario, that is just not acceptable. I would ask you, Mr Minister, would you please issue a directive to the new chairman to reconsider that period of time?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Energy): The member has raised two issues in his question: One is how quickly Hydro can get its rates down to the inflation rate, and whether I will issue a directive. Unfortunately, I wasn't in the committee this morning, so I can't comment on the specific words that Mr Strong used. I have said publicly here in the House and I've said it outside the House to the media that our discussions with Hydro are ongoing. We intend to get the Hydro rate increase to the level of inflation within the next couple of years and to hold it there for the rest of the decade. We will accomplish that goal.

Mr Jordan: We've had several chairmen and presidents since this government took over. Already we're hearing a direct conflict between the minister and the chairman. The chairman perhaps is speaking what reality is, and the minister is looking to give direction of two years.

We met with the Ontario forest industries recently. They advised us that Detroit Edison in 1993 is giving major industry a 3% reduction in rates and in 1994—would you believe it?—they're giving a 16% reduction in rates to major industry to try and keep them operating and keep the jobs.

Mr Minister, you do have a responsibility to inform the chairman that 10 years is not acceptable.

Hon Mr Charlton: Again, two issues have been raised. The first issue is that there is no conflict between the government, this minister, and the new chair. A number of members of the opposition have pointed out, on a fairly regular basis, that the Deputy Minister of Energy is now on the Hydro board. We have been working very closely with Hydro and with the chair, even before he officially takes his responsibilities today, to discuss the rates issue. We will get the rates of Hydro rate increases to the inflation rate in the very near future.

We're also, as I've said a number of times here in the House, working in a joint group with Hydro and industry to deal with the industrial rates question.

#### HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I'm happy to be able to ask this question, before the House breaks for Christmas, to the Minister of Transportation, because this is a matter that is of extreme importance to the folks down in Welland and further south, down in the city of Port Colborne.

The minister knows that on November 10, the clerk of city council sent to the Minister of Transportation a letter containing a resolution that city council had passed requesting a written status report regarding the construction of Highway 406—the extension, Woodlawn Road to Merritt Road—together with an explanation of the lengthy completion dates expected. Of course, they sent me a copy of that.

Not only has Welland city council expressed concern but my good friend Mayor Bob Saracino from Port Colborne has joined with them in expressing concern about what's going on. Not only are they concerned about the delay, but they're concerned about the delay in the response to this letter. It's November 10 that letter was mailed; it was received—what?—a few days afterwards.

Can the minister please help us down in Welland and down in Port Colborne with an explanation about why the delay has taken place? This is important to those people.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): It's not a surprise to any member in the House that the fascinating world of sewers and water mains, at times the Ministry of Transportation, at other times MNR, would be subjects that light the passion and commitment of the member for Welland-Thorold.

It was planned for 1992. It didn't happen. Why not? Because of unexpected problems, problems dealing with wetlands, problems dealing with the environment.

So in the collective, the Ministry of Transportation, with my colleague the Minister of Natural Resources, echoed by the goodwill and expertise from the Minister of the Environment, have decided that the money, yes, \$8 million, which means 100 jobs—the work will be awarded in 1993 and will be completed in 1994.

I wish, through you, Mr Speaker, and with respect, that the member for Welland-Thorold will alleviate the fears expressed by the representative of the city of Welland.

#### 1440

Mr Kormos: I'm sorely tempted but disinclined to make any further comment about sewage. I appreciate that the minister cannot be aware of all things at all times, I appreciate that the minister relies upon his briefing notes, but the sad thing is that the question posed by the folks in Welland—because this is more than just a highway; this means jobs in an area of the province that is sadly in the course of being deindustrialized. Not only is the highway important to Welland and Port Colborne, but the jobs are important to Welland and Port Colborne. Appreciating that the minister—I understand, Speaker, and I'm going as quickly as I can.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I would appreciate it if the member would place his supplementary.

**Mr Kormos:** Yes, sir. I don't get to ask a whole lot of questions and I'm going as quickly as I can. That's why this is an important issue.

I'm wondering, in view of the fact that the minister is restricted as to the scope of his response here in the Legislature, will the minister today indicate that I can take back to the folks in Welland and Port Colborne a commitment that a senior staff person from the ministry will be available during the course of the next two weeks to meet with that council to explain in detail the reason for the delay and an explanation as to when this construction will take place? This is important and it has to be responded to.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** A reasonable request from reasonable people. Consider it done.

#### **BUDGET**

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): The question is to the Premier and it's on the 1993-94 budget. The reason I'm raising it is because the Premier will appreciate that much of the work on the budget will be done before we come back again. I think it's fair to say that the Premier has tipped his hand in terms of the budget, indicating that we are going to see some very substantial changes in the way capital expenditures are funded. It's my understanding that there's almost a steady stream of people from Bay Street coming up to the treasury office and up to the Premier's office with some interesting proposals, whether it be selling the GO trains to foreign investors and leasing them back, whether it be the private sector building subways and leasing them back, or the private sector building roads and leasing them back.

The reason for this question, Premier, is this: If you put the budget together on that basis, before anyone here in the Legislature has had an opportunity to discuss how you're going to plan those capital corporations, I think the budget may have been prepared on a basis on which we've had no discussion. Will you undertake to send to the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, when it's doing its pre-budget hearings, your proposals for these capital corporations, so they can form part of the pre-budget process and we can have some idea of whether they're workable or not and how they may in fact function?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): The member is raising an interesting point with respect to the work of the finance committee. I can't go quite as far as the honourable member would like today, because there's a decision-making process through the government that we have to go through prior to, obviously, any announcements being made, and prior to anything being referred to any committee. But I would want to say to the honourable member that any decisions of the government which have been taken would obviously be something the finance committee could consider.

Mr Phillips: The reason I raised it is the reason I indicated earlier, that is, that in many respects, by the time the Legislature comes back the concrete at least is hardening on the budget. One of the things we're most anxious to

ensure is that the people of Ontario have a full and accurate accounting of the finances. Frankly, some of us on this side are suspicious that the purpose of the capital account is to hide the deficit and hide the debt. That is our suspicion.

As you recall, in your budget you said—this sounds rather detailed, but at least you can give us this assurance that you will follow through on your words in the budget. You indicated there that:

"The reporting of the combined capital and operating funds in the Public Accounts of Ontario will allow users of financial information to see clearly the effect of the combined operations on the debt for provincial purposes and on the total deficit of the province for the fiscal year.

"The surplus or deficit positions of both the capital and operating funds will be clearly shown."

Will you today at least reassure us that you will do that, and will you undertake to get back to the opposition when we will have an opportunity to review how you plan to set up these capital accounts and on what basis you will set them up? Will you undertake to attempt to get that to the finance and economic affairs committee prior to the budget?

Hon Mr Rae: It's precisely because of the need to be fair in terms of—the Treasurer's words in the budget, I think, are very clear, and that commitment is also very clear.

But since the honourable member is knowledgeable in these areas, I want to just remind him of some of the problems Ontario faces, as we look to the comparisons that are made daily, in the media and elsewhere, with our sister provinces, all of whom carry on their arrangements financially and fiscally in a way that is quite different from the way in which it has been done in Ontario. That's the first issue.

The second issue is that we believe, because of some of the approaches that have been taken to capital financing by previous governments, that there has been less investment in infrastructure than is necessary and than is required and than, as the auditor has stated, needs to be done, and as many others have said needed to be done.

For these two reasons, in order to ensure that our method of accounting compares with that carried on in all the other jurisdictions in North America, so that when we go to capital markets, that's clearly understood—because, overall, we do not have a deficit, as it's been described, of \$10 billion or \$9.9 billion.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We have a capital budget of \$3.9 billion, which is very substantial.

Also, with respect to other provinces, in the province of Quebec, municipalities are treated differently, universities and colleges are treated differently, all the transfer agencies are treated differently in terms of how they borrow and how they deal with their accounts. I think it's important for that to be transparent and for that to be obvious and for the comparisons to be very clear. It's also necessary for Ontario to be able to conduct the kind of investment in infrastructure—

The Speaker: Could the Premier please conclude his response.

Hon Mr Rae: —which is going to be so crucial to the future of the province. So it's for those two reasons that we're making the kinds of changes I propose.

The Speaker: New question.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): My question is also to the Premier. I might add, on the answer to that question, that he still pays the interest, whatever you call it, Mr Premier. But I'd like to go on to another subject.

#### NORTHERN ECONOMY

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I and my caucus met this morning with the Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, and I understand you're going to be meeting with them this afternoon. On two occasions in this Legislature, I've sent across to your Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology some resolutions from the chamber of commerce. They will give you or have given you some of the recommendations, such as this group here, and they are very specific. They go into details of what the problem is and then they put together, very clearly, recommendations that they would like to see happen. Very clearly, they would like to see some answers.

Would you be prepared to stand up and tell this Legislature what you're prepared to do specifically to help the chambers of commerce, like the people from northwestern Ontario, so they can survive and prosper in the province of Ontario?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I can assure the honourable member and assure the members of the northwest chamber how much I'm looking forward to the meeting this afternoon. It's a meeting I always look forward to. In fact, I think I was the first Premier to speak to the northwest chamber in northwestern Ontario, at one of their meetings about a year and a half ago.

The Attorney General has met with the northwestern chamber. We look forward very much to a positive and constructive dialogue with them, and we'll be giving answers that are as specific as possible in the circumstances in response to the concerns that have been raised.

The Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Point of Privilege.

The Speaker: Point of privilege, the member for Brampton South.

#### MINISTERIAL RESPONSE

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: You may recall that yesterday during question period, my colleague the member for Scarborough North put a question to the member for Oshawa, the honourable Solicitor General. It dealt with a young man who had tragically bled to death. This was a result of having run into a window at York University which was not safety glass. I refer you to the question. It is recorded in Hansard.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): What is the point of privilege?

Mr Callahan: The point of privilege is—and I will read for you in order to help you in your decision—the member asked of the Solicitor General, after relating the tragic facts to him, the fact that the appeal tribunal was not—

The Speaker: If the member has a point of privilege, I would ask him—

Interjection.

The Speaker: Order. Would the member take his seat. If he indeed has a point of privilege, I ask him to get to it quickly.

1450

Mr Callahan: Well, Mr Speaker, I don't know how you can rule on a point of privilege unless you've heard the facts. In any event, the point of privilege is simply this: The minister undertook to provide this House with an answer today. I have yet to hear the answer. The family of this young lad has been denied its rights to appeal the verdict of the coroner not to hold an inquest to an appeal board which does not exist.

There has not been one step made by this government to appoint members other than one member to that board, and citizens of my riding and citizens of Ontario, in the tragic death of their son, are being denied their rights of full appeal under the Coroners Act because the minister and the—

The Speaker: Would the member take his seat, please. I very much appreciate the member's concern on behalf of another member. The member will know that he does not have a point of privilege. Regardless of what undertaking there may have been by anyone in the House, there is nothing at the Speaker's disposal to compel responses. However, your concern, hopefully, has been duly noted by the Solicitor General and perhaps the matter will be attended to in due course.

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): Mr Speaker, I know that circumstance. I think the honourable member did really have a point of privilege on this matter, because when I asked the minister, he said he wasn't aware of any problems and he assured me that he'd be back to report on this. I think the member has a point of privilege.

The Speaker: The member for Scarborough North was here and heard my response. I appreciate very much his concern, and now the concern has been stated twice. The Solicitor General's in the chamber and I'm sure all will unfold to the satisfaction of both sides of the House at some point.

#### **PETITIONS**

#### **GASOLINE PRICES**

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I have a petition here signed by thousands of people from the Quinte area who are very concerned about the fluctuating gas prices within that particular area. The petition reads:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Ontario, have seen our gasoline prices fluctuate wildly with extreme differences in price in a small geographical area. Seldom, if ever, is any explanation offered for these increases. "We insist the government regulate this industry and put an end to this intolerable situation now."

I agree with this petition and I add my name to it.

#### **GAMBLING**

**Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington):** I have a petition and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I agree with this petition and I have signed it.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in Parliament assembled:

"We, the undersigned, deplore the passing of Bill 75 into law. We ask that the arbitrator's report be set aside because:

- "(1) It does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in the arbitration hearings;
- "(2) It is not in the best interests of the area and its residents;
- "(3) It awards too extensive a territory to the city of London;
- "(4) It will jeopardize the viability of the county of Middlesex; and
- "(5) It will allow for the progressive development of prime agricultural land."

I'm very honoured to affix my signature hereunto.

#### **GUY PAUL MORIN**

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas Guy Paul Morin was convicted of first degree murder on July 30, 1992, having been previously acquitted of the same offence on February 7, 1986;

"That the Ministry of the Solicitor General take an immediate review of the mishandling of evidence by the York region police, the Durham region police and the Centre for Forensic Sciences;

"That an immediate review be undertaken of the Attorney General's decision not to continue the prosecution of Sergeant Michalowsky; and

"That a full investigation be undertaken of the three youths who had been sexually involved with Christine Jessop and that such investigation be independent of the York and Durham region police forces."

A number of signatures are affixed to this.

#### POLICE USE OF FORCE

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I have a petition from Barrie:

"Whereas we are concerned, as citizens of the province, that this government seems determined to impose further restrictions on police officers to make it increasingly hard and unsafe to do the already difficult and dangerous job;

"Whereas, many of these individuals are prepared"—dealing with violent offenders—"to use weapons in the commission of crimes and an increasing number are prepared to kill;

"Whereas we have serious concerns over the proposed use-of-force regulations under the Police Services Act;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

- "(1) An officer cannot be restricted in his/her ability to draw a handgun before entering a potentially dangerous situation;
- "(2) An officer cannot be inhibited in drawing a handgun when necessary by the need to fill out yet another form:
- "(3) All officers in Ontario should be issued semiautomatic pistols and the proper expanding ammunition.
- "(4) We fully support the need for additional training in the use of force and particularly in the use of firearms.
- "(5) We feel a committee should be set up to recommend changes to the Police Services Act regarding use of force and this committee should be enlarged to more accurately represent the wishes of the majority of law-abiding citizens in the province of Ontario."

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): I have a petition to members of provincial Parliament and it regards the amendment of the Retail Business Holidays Act, the proposed wide-open Sunday shopping and elimination of Sunday as a legal holiday, and it's signed by nearly 80 residents of my riding.

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of 'legal holiday' in the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendments included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter (51 per year) from the definition of 'legal holiday' and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

I affix my name to the petition.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

**Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton):** I have 6,400 petitions signed by tenants in this province, addressed to Mr Rae.

"Tenants refuse to pay three and a half times the taxes our home-owning neighbours pay. We demand that the province institute real tax reform to guarantee equal treatment of all residents regardless of whether they own or rent."

I will present these petitions on behalf of the tenants of Ontario.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by residents of Middlesex county who ask that the arbitrator's, Mr John Brant's, report be set aside because it does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in arbitration hearings. It is not in the best interests of the London and Middlesex residents. It awards far too extensive an area of annexation to the city of London. It will jeopardize agricultural land, the viability of the county of Middlesex and our rural way of life. I have signed my name to this petition.

#### MENINGOCOCCAL DISEASE

Mr Jean Poirier (Prescott and Russell): To the Parliament of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"The guidelines for control of meningococcal disease developed by the advisory committee on epidemiology state that those individuals who have had 'close contact' with a case of meningococcal disease are to be notified and administered antibiotics. One of the defining characteristics of 'close contact' is exposure through sharing of food or beverages. Since it is common practice for children in all grades at the elementary level to share food, drinks and chewing gum, we ask that the present guidelines be amended so that classroom contacts may be treated as 'close contacts' rather than 'casual contacts.' Parents of children who may have had close contact with an infected classmate have a right to be informed by their public health officials so that they can make the appropriate preventive measure."

This petition from Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry was signed by 597 persons and I have affixed my signature.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I have a petition signed by in excess of 6,000 people from North York. All of these are tenants in buildings, and this is a petition which has been sponsored by both tenants and landlords. It reads:

"To Mr Rae: Tenants refuse to pay three and a half times the taxes our home-owning neighbours pay. We demand that the province institute real tax reform to guarantee equal treatment for all residents regardless of whether they own or rent."

As I've said, there are in excess of 6,000 names here, and I too affix my signature.

1500

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): I have a petition here signed by the Finnish community in Sudbury. It says:

"The undersigned hereby register their opposition in the strongest terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of 'legal holiday' in the Retail Business Holiday Act. "I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of the society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendment included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter from the definition of 'legal holiday' and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

I affix my name thereto.

#### PLANT CLOSURE

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): "General Motors' announcement to close the foundry operations in St Catharines, with the resultant loss of 2,300 jobs, adds to the growing devastation of the vital manufacturing sector in the Canadian economy.

"The spinoff effects will result in four to six lost jobs in other sectors for every job lost in auto. The foundry closure also puts the remainder of the General Motors' St Catharines operations in serious jeopardy, which has a total combined employee population of 9,000 hourly and salaried workers.

"I strongly urge the Ontario government to intervene in all possible manners to stop the erosion of jobs and the economic base of our province, and in particular the Niagara region."

This is signed by individuals who are very interested in this, and I affix my signature in agreement.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I have a petition here signed by many hundreds of people. It reads:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injuries and reducing costs, support graduated licensing for new drivers."

I have to affix my signature to this.

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): I have a petition from about 140 residents of Hastings-Peterborough and it reads as follows:

"To the Ministry of Transportation of Ontario:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injuries and reducing costs, support graduated licensing for new drivers."

I have attached my signature.

Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming): "We, the undersigned, citizens of Ontario, have seen our gasoline prices fluctuate wildly."

Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale): Mr Speaker, on a point of order—I'll wait until the clock stops. Go ahead. Sorry.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Allow your colleague the member for Timiskaming to place his petition. No? The member for Parkdale.

#### **EDUCATION FINANCING**

Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale): I have a petition, Mr Speaker, but I do have a point of order after this. In the meantime, Mr Speaker, let me read the petition to you. This is to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the British North America Act of 1867 recognizes the right of Catholic students to a Catholic education, and in keeping with this, the province of Ontario supports two educational systems from kindergarten to grade 12; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board educates more than 104,000 students across Metro Toronto; and

"Whereas these students represent 30% of the total number of students in this area, yet have access to just 20% of the total residential assessment and 9.5% of the pooled corporate assessment; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board is able to spend \$1,678 less on each of its elementary school students and \$2,502 less on each of its secondary school students than our public school counterparts,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to act now and to restructure the way in which municipal and provincial tax dollars are apportioned so that Ontario's two principal educational systems are funded not only fully but with equity and equality."

Mr Speaker, I present this petition to you and I affix my name to it.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I have another petition, similar to the last one.

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injuries and reducing costs, support graduated licensing for new drivers."

This is signed by several dozen people, and I too affix my signature.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

Mr David Winninger (London South): I have a petition signed by 84 individuals who strongly protest the actions of the government allowing retail stores to open on Sundays without restriction and calling upon the government of Ontario to uphold the Retail Business Holidays Act and do everything possible to preserve a common

pause day for as many people as possible, including retail workers.

#### GASOLINE PRICES

**Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming):** I think I have recovered. I felt so badly beating my colleague to read the petition that I lost it. My petition reads:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Ontario, have seen our gasoline prices fluctuate wildly with extreme differences in price in a small geographic area. Seldom if ever is an explanation offered for these increases. We insist the government regulate this industry and put an end to this intolerable situation now."

I'll affix my name to this.

## ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RULING

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I have been asked to present this petition from some people in my riding. It reads:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the Ontario Human Rights Commission in its September 1 ruling extended full family and bereavement benefits to same-sex arrangements; and

"Whereas this is believed by us Christians to be detrimental to the family and society,

"We, the undersigned, your petitioners, humbly pray and call upon the Honourable Howard Hampton, Attorney General of the province of Ontario, to appeal this ruling of the Human Rights Commission."

#### **PETITIONS**

Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Surely there has got to be a more efficient way to pick speakers for these petitions. I am wondering and I'm asking you, could you tell this House on what basis you're making decisions on who gets to speak first on these petitions?

#### Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): Height.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): No. To the honourable member for Parkdale, I appreciate his interest in efficiency. Indeed, if there was an easy way to make a selection of those who would like to present petitions, I would be delighted to know what it is. We have but 15 minutes, and normally we have quite a number of members who have petitions to present. The best that I can offer is to go in rotation around the chamber and indeed to try to select members as I first spot them on their feet—a longheld tradition in our parliamentary system. I appreciate the member's interest, and no doubt he'll be back tomorrow to present petitions.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like to commend you, Mr Speaker. You get a lot of criticism in this House from time to time from people who have problems with the way the House proceeds. I'd like to compliment you on the manner in which you have selected the members to read petitions in the House this afternoon.

The Speaker: I think you got to put your petition in, is that right?

#### REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

## STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills as amended:

Bill Pr40, An Act respecting the Ontario Building Officials Association

Bill Pr45, An Act to incorporate the Toronto Atmospheric Fund and the Toronto Atmospheric Fund Foundation

Bill Pr58, An Act respecting the Town of Lincoln.

#### 1510

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr61, An Act respecting the City of Toronto

Bill Pr64, An Act respecting the Institute for Christian Studies

Bill Pr75, An Act respecting The Canadian Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company

Bill Pr78, An Act respecting the City of Toronto

Bill Pr79, An Act to revive Duclos Point Property Owners Inc

Bill Pr83, An Act to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.

Your committee recommends that the fees and the actual cost of printing be remitted on Bill Pr64, An Act respecting the Institute for Christian Studies.

Your committee recommends that the fees and the actual cost of printing be remitted on Bill Pr83, An Act to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Shall the report be received and adopted? Agreed.

## STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Grandmaître from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's 19th report and moved its adoption.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Does the member wish to make a brief statement? No.

Pursuant to standing order 106(g)(11), the report is deemed to be adopted by the House.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

LONG TERM CARE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOINS DE LONGUE DURÉE

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui concerne les soins de longue durée.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Our first item of business is a deferred vote on second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care. There will be a five-minute bell. Call in the members.

The division bells rang from 1512 to 1517.

The Speaker: Would all members please take their seats.

Ms Lankin moved second reading of Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care.

Those in favour of Ms Lankin's motion should please rise one by one.

#### Aves

Abel, Akande, Beer, Boyd, Bradley, Buchanan, Callahan, Caplan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Conway, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Cordiano, Curling, Dadamo, Daigeler, Duignan, Elston, Farnan, Frankford, Gigantes, Grandmaître, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Kwinter, Lankin, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Mahoney, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Mancini, Marchese, Martel, Mathyssen, McGuinty, McLeod, Miclash, Mills, Morin, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Offer, O'Neil (Ouinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Owens, Perruzza, Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Pilkey, Poirier, Poole, Pouliot, Rae, Ramsay, Rizzo, Ruprecht, Silipo, Sullivan, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

**The Speaker:** Those who are opposed to Ms Lankin's motion will please rise one by one.

#### Navs

Arnott, Carr, Cousens, Cunningham, Eves, Harnick, Harris, McLean, Murdoch (Grey), Runciman, Sterling, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers): The ayes are 84, the nays are 17.

**The Speaker:** The ayes being 84 and the nays 17, I declare the motion carried. Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): Mr Speaker, we'd like to direct the bill to the standing committee on social development.

**The Speaker:** The committee on social development? Agreed.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker, I'd like to call the want of confidence notice of motion, number 3, and I believe that there is unanimous agreement that the vote will take place at 10 to 6 and that the time will be divided three ways.

The Speaker: Agreed?

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): We agree as long as the vote is the same as the one that just carried. We agree otherwise as well.

The Speaker: At 6, we'll find out.

We might, with the indulgence of the member, allow a few seconds for members to quietly leave the chamber, so that Mr Elston will have the proper opportunity to put his case.

#### WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION

Mr Elston moved, pursuant to standing order 43(a), want of confidence motion number 3:

Whereas the NDP government has undertaken to make "integrity in government" and "conduct of ministers" the centrepiece of an NDP administration and made specific reference to that undertaking in its first speech from the throne;

And whereas several ministers and parliamentary assistants of the government have, since the NDP government took office, violated the Members' Conflict of Interest Act, the general standard of conduct applicable to elected officials and ministers of the crown, and the specific conflict-of-interest guidelines adopted by the Premier;

And whereas last winter the Premier allowed the Minister of Northern Development and Mines, without penalty, to maliciously smear the reputation of a private citizen in order to advance the government's own policy;

And whereas the Premier's own special communications adviser has now wilfully smeared a private citizen with deliberate disregard for the injury done to that private citizen;

And whereas these actions on the part of the NDP government officials constitute personal vendettas against private citizens and a blatant victimization of those who are already victims of abuse at the Grandview reform school;

And whereas the Premier has consistently applied ad hoc, politically expedient standards and sanctions to those who have violated his own guidelines and appropriate standards of conduct:

And whereas the NDP government has abused the power and trust vested in it by the people of Ontario;

And whereas these gross breaches of the public trust have destroyed public confidence in this government and in the integrity of the democratic process;

Therefore, pursuant to standing order 43, the House no longer has confidence in the government.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): I believe the honourable member would like to begin his comments.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Time is limited, as is the normal course in these places, to speak about what I have perceived as being a very deleterious development in this House with respect to standards of conflict. I named but a few of the incidents which are most highly prominent in the minds of the people of Ontario with respect to miscarriages of justice perpetrated by highly placed, entrusted members of this New Democratic Party government.

It is with a great deal of interest that we watch the transformation from the pure at heart, the people who were in opposition, so pure, so mistake-free, so holier than any other person. Now we see this group of people having fallen into almost every practice which is seen as despica-

ble by reasonable and right-thinking people in the province of Ontario.

I have from time to time been concerned about the manner in which our province and the policies which have been developed have been brought forward by the people in this place and how little concern there appears to be on the benches of the New Democratic Party for the traditions of democracy and the right to speak out freely and openly in this place. But never have I been more concerned—while I am interested in the rights of members to speak openly here—than I am now for the free speech that is available to every man and woman and child in this province when I take a look at the types of activity which have been enumerated here in this motion of want of confidence.

A doctor in Sudbury was smeared maliciously and has now left our fair country for an area which he believes will provide him with more satisfaction in carrying out the practice of medicine. A woman who was victimized in earlier days when she was incarcerated at a provincial institution has again been victimized in the most malicious and dangerous way by a man who was not only the trusted friend and confidante of the Premier, but a person who received taxpayers' dollars, with which pay he spent his time undermining the credibility of a woman who was merely seeking the right of redress which in a democratic society is well available to all of us, or so we suspected.

The list can go on, corrupting, as it were, in every sense of the word, our noble democratic process to the extent that I fear, if this government continues, we are in danger of losing our most precious of heritages. That is the reason I have no confidence in this government. It is that reason alone and primarily that makes me move this motion today.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member. Further debate? I see many people standing over there. The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Thank you, Mr Speaker.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): The one with his mouth open.

Mr Stockwell: Thank you, the member for Mississauga West.

I thank the Speaker for recognizing me during this debate. There is probably as much non-confidence right now in this government today as I would suggest there has been in any government in the history of this province at any time. Their record as opposition party was impeccable. They built themselves—

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): Well, not quite.

Mr Stockwell: It was in their minds absolutely impeccable. They built themselves a pedestal that left the Conservatives and Liberals in anything but a subservient role. We could never, ever challenge this party on any of the issues they had taken to heart, predominantly the social issues: women's issues, seniors, disabled and those with less income.

As it turns out, we in the Conservative Party have in some instances stood by with mouths open at the breathtaking hypocrisy of the government. Their position today and in the past couple of years on a number of issues has left both the people of this province and at least this opposition party in a serious, serious dilemma.

The question being asked on the streets of this province is: When was this government not being forthright with the public? Was it when they were in opposition and they had these lofty ideals and goals, or is it simply now? My response to most of the public I speak to is simply this: This government is no different, this party is no different in most instances than this party or the Liberals. They're made up of humans and, yes, humans have certain frailties which, when put into the position of power, become a little more obvious.

But the difficulty this government has that's different from the Conservatives or Liberals is the pedestal they built for themselves in opposition and that they're finding themselves falling from today. The pedestal they're falling from is so high and so far that they haven't hit ground yet.

Every month and every week, generally we discover a new bit of information, a new undertaking this government has done that proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that it's not any different than any other political party in this province and in some cases significantly worse.

#### 1530

We have been dealing with some very substantive issues surrounding cabinet integrity in this government. The list is endless. You know, when you pick up the newspaper after the latest scandal, they generally give you a capsule remark about how many scandals the government's had to deal with. Every time you pick up the paper the scandals now seem to stretch a full page as people's pictures appear, from the Minister of Northern Development and Mines and the Minister of Tourism and Recreation and Mr Piper and Mr Ferguson, and all the scandals that have taken place from this government.

The thing about this that I find particularly interesting is that the response of the Premier to each individual scandal that takes place is no different than the last one he commented on, sometimes not more than a couple of weeks ago.

We all know about the Premier's government's throne speech:

"My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run.... Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power."

You said that. That was your throne speech.

The very interesting part about this is that one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight members are capable of sitting here to hear this motion of non-confidence. Eight members are prepared to hear from the opposition about its concerns with respect to the integrity and confidence the people in this province have in your government—eight members. The very important point that should be made is that they don't care. They fundamentally don't care

If you want to go quickly through the backgrounds, we can start with the John Piper affair. This is how they encapsulate the John Piper affair, the Peter North affair.

Allan Pilkey lost his job as Minister of Correctional Services in the September 23 cabinet shuffle because of his mishandling—

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): Point of order, Mr Speaker: I believe there isn't a quorum in the House. I think the government should be here to listen to these criticisms.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you, I shall ask the table to ascertain if there is a quorum.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Mrs Deborah Deller): A quorum is not present, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Call in the members.

The Acting Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is present, Mr Speaker.

Mr Stockwell: I'd just like to read through some of the comments made in the press around this province about some of the affairs that took place. I think they can sum it up the best. Obviously, standing here and listing my concerns, which I've outlined on very many occasions in the past, appears to have no impact on this government.

Mr Jim Coyle of the Ottawa Citizen on November 6, 1992:

"The only thing missing on Thursday as Premier Rae fled the country for 15 days in the Far East was footage of him being helicoptered from the Legislature roof seconds ahead of incoming rockets.

"Which is to say it was rather a desperate getaway the Premier made from rather a chaotic scene."

The editorial from the St Catharines Standard, November 24, 1992:

"As a result, Piper has added sleaziness to an image he was supposed to clean up and, at the same time, raised serious doubts about Bob Rae's judgement."

Lorrie Goldstein, Toronto Sun, November 24, 1992:

"And yet Martel remains in cabinet, because by Rae's standards, it's apparently okay to try to smear someone you disagree with as long as you don't use confidential information.

"Well, that is precisely what Rae's pal and former communications adviser, John Piper, now says he did, and yet not only has he resigned to save, he says, the Premier further embarrassment, but Rae says he's appalled by what Piper did.

"Confused? Don't worry. My guess is that so is the NDP."

The editorial in the Toronto Sun, November 24, 1992:

"Let's stick to the real issues, not imaginary ones.

"Starting with Piper's good friend Premier Bob Rae, explaining, in light not only of this case but of the Shelley Martel affair, why citizens who find themselves in conflict with this NDP government should not in fact fear reprisals from the NDP.

"Now there's a question worth answering."

The editorial from the Toronto Star, November 25, 1992:

"Police will only determine whether criminal charges—obstruction of justice or breach of trust and privacy—should be laid. It's up to Rae to answer the political questions surrounding Piper's dirty tricks.

"Opposition MPPs want a legislative committee to probe the matter. That's a reasonable proposition, if Rae continues to hide behind the OPP investigation."

Robert Sheppard, the Globe and Mail, November 24, 1992:

"From Shelley Martel to John Piper it has been a straight line. The NDP has become a government of us against them. In recent months, perhaps even because of this perception, the list of those on the "them" side—doctors, police, civil servants, small business owners, environmentalists, Ontario Hydro employees, educators—has grown like topsy.

"For the government the cumulative effect of these resignations is bad in itself. If nothing else, it puts into question the competence of an administration that can't even organize a politically correct smear campaign.... But the real problem, the real cancer will occur if the public starts to believe the government has a hit list, that it is prepared to lash back—using a full range of public resources—even at individuals."

Sally Barnes, Toronto Sun, November 30, 1992:

"The Even More Dumb Judgement Award goes to those senior government officials who let Piper engage in late Sunday night housecleaning duties in his office just hours before the police investigation began. Thanks to them, what began as a dirty tricks campaign has now become a coverup to boot. What a bunch of winners."

Jim Coyle, the Ottawa Citizen, November 28, 1992:

"No one would say the Premier is personally corrupt, but he's guilty of failure of leadership in not making clear what is acceptable conduct in his government.

"There's also a body of evidence he owns a large blind spot when it comes to the tawdrier elements of human nature. There's every sign he is being poorly served by his people.

"The Premier's assurances, therefore, that he's satisfied Piper acted alone is insufficient. A legislative inquiry is a fair request."

The editorial in the Hamilton Spectator, November 26, 1992; I read this because it isn't just this side of the House, it's everywhere:

"It is becoming frighteningly evident that choosing the New Democratic Party to run the Ontario government was the equivalent of giving an inexperienced teenager the keys to the family car and a bottle of whisky. Something was going to be wrecked and someone was going to be hurt.

"The John Piper affair is but the latest in a series of mistakes by either NDP staff or politicians who give the appearance of being drunk with power.

"Make no mistake, there are consequences for the people of Ontario when they have a government that has had five cabinet resignations alone in two years since the NDP came to power. This is a government that is forced to spend much of its time defending itself against the indefensible while the province's economy teeters on the edge and many of its people yearn for effective leadership."

The editorial in the Ottawa Citizen, November 24:

"Firing Piper is only part of Rae's responsibility. He's also got to do something about the increasingly cynical mindset in his office."

The Brantford Expositor, November 20, 1992:

"The succession of embarrassments may give some fleeting satisfaction to some of these opponents, but most citizens will feel no such inner glow. This, after all, is the government that is supposed to represent the people of Ontario. Its bumbles and stumbles reflects on the province itself."

#### 1540

The Windsor Star editorial, November 19:

"Rae's big mistake was taking new, raw talent and plunking it into powerful positions without the benefit of intensive training in the fine art of government etiquette. The fact so many cabinet ministers haven't been able to learn from the mistakes of their colleagues—the fact that they can't seem to instinctively understand right from wrong—speaks to a much more fundamental crisis of conscience. And that, of course, challenges Rae's judgement again and again."

Finally, Thomas Walkom, November 16, 1992:

"The common thread through all of this seems to have little to do with Rae's stated principles of fairness and ministerial propriety. It seems to have a lot to do with what appears in newspaper headlines, what gets on the television news."

That is but a sampling, just a sampling of the reporting that's taking place in this province. As a government, you constantly refer every responsibility, every action on to another level, somebody else. In my opinion, the fundamental flaw with this government that has caused this motion of non-confidence to come forward is its complete inability and lack of sensibility to accept responsibility. You are incapable of accepting responsibility. Your Premier is incapable of accepting responsibility. I look at the cabinet ministers. You're incapable of accepting responsibility. The responsibility for the Martel affair, the Piper affair and all the other affairs that have taken place in the past rests squarely on this cabinet and this Premier's shoulders.

In closing, there were two very serious mistakes you made—I'll itemize them for you—two very serious flaws that have caused the rest to happen. The first flaw was kicking Mr Kormos out of cabinet because he had his picture in the newspaper. That was your first mistake, because you created a level of expectance of your ministers that cannot be graded.

I dare anyone across the floor to stand up and tell me that what Mr Kormos did by posing as a fully clothed Sunshine Boy was worse than what Shelley Martel did. I dare you to answer that. I dare you to say it was. That was your first mistake.

The second very serious flaw-

Mr David Winninger (London South): Is listening to you speak today.

Mr Stockwell: Well, that's a sad commentary from the member for London South. Listening to me speak today? I didn't speak; I read editorials about the people in this province. You're a sad commentary about this government. The best retort you have is listening to someone who's making very serious charges against your government and your inability to handle the public concerns.

Mr Winninger: It's not serious; it's tragicomedy.

Mr Stockwell: "It's not serious; it's tragicomedy." The member for London South sits in his place and accepts the fact that Mr Carl Masters and the concerns that took place with respect to sexual harassment are now being covered up by the Premier and his ministers. You accept that fact as a member of your party. You should be ashamed of yourself.

In closing, the second-most important issue this government faced down and squarely lost on was Shelley Martel, which you completely mishandled. If any member across there feels in his mind that Shelley Martel should be in cabinet, then he has a fundamental flaw in his ability to measure the way cabinet ministers and premiers are expected to act.

Finally, if it is your opinion that Shelley Martel should still be in cabinet after taking a lie detector test to prove she lied when she said she was telling the truth, then I think this sorry lot of you are in the hopeless category and will never recover from it.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate.

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I rise to participate in this debate of the nonconfidence motion. I've read the actual motion. It makes reference to creating cynicism in the public. I want to say that this resolution creates cynicism. The people of Ontario want us to spend the time debating the real issues that are of concern to them, the economic issues.

I want to tell you, Mr Speaker, that, yes, on some of these incidents I've had a couple of calls into my office, but I want to tell you, the people I talk to are concerned about the economy and want us to talk about economic issues.

Let me just say in relationship to the motion itself that the Premier has quite clearly said, "Yes, we admit; mistakes have been made." Everyone accepts that fact. Okay? We accept that. We have admitted that those mistakes have been made, and action has been taken, and it is time to go forward.

You know, the opposition has been trying to portray this government as not having its act together on all kinds of issues. Mr Speaker, I want to tell you quite clearly that on the issues of most importance to the people—the economic issues, managing government expenditures, managing the changes in the economy to make this province stronger in the future—this government does have its act together, and I want to elaborate on how that's happening.

Last week we had a debate in this House on the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. The Ontario Training and Adjustment Board was first proposed in the Premier's Council on skills development, set up by the previous government. I think most people endorsed the recommendations out of that.

Last week this critic for the opposition said: "No, we don't accept the OTAB model. We want to spend some more time trying to figure out some other model." It was

their government that set up the system that developed it, that endorsed it.

**Mr Stockwell:** Oh, please, don't let him say that. That's a pack of untruths.

**Mr Sutherland:** So what are we doing? We're acting. We're actually implementing training and adjustment.

**Mr Stockwell:** That is so far from the truth. Why are you saying that?

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Sutherland: We are the ones who are implementing a training and adjustment program in this province—long, long overdue. The successful economies of the world have much more effective training and adjustment programs already in place, and they can respond much quicker to the types of changes that are going on in our economy right now—leadership, looking after the economic issues, issues of concern.

This government has made a commitment in all kinds of areas to try to do job creation through our Jobs Ontario Capital program, Jobs Ontario Homes program, putting people back to work. That's what people are very concerned about.

We've also tried to show leadership in supporting those industries in new technologies, in green industries, the new industries that are going to create the jobs in the future. Those are the types of issues.

I also want to talk about management, because there seems to be some sense that somehow, as an NDP government, we can't manage issues. I want to say, the type of management this government has demonstrated in the last two years is the type of management that should have been going on for the last 20 years.

Did the opposition parties, when they were in power, know how to effectively manage spending? No. Which was the government, in the most difficult economic time, that has been able to control spending increases with a minimal amount of layoffs, and in which sector? The health sector. Under the leadership of the Minister of Health and the guidance her office has been able to provide, we have been able to get a handle on increases in health care expenditures with a minimum amount of layoffs. We never saw the opposition parties do that when they were in government.

That type of management and leadership going on in that ministry is going on in many other ministries, and what it will do are two things. It is going to make this province stronger. It is going to preserve the essential services the people of this province expect and want and are willing to pay for. It's going to mean they're going to be delivered in a more effective manner. It also means that in the long run this province is going to become more competitive once again.

Let's be quite clear. Everyone realizes we're in a very difficult situation. This is the worst recession since the 1930s. Okay? We've had to face challenges no other government has had to face. The free trade agreement, whether you support it or are against it, quite clearly has impacted this province more severely than any other province. It has caused a great deal of job losses and layoffs, no

doubt about that. People said there'd be adjustment. Adjustment is going on, and I say it doesn't matter whether you support it or are against it; you can't ignore those realities. You can't ignore the realities that in 1991 over 250,000 people in this province exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits.

1550

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Point of order.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Bruce on a point of order.

Mr Elston: I would ask you to check for a quorum, please.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is not present, Speaker.

The Speaker ordered the bells rung.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is now present, Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: I recognize the honourable member for Oxford.

Mr Sutherland: As I was saying, this government came into power at a very difficult time. We've had to try to manage through the most difficult recession. The demand on services and the resources of this government has grown tremendously at a time when our revenues have declined. That is a difficult challenge. It takes a change in focus. It takes leadership. It takes a commitment to change. But it also takes a commitment to do that change in a fair manner, to try and do things as they haven't been done. This government has made a commitment to ensure that all parties are involved in the decision-making of the restructuring that has to go on in the delivery of our public services and in the delivery of other types of services throughout this province. That's leadership. That's management. That's demonstrating that the government does have its act together and that it can provide the leadership to take this province into the future.

As I say, the people who come into my office on a consistent basis are concerned about economic issues. They're concerned. They're the people who have been working in a factory for 15 or 20 years and that plant has shut down and they need training and they need retraining programs. Yet we don't have a comprehensive system of training in this province. Why haven't we had that in the past? Have we had the effective management that the opposition claims was provided when they were in government? I don't think so. This government is trying to provide the leadership to manage serious restructuring in the way our economy and the way our government have to operate going into the next five to 10 years.

As I have mentioned, in training, in health and in all kinds of other areas, we are providing that direction, that leadership and that guidance. This government has its act together. It is showing how to carry on a restructuring in an effective way that involves the people and that challenges people to use their creative talents, their resourcefulness and their innovative abilities and is inclusive and involves people. That's true leadership in managing

government, and we are going to continue to do that in the next two years.

Let me be quite clear that when the next election comes around, the people of this province are going to judge us on our ability to manage the government and to prove to them that we have dealt with the issues that are of most concern to them: the economic issues and the restructuring. I believe we are going to be successful in convincing the people of Ontario that we have done a very good job in very difficult times.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I rise today to participate in the debate on the want of confidence motion put forward by my colleague the member for Bruce. It saddens me that we've got to move this lack of confidence in this government, a government that is founded in scandals, resignations and wanton disregard for conflict of interest. This has been demonstrated by cabinet minister after cabinet minister and indeed by the Premier.

The latest in what is becoming a long line of Rae government scandals, which involved Mr Piper of the Premier's office, was a particularly shattering blow to my confidence and the confidence of many Ontarians: a shattering blow to my confidence because the NDP has proven it has not got the ability to govern. This high-profile member of the Premier's inner circle wilfully and with unbelievable malice attempted to discredit a woman's reputation. His only motive in so doing, as incredible as that seems, was to try to rehabilitate the discredited reputation of one of the former members of the NDP cabinet.

The woman who was victimized by this vicious act is a private citizen of this province, a private citizen who dared to come forward with allegations against a former cabinet minister.

Every person's right in this province to disagree is called into question by the actions of this Premier and his government. How can someone who relies on this NDP government for funding, for licensing, for his or her paycheque, for legislation or whatever, stand up and blow the whistle against abuse when he or she knows that whenever people have done this in the past two years, the NDP retribution follows quickly and severely?

The victims of Grandview with whom I have communicated often over the past several months have become more and more frustrated as time goes by. They're experiencing systematic shutout and stonewalling at the hands of this NDP government.

In 1991 these survivors of violence found the courage to come forward and report the kind of horrific experience which they personally endured as children. They have demonstrated their perseverance in the pursuit of justice again and again, and even came to Queen's Park to bring that message. They have made their painful experiences public in order to prevent other children from experiencing the same kind of nightmare they did.

While the survivors are awaiting the outcome of the police investigation, the NDP government has forced them to continue to go hat-in-hand for the most basic funding to the survivors' support group, a group that the women

started in order to provide crucial reinforcement, one to the other.

The survivors are the only people in this province who really understand each other's suffering, who really understand the burdens they have shared and carried for 20 years.

Even the Minister of Community and Social Services has recently been quoted as saying that the provision of financial support does seem to be taking an inordinate length of time, and I certainly agree with the minister.

On June 15 the Solicitor General told me he was hopeful and encouraged that all of the information will come out when the investigations are complete. I would tell the Solicitor General, if he were here today, that his hopefulness doesn't mean a thing to those victims who have been waiting for some action from this government for so long.

On October 22 of this year I presented a private member's resolution calling on the government to immediately take action to see that the needs of the victims were being met to help them deal with their abuse and the devastating effect this tragedy has had on their lives.

This resolution received unanimous, all-party support in this chamber, yet well over a month later nothing has changed; not one thing. In fact, October 22 turned out to be a very sad day for the survivors of Grandview, because on that day we found that the Attorney General had applied for a judicial review to stop the Freedom of Information Commissioner from releasing a heavily edited report that was on the 1976 Grandview report, a report that many, many people in this province know will confirm the allegations of the survivors.

I doubt that Judi Harris has much faith in this government's words or, in fact, in the judicial system. I doubt that the survivors of Grandview, after the deplorable conduct of the Premier's office and the government he represents, can possibly believe that they will ever receive any form of justice at the hands of a system that abused them 20 years ago and goes right on abusing them and their rights day after day.

#### 1600

On November 20 Pipergate occurred. The Premier said that he found the behaviour of his good friend and key adviser frankly appalling and called for a police investigation into the circumstances surrounding this disgraceful matter. Since then we've heard more and more about latenight clandestine removal of several boxes of what were allegedly personal effects by Mr Piper and other senior members of the Premier's personal staff from Mr Piper's office.

I am unfortunately compelled to use the word "allegedly," because there was no person present who did not have a direct personal interest in protecting the Premier, Bob Rae—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mrs O'Neill: There wasn't a member of the OPP, which was supposed to be investigating this chaos, to ensure that what was taken away in the boxes or what was

erased from computers in fact did not have a bearing on the case investigation.

How will any of us ever know what was shredded or erased on that Sunday and Sunday evening. During repeated questioning on the issue of how such unethical practices could have occurred in the Premier's office, the Premier repeatedly responded, "As soon as anyone found out about it, Mr Piper resigned."

This phrase repeated over and over by the Premier gets at the very, very crux of the deep concerns we have about the conduct of this Office of the Premier and his ability to manage that office, the very centre and core of decision-making in the political life of this province.

It was only because somebody found out about the behaviour of Mr Piper that he had to resign. The Premier said, "As soon as anyone found out about it, Mr Piper resigned." Even after his resignation, Mr Piper insisted he had done nothing wrong and went on television to tell Ontario so.

We all have a right and a duty to judge the actions of this government. The Premier's assertions in November 1990 in the speech from the throne—I'm sure he doesn't want me to repeat them, but I'm going to: "My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run and our relations with the people we serve. Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist." I hope that includes the Premier's office.

These words ring out today two years after they were first spoken as the most hollow of all platitudes this province has ever heard. "Rhetoric" is too kind a word to use. These words, as every Ontarian knows, have been rendered meaningless by the almost daily list of embarrassments, scandals, resignations and coverups of this government, stonewalling, silence.

The people of Ontario deserve better. They deserve much better from their Premier and his cabinet. There are people in this province with real needs and they come to me like they come to the member for Oxford. There are people who are suffering pain; they must be comforted. Those abused must be assured that the justice system fully supports their attempts to heal the deep and enduring scars some of them suffered from childhood.

They deserve, the people of Ontario, to face their futures with hopefulness and in the faith that the system that failed them once so seriously, in the case of the Grandview survivors, in the end can rectify that fault and restore their faith in Ontario. I sadly state, I do not think that is possible with this NDP government in 1992.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): It's a pleasure to join in this debate in support of the want of confidence motion of the official opposition. The motion makes reference to "integrity in government" and "conduct of ministers" being the centrepiece of an NDP administration supposedly. References have been made to the NDP government's first speech from the throne and the holierthan-thou rhetoric that was involved in that speech, and

some of the things that have occurred in the last two-plus years with respect to the government and the complete and utter failure of the NDP to live up to the assurances that were given to the people of this province, not only in the speech from the throne but through a variety of positions taken by the NDP throughout its years in opposition.

I think we talked specifically in this motion, or at least the official opposition has, about ministers and parliamentary assistants and went into some detail in respect to those. But I think another area that perhaps hasn't been touched on but should be touched on briefly in any event today is the question of Mr Carlton Masters and what's transpired in respect to that individual and the fact that there were a number of charges of sexual harassment.

He was a personal selection of Premier Rae to represent this province in the United States, in effect in control of all of the agent general's offices throughout the United States, in effort trying to present a good and glowing picture of the province of Ontario and to attract new investment dollars to this province. Instead, within a few short months in that role, he had allegations, not just one, surfacing from I gather both the New York office of Ontario House and the Boston office.

As we know, what transpired following those allegations becoming public was that Mr Masters removed himself from office and was paid while an investigation was conducted. Now that he has announced his resignation, there's no indication of whether indeed he was responsible for sexual harassment or if he was innocent. There's certainly a cloud over the individual's head, but I think there's an even more serious cloud over this government when we start talking about integrity in government and not just conduct of ministers, but conduct of the appointees of this government.

This individual was a close personal friend, like Mr Piper, of the Premier and someone that he put his confidence in. Now we see what has occurred. I think it draws into question a bigger question about the Premier himself. He not only selected Mr Piper for very responsible roles, but he also selected Mr Masters, and now I think that they're engaged, as my leader asserted, in a coverup of exactly what transpired here.

We're talking about public dollars not only for the payment of Mr Masters, his accommodation, the schooling of his children etc, which goes into hundreds of thousands of dollars, but also the official investigation that was launched as a result of the allegations. We have no reporting mechanism available to us now as to whether those dollars were spent wisely or not or whether indeed Mr Masters was responsible. Most thinking Ontarians have to conclude that indeed there was some substance to those allegations; otherwise they'd be strongly rejected publicly.

I want to talk a bit about the Piper matter as well, because I think that this matter could become the Achilles' heel of this government, the Achilles' heel of the Premier. I think this whole exercise, especially the effort to come into Mr Piper's office only a few hours prior to the official police investigation getting under way, is a serious matter indeed, and I think it was done with the basic premise of "Let's save Bob Rae's neck at any cost."

I think even the good people sitting in the back benches of the government, when they reflect upon this, cannot really come up with any clear, solid justification for why this individual had to get in there under the wire.

There's another element of this which hasn't been raised at this juncture. There was a very serious breach of security of this place, this building, which falls within the responsibilities of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. He's responsible for this building and certain other buildings in the neighbourhood. It's a security practice in this place, and certainly the Premier and the Premier's office should be much aware of this, that when anyone resigns under a cloud like this or is fired, what have you, permission for any access to this building must be secured from the Speaker's office.

In this case, that request was never made, we understand, to the Speaker's office. Indeed, there was a clear breach of security practices of this place that have been in effect for some time and certainly have been followed by senior officers of the government in the past.

1610

Another matter which hasn't come to light, but I will certainly want to make reference to it in respect to Mr Piper, is the fact that Mr Piper and the Premier's principal secretary—I believe her name is Melody Morrison—when they signed in the log on Sunday night, they did not sign in to Mr Piper's office; they signed in to Ms Morrison's office.

Again, I think there was a clear intent to try and cover up tracks here. They were doing the best they could, not suspecting that anyone was even going to be aware of their entry into the building late Sunday night, but if indeed there was some sort of a review of the log, that no suspicion would be raised because in fact the entry into the log indicates that they were signing in to Ms Morrison's office and not Mr Piper's office, which was clearly the intent: to get in there and remove files.

I think, as I said, this whole Piper matter is much more serious, and obviously we have to wait and see what the outcome of this investigation is, but I think it's much broader than dealing with the problems of the member for Kitchener, Mr Ferguson, in trying to clean up his problems and perhaps make him presentable for future re-entry into the cabinet.

I think it's much broader than that. I think we're talking about a series of undertakings on the part of Mr Piper, dealings with this government and trying to resolve difficult situations, and some of the activities undertaken by Mr Piper would certainly not be described as aboveboard. I think that's indicated by what we know in respect of his activities on behalf of Mr Ferguson. But I think they're much broader than that and I think that's why it was so critical for Mr Piper and the Premier's own principal secretary to come into this building just under the wire to get out files from that office and at the same time breach long-time standing matters of security about this building.

I think there is a clear question to raise to the Speaker here as well which I will pose and hopefully, Speaker, you will relay this to the Speaker's office. In respect to this breach of security, the Speaker's office had Mr Piper's office sealed on Monday morning. That's my understanding of what occurred. I'd like to know why, since there was some announcement publicly—Mr Piper's resignation and the police investigation being launched on Friday—the Speaker himself did not move immediately to seal off Piper's office. It was left accessible, if you will, over the course of the weekend.

It draws into question the whole matter of the Speaker's neutrality, the neutrality of the Speaker's office, and that may be unfortunate, Mr Speaker. I'm not trying to cast aspersions on you or anyone else in that office, but I think the question is there: We have standing security practices in this place, they were violated and I think it's incumbent upon the Speaker and the Speaker's office to respond to this Legislature, this assembly, and advise us indeed of what occurred in respect to the sealing of Mr Piper's office and why it did not occur on the Friday when the police investigation was officially announced. Why was the sealing off delayed until Monday, after Mr Piper and the Premier's principal secretary had an opportunity to get into that office in the evening hours of Sunday night?

I think those are very important questions, certainly ones that the Premier has to answer, I believe, and at some point he's going to have to. I hope indeed this whole matter of Mr Piper's activities can be broadened because, as I said, this touches directly on the Premier.

I mentioned his appointment of a friend, Carlton Masters, who has now resigned under a cloud, his appointment of another personal friend, Mr Piper, and when I raised questions about Mr Piper, I think it was earlier this week or last week, the Premier acted as though he was taking great offence to the fact that I would question him on a matter like this. He's known me for some 10 years, he has a cottage in my riding and we know each other well. I guess I understand where he's coming from, but the reality is that the buck stops somewhere.

In cases like this it has to stop personally on the desk of the Premier, especially in those two cases I've just mentioned. These are personal appointments, personal selections by Mr Rae, personal friends of Mr Rae, people he apparently knew for many years and had some confidence in, in terms of their own integrity and honesty in dealing not only with government but with the public at large. I think he has to accept complete and utter responsibility for those appointments. He can't simply slough them off, and that's what he's been attempting to do up to this point in time.

I want to say, in response to his being offended about my concerns and my suspicions, if you will, that over the 12 years that I've been in this place, power does indeed do strange things to people. People do change once they assume the mantle of power and authority and become dedicated not necessarily to doing good things for the people of this province, but to retaining power at any cost, even if that means smearing private citizens of this province.

We can smile and we can joke about that, but we're talking about a very close adviser to the Premier, a personal friend, someone at deputy minister rank, whom we know attempted to smear a private citizen of this province. We know that happened, and I'm suggesting that Mr Piper's activities were much more widespread than that

particular incident that came to public light. Hopefully, a police investigation of this matter is going to explore a whole host of areas and will have some way of recovering either the computer documentation or written documentation and files that Mr Piper and the Premier's principal secretary spirited out of here under cover of darkness.

It's clear, if we just take a look at the list of things that have occurred in the short two-plus years it has been in office, that this government really has no moral compass. I want to say that's unfortunate. I know there are some good people sitting on the back benches of the government who are being kept quiet, or for whatever reasons—I don't know whether it's advancement opportunities or what have you—are not getting up on their feet and expressing concern, with a few exceptions, Mr Speaker: yourself on at least one issue.

I'm not saying that simply as an opposition member. I've been on the government back benches. I've been in the cabinet. I spoke out as a government backbencher on the Suncor matter, under the Davis government. I'm encouraging all of you to consider these matters, because they are serious. I know the member for Welland-Thorold doesn't have a high ranking in the caucus at the moment, but I think some of the things he said recently are dead on. He's quoted in an article recently from the Globe and Mail:

"Mr Kormos says the government is ignoring caucus backbenchers and party members in the development of policy. In opposition, the NDP prided itself on creating policy democratically. But in government, important decisions are made by Mr Rae and two or three close advisers."

Well, a similar sort of thing occurred with Premier Davis in my respect. He may have had a wider circle of close advisers, but certainly he did not, for any great part, in my view, bring into his confidence backbenchers of the government. Some of us tried to do something about it, and I know it can be a frustrating experience. But I've been there and I don't think that over the long haul you're going to regret it.

You'll be much more respected for taking stands on principle, issues that you and your party have stood for for many, many years. Now you see this deterioration in terms of integrity, in terms of the conduct of your own government and your own officials. It is time that many of you started to stand up and let your own government, your own Premier, know that this is totally, totally unacceptable.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): I'm pleased to rise this afternoon to participate in this debate. It's an interesting motion. It throws around words like "integrity," "conduct of ministers," and then "public trust," and eventually ends up with the fact that the House doesn't have confidence in this government.

I realize that the role of the opposition is to raise such matters of confidence from time to time, and I know it's traditional and democratic to have such motions debated here in this House. However, at this particular point in time, I believe this motion really doesn't contribute much

to the wellbeing of the economy of the province of Ontario or do anything for the people of Ontario at all. It's simply an attempt to take a swipe at the government and particularly at the cabinet, and is not very constructive in terms of its criticism or in terms of confidence.

The government has worked hard at trying to do with less money what the previous governments weren't able to do with a lot of money. If we go back to the previous administration, in the mid-1980s up to 1985, 1986, 1987, their revenues were increasing about 10% per year, year over year. They were spending money as it came in and didn't put any away for the rainy days we now face. We face some very difficult times. I think everyone accepts that. But we have been working hard to try to do the best we can under these tough circumstances.

I would like to outline some of the things we have done, because I believe that when it comes to the confidence the people of Ontario will have in this government, it will be based on our actions and what we are able to do to help people through programs and through new initiatives, and I think it's appropriate.

### 1620

I'm going to confine my remarks primarily to my own responsibilities in Agriculture and Food. Within a month of being sworn in, we had a review committee set up which went out across Ontario to ask the farmers of this province what the biggest problems they faced were, and the primary problem they identified was finances, high interest rates. Within a year, by March 1991, we were able to have a report issued which made several recommendations—eight, in fact—and as of this date, all of those recommendations have been implemented.

At the same time, we have worked to establish longterm programs, as opposed to short-term initiatives, which have traditionally been what governments will use, not only in agriculture but in other support programs. They tend to use very quick, ad hoc programs and make the announcement and the cheques hopefully flow, and then that's the end of that program.

We have tried in Agriculture and Food to initiate long-term programs, which we have done with our ag investment strategy. In fact, we were able to put \$120 million into the agriculture and food sector over five years, which is targeted at long-term interest programs; things like the commodity loan program, which allows farmers to borrow in the spring against their crop insurance, and the GRIP program to provide money for planting in the spring.

In May 1991, we also were able to put \$15 million into food industry financial assistance to help the food industry. The food processing industry has been under severe threat from the free trade agreement that we've experienced. We've also put money into research, which we think is important for the success and the future of agriculture and the food industry here in Ontario. In May 1991, we were able to put \$5 million into that fund to provide for research.

We've also participated with the federal government in safety-net programs, which are long-term programs. The gross revenue insurance plan, known as GRIP, for grains and oilseed producers, we initiated and participated in in February 1991, and by May 1991, we also participated in net income stabilization account, known as NISA, again to help grains and oilseeds and horticulture producers.

This is an example of our participation with the federal government and with the various producer groups to develop programs that are in their interest and provide them with some sense of security in the future.

We also put special money into a cooperative known as the Central Erie Cooperative packing and marketing project, \$200,000 to help those dealers work together to market their produce and get a decent return.

Back in the summer and fall of 1991, some people will recall we had an emergency out in the farm community, and we responded to that emergency before the federal government did with \$35.5 million to provide assistance in the short term, because the safety net programs were not yet in place, and we do respond when there's a special need.

We've also had a tradition of working with the farm and food groups in the province. A little over a year ago, we thought there was going to be a conclusion of the GATT talks. Instead of going off to GATT with my own staff and officials, we invited six different farm leaders to go with us to Geneva to meet with other countries to make our case in order to maintain supply management, because we believe it's important to work with the leadership in the farm and the food industry in order to achieve our goals.

The five-part agricultural investment strategy I mentioned we announced in April is going to provide long-term programs. It's going to provide for private mortgages to work with the private sector to provide some of the capital that's needed to finance agriculture. We're also putting money into an agricultural education and expertise program which is going to help credit unions and other financial institutions provide the money that's necessary for agriculture. We have an apprenticeship program which is coming on stream very shortly which will allow people to get into farming.

Finally, we have a rural loan pool which is, I think, one of the most exciting ideas that we've brought in so far, which is going to allow local communities to put money into a local institution to be targeted for investment in agriculture.

Another example of the way this government has been able to work with the agricultural sector is in labour relations. I can recall when the Minister of Labour first announced that the exemption for agriculture was going to be withdrawn under the new labour legislation. I have to admit to you that I had some reservations and some nervousness.

But the farm community sat down with a task force which consisted of labour, some government representatives and the farm groups. They sat down and came up with a task force report back in June, with a number of recommendations. They were unanimous. They were willing to work with the government rather than just being opposed to everything the government was suggesting.

The Minister of Labour and I accepted that task force's recommendations and asked it to come back with more specifics. That report has been completed and was brought back a month or so ago. The Ministry of Labour has now, I

understand, drafted legislation based entirely on the recommendations of that task force. I think it's a tribute to the Minister of Labour, who has certainly proved to the agricultural and food leaders in this province that we can work together to come up with a unanimous report and, ultimately, legislation that everyone can support. I'm very pleased with the sector I represent in that sense.

Another example of working with groups is the feeder cattle loan guarantee program. It was a pilot project that we participated in with the Ontario Cattlemen's Association and the Canadian Bankers Association. Again, it's a partnership, if you will, working with those organizations to provide loan guarantees for cattlemen so that they can buy cattle up front and have money at reasonable rates.

Another example: Just recently, back on December 1 and 2, we had a Vision 20/20 conference, which was a conference we hosted of all the people in the food chain from the consumer to the processor, the retailers, the Ontario Restaurant Association and right down to the farm leaders and the farmers themselves. They all came together and worked at looking at what the problems of the current situation are and started to focus on the future.

We started to build a vision of what Agriculture and Food should look like in the rest of this decade and on into the first two decades of the next century. For me, it's a real pleasure to be able to work with all these people coming to the table, talking to each other, expressing their concerns and then working out solutions to their problems and having a vision for the future. It certainly makes me very proud to be able to work with these people, to sit down with such a diverse group, consumers and farmers and restaurateurs, to talk about common problems.

If all of us in all the different segments and sectors of government, including the partisanship that we experience from time to time, could work together rather than spend time this afternoon focusing on this particular motion, which simply attempts to take a shot at some of the cabinet ministers who have perhaps made a mistake—many of them in that situation have admitted that and gone on—I think it would be a better place if we could focus on the positive.

I don't mind having a debate on the issues that are important, the economic issues in terms of job creation and so on. These are the important issues. I would hope that in future these kinds of motions could focus on something of some substance that would be beneficial to the people of Ontario.

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): In the five minutes that I've been allocated to address this matter, I will try not only to respond to what I consider to be shocking comments just made by the Minister of Agriculture and Food, but I want also to address the necessity and the need for a debate in this chamber on ethics and standards in government.

I can't believe that a cabinet minister in the government of Ontario or any government in this country would consider ethics and standards in government an issue that should not be of the highest priority. I find that shocking. For the Minister of Agriculture and Food to stand in his place and try to tell the members of this assembly and the

people of this province who are watching that it doesn't matter at all whether you have men and women in government who believe in certain standards and ethics is one of the reasons why the present government finds itself in the position it's in today.

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We did not cause the problems facing the present government. They did it all themselves. And I want to remind my friends and colleagues across the floor that the men and women who ran for the New Democratic Party in the summer of 1990, hoping to be elected as a government, said to the people of the province that the standards that existed were not, in their view, proper, right or at the level the people of this province expected and that all other matters flowed from those ethics and standards. And it was your leader, Bob Rae, who sat just a few seats from where I'm sitting today, who over the course of a decade made ethics and standards in government the centrepiece of the New Democratic Party.

So I am offended to hear one of Bob Rae's appointees in the cabinet rise in the Legislature today to lecture the members of the opposition and to inform his own colleagues that ethics and standards in government really are a waste of time and that the opposition motion is a waste of time, because who needs ethics and who needs standards in government.

I say to the Minister of Agriculture and Food that it is you and your colleagues, more than anyone else in this country, who are in need of ethics and standards in government. By your own actions, by your own words and by your own deeds, you have proved that you as a group are in need of ethics and standards by which the Legislature and the people of this province can judge you.

Because of the limited number of minutes we've been allocated, I want to focus on two particular incidents I believe are a danger, in fact, to democracy.

We sat here stunned when we found out that the Premier's personal friend, a hand-picked deputy minister, working right out of the Premier's office, was engaged in a dirty tricks campaign to smear a citizen of this province who had made serious allegations against a former minister of the government some many years in a different capacity. We were stunned that the Premier's hand-picked deputy minister could run a smear campaign, a dirty tricks campaign, right out of the Premier's office.

And we hear from the Minister of Agriculture, "Oh, these matters aren't important." The whole scandalous activity around John Piper has not been properly handled. It has been covered up by the government, in the same way it's covering up the Carlton Masters affair, the same way it tried to cover up the problems the former Solicitor General had in the fixing of parking tickets. If I was the Minister of Agriculture, after having admitted he didn't read a piece of legislation he introduced, I'd be quite careful about anything I'd say.

I want to say that we are not going to lower our standards here because you don't want to have standards. One of our responsibilities is to ensure that there is a decent set of standards by which all of us can be judged. You may not

want a decent set of standards, but we're going to ensure that you at least try to live up to some.

My time's expired, I'm sorry to say, but we'll have more opportunity. We'll have another opportunity to discuss this matter here in the Legislature and elsewhere.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): Who would have ever thought that two years into the New Democrat government's tenure we would be debating a motion as powerful as this, which is really calling upon this government to resign? I don't think there is any doubt that I am ready for an election and the people on this side of the House are ready to let the public once again voice their views on this government.

Non-confidence comes through an abuse of trust. You look at one cabinet minister, Shelley Martel, having to go and take a lie detector test to prove that she lied; you get Evelyn Gigantes, Minister of Health, giving the name of a patient; you get Mr Farnan coming along and backing away from the involvement with what his riding office does in his name—there are many scandals around cabinet ministers; you get Mr Piper, who is close to the Premier and is initiating scandal right out of the Premier's office, under the Premier's eyes.

You're judged by the company you keep. I have to say that Premier Bob Rae has to be judged by the very fact that things are going on around him by the people he has trusted, most recently now with the agent general in New York, Mr Masters, resigning, and not really coming out and giving us the details on what happened and why.

I fault the government on its mismanagement of the economy, not coming clean in the early stages of understanding the effects of a recession and how a government could begin to trim its costs, control its costs and set an example. Now, late into the recession, when we're having a \$10-billion deficit blossoming to \$14 billion or \$16 billion, we're seeing an economy struggling to just somehow get through the tough days that we're in and this government still not addressing the concerns of business and the grass roots that are out there.

Talking about a government that has failed to be as open as it said it would: When in opposition you couldn't find anyone more sanctimonious than the then Leader of the Opposition, Bob Rae. Now that he is Premier he has forgotten that sense of openness he was so anxious to obtain when he was in opposition.

The most offensive thing that has happened to me in the last month—and I'm going to get into something else in a minute that's offended me more—has to do with a rally of 4,000 people, largely developmentally handicapped, from sheltered workshops, where their workshops are being closed down because this government is withholding funds for these people who are so dependent on the rest of society for their welfare and their jobs. This government, which pretends to have a social conscience, has withdrawn the money for them in future days. What a terrible turnaround that is. The one party that claimed to have a social conscience is the one that's imposing upon those people in our society who depend on the rest of us to look after them and to care for them. I find that as offensive as anything. We all have our values, but that is a

breach of the most fundamental value in our society: to care for those people who need to be cared for.

I worry about a government that has had so many flipflops and how it can rationalize, on one hand, before it was elected, coming out with a strong statement on auto insurance, when Mr Kormos eloquently talked for days on end about what he would do with auto insurance, and this government's reversed that one.

This government had a position that Sunday was a special day of rest, that it was a quiet day, and it has reversed that position on Sunday shopping.

This government had a view on gambling and is now introducing its first of a series of gambling houses in Windsor. Chris Stockwell, the member for Etobicoke West, described it the best of anyone when he talked about how a month ago the Minister of Municipal Affairs came into the House to announce market value assessment for Metropolitan Toronto, how it had to happen. Then our party was influential in forcing public hearings and then, through the public hearings, you now have the government reversing that position.

You start looking at the number of cabinet ministers who, prior to September 6, 1990, were opposed to market value assessment, and then to see them in this House come along and change their positions—talk about flip-flopping. So as I look around and say, why would there be nonconfidence in the government? There are these and many other points that begin to drive a wedge in the very trust that people would have had and once had for Bob Rae.

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I happen to represent the riding of Markham, a community just north of Metropolitan Toronto and a community, along with the communities in York, Durham and Peel, that has suffered one of the biggest problems with broken promises that this government could possibly have perpetrated on our communities.

Before Mr Rae was elected, he stood at the edge of the Keele Valley landfill site and said, "I would never allow this site to be expanded without there being a full environmental assessment." That was a promise he made. He said the same thing at Britannia in Peel. Then he said something different in Newcastle and Whitevale. When he went to those sites he said, "There will never be a landfill site in these communities without a full environmental assessment."

Talk about broken promises. The very man who at the time was Leader of the Opposition and who had called the Premier a liar went and said something before the election that has since not been the case. We're not allowed to use such terms in the Legislature, and I don't want to do it, but it's a broken promise by the Premier of the province of Ontario who before he was elected made statements that were clearly policy and positions of his party. Then when he takes office you start to see quite a different person coming forward, different words, different positions.

You also have his Minister of the Environment, the Honourable Ruth Grier. As an example of where she's flip-flopped with broken promises, in the early stages of 1991 she supported rail haul. In January she was supporting rail haul as a way of dealing with Metro's waste and

then in April 1991 she revoked it. Then, on October 24, 1991, she brought in Bill 143.

Here is a government that has said one thing before it's elected and quite another when it's in power. If there is any reason why people in York, Durham and Peel are angry and feel violated, it has to do with the breach of trust and the broken promises of Mr Bob Rae, who is now Premier. On the basis of those positions before he was elected, people said, "I can trust him." I think there is still a residual sense of trust around the man, but when people in my communities and the communities I represent come to think about what he has done, the before and after pictures of the real Bob Rae, they are absolutely angry.

Here is the government that, when it started out, was going to be open and fair. Yet what does Madam Ruth Grier do as Minister of the Environment? She brings in Bill 143 and fast-tracks it. She wanted to have it passed by December 19 last year so that it could be out of the way at the very time when municipal councils are out to be reelected, not having had a chance to react to it. It was a bill she wanted to have fast-tracked without consultation with the people. She wanted to do it so that the sites would not be released. You wouldn't know where the landfill sites that her new Interim Waste Authority was going to establish were going to be. That would come later.

This government stonewalled everybody on where those potential sites would be. It wasn't until after Bill 143 was passed that we saw the list of 57 sites selected by this government as possible landfill sites within the greater Toronto area. This is the minister who was going to be open and fair. Yet during the discussions of Bill 143 we could not get that minister to release the list of possible landfill sites that were going to be considered.

Then you come along and you have a minister who creates the Interim Waste Authority, which then becomes an arm's-distance relationship for her and the ministry. Therefore, this minister says that the decisions that surround the final resolution of where the landfill sites will be, because there will be one in York, Durham and Peel, are now up to them. She had Mr McIntyre heading it up as general manager and then, when the political heat began to build, she appointed Mr Pitman as the chairman of it. All the politics are supposedly being run by the Interim Waste Authority, and the Minister of the Environment steps aside to let it take the pressure and the heat.

Mr Winninger: I hate to tell you, but this is not an environmental issue.

Mr Cousens: If you want to say something in the House, why don't you stand up and speak, but stop carping and talking. I've got one of the most important things to say in this House. It has to do with your government and your failure to do the right things for the people of the province of Ontario. What you've done to my community and the people in York, Durham and Peel is totally unacceptable, and I don't think you have the right to speak unless you stand up and you have the floor.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): Leave him alone.

Mr Cousens: Mr Speaker, I ask you and beseech you. I'll keep quiet when they're talking and I expect the same thing for me.

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): He's got nothing to say.

Mr Cousens: I'm not in the mood for any fun today from any of you. We're dealing with the confidence of a government which has failed my community and failed the people of York, Durham and Peel. There is nothing funny about what's going on within our province right now. This is probably the single most important consideration of a resolution that we've had in this House, and I will not tolerate your interrupting and interspersing your dumb comments.

If the Speaker isn't going to do something about it—I have to say, Mr Speaker, I beseech you, make the NDP behave and take the punishment they deserve. We're coming out with the facts today. If they've got something to defend themselves with, they'll have a chance when they can stand up and speak. I'd like to have some extra time because of their interruptions, but I won't get it because they've changed the rules.

I'm talking about Ruth Grier, the Minister of the Environment.

Mr Mahoney: Let's go to midnight.

Mr Cousens: It's hard to get your train of thought when you've got so many people trying to interrupt when they don't have anything to say.

I was trying to touch on the fact that the people of York, Durham and Peel have been violated by the government's way of implementing the decision-making process through the Interim Waste Authority. Ruth Grier, as minister, has set up this authority and is the single shareholder of the Interim Waste Authority. This was voted by the member for Durham West, the member for Durham York and the member for Durham East, three of them who live in Durham and York. Yet now they're coming on and saying, "Oh, we don't like what's happening in our areas." They voted in Bill 143 and this government voted it in.

This government has violated a trust. They've said that York region must take Metro's garbage. I will never accept that and the chairman of the region of York, Eldred King, is taking this bill and this government to court over Bill 143 and the way it invades and takes away personal rights of people. Bill 143 cuts off the rights of people in York region. Why should we have to take Metro's garbage? Why should we have to close the door to the possibility of rail haul just because this government decides on it? That's what I really want to touch on, the politics of garbage.

This government has said the politics will be looked after by the Interim Waste Authority so therefore the honourable Minister of the Environment, who never comes to the rallies, who has not visited the 57 sites—Bob Rae has never come out to the rallies. He'll come out to other rallies, but he won't come out on this issue, so what happens is that our community is shut off from the real power-makers and the decision-makers and we're forced to deal with the Interim Waste Authority, which is just a technical head who is responsible to Ruth Grier and this government.

### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjointe et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre responsable de la Stratégie de prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernemental
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	1
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative,
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	J
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House. Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire
3 11	Classes Tales C		du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/
Oon Mills	Ward, Margery		adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Minister of Education/ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Oufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Ourham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Ourham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Ourham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Ourham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	aujoint partementane de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton		ND	
Elgin Essex-Kent	North, Peter Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/
LSSEX SOURIF-SUU	Manchi, Kenio	L	Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	du Buteau de la region du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, acting Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
			ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs par intérim
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	To all the Committee Alexander and the second and
Fort William Fort York	McLeod, Lyn Marchese, Rosario	L ND	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires
			intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
lamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David		Minister of Correctional Services/ministre des Services correctionne
Iamilton East/-Est Iamilton Mountain	,	ND ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Financial
iamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie
Iamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills
	,		Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre
			de la Formation professionnelle
lastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/
" 1 D 1 0	CT 1 XX CX 01 371 *	NID	ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
ligh Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre
			des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	âgées et aux Relations interraciales parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
idion	Ktopp, I au	ND	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
lingston and The Islands/		ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/
ingston et Les Îles		ND	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Citchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General; deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/
			adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général, whip adjoint
			du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration
ake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	de la justice Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone
ake Nipigolii Lac-Mipigoli	Toulot, Hold holl Gines	ND	affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
ambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets
			de loi privés
anark-Renfrew		PC	·
awrence		L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
eeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
incoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires
ondon Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	économiques Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires,
ondon North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine Progressive Conservative chief whip/

Constituency	Name of member	Party	<b>Other responsibilities</b>
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones Progressive Conservative deputy House leader/
Middlesex	Mathyssen, Irene	ND	chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/
Mississauga East/-Est Mississauga North/-Nord	Sola, John Offer, Steven	L L	adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Mahoney, Steven W. Waters, Daniel	L ND	opposition chief whip/whip en chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	et de la recimologie
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	G-1:-it G1/G-11:-it
Oshawa Ottawa Centre/-Centre Ottawa East/-Est	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn Grandmaître, Bernard C.	ND ND L	Solicitor General/Solliciteur général Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa-Rucau Ottawa-South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	Ĺ	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges
			et Universités
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley		Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord Riverdale	Conway, Sean G. Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	L ND	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ SDG. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	opposition deputy House leader/chef parlementaire de l'opposition
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsmar whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St. George-St. David	Vacant		
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND .	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie, Vice-Président
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	du Comité permanent du développement des ressources parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	adjoint parementaire at ministre ac i Education
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	aujoint partonionairo de ministro des institutions iniairezeros
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/
			adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes
			gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/
Co-thorn Foot Fot	Mantal Hand than Challen	NID	adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/
Victoria-framounton	Diamvine, Dennis	ND	Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	1
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	A A A
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet and government House leader/ministre des Affaires municipales, président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, et leader parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet/adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	·
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/
			adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	Progressive Conservative whip/whip du Parti progressiste- conservateur
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/
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Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 9 December 1992

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Mercredi 9 décembre 1992

Assemblée législative

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers



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### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

### Wednesday 9 December 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

### WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION

Continuation of debate on Mr Elston's motion, pursuant to standing order 43(a), on want of confidence motion number 3.

Mr Cousens: I'm telling you, Mr Speaker, this government cannot absolve itself from the political responsibility of the decision it made to set up the Interim Waste Authority, which is reporting to it. We in our community will certainly deal with the Interim Waste Authority on the technical background that is needed to be followed through, but there is going to be a continuing political battle on Ruth Grier and this government that tells this government, "We will not accept your decisions."

Your decisions as a government are political decisions, and not based on a full environmental assessment of the possibility of rail haul. They have not subjected rail haul to an EA, which would then allow it to be not a political decision but a decision based on scientific and technological consideration of things. Then we also suggest that the whole subject of incineration be subjected to a full environmental assessment, and let the technology be considered rather than make a political decision out of the Minister of the Environment's office.

Also, let's see the political decision this government made by saying Metro's garbage goes to York. Come on. This is political as long as you're going to make political decisions like that and as long as you make a political decision that says: "Only within York, Durham and Peel can you find a landfill site to service the needs of those areas plus Metro. You can't look across the boundary line of other areas." Talk about politics.

Then you talk about where they're locating them: on prime agricultural farm land in Caledon, Sutton and Whitevale. You're talking about land that is as ecologically sensitive as the Rouge Valley. You're talking about land that drains into Lake Simcoe. We're seeing the very issues that concern people who live in the greater Toronto area being sacrificed over this government's political decision that says, "We must have the dumps in York, Durham and Peel."

I know that there have to be dumps. I accept that there will be dumps, and I also accept the fact that the government's position on reducing the amount of garbage by 50% by the year 2000 is something every one of us has to work on.

I support the minister, Ruth Grier, on her whole 3Rs program; I do indeed, and strongly. We've got to work on both sides. But don't violate the trust of the people of the province of Ontario by saying Bill 143 must be the case. Nothing has taken away the rights of people more than Bill 143. I will never, ever accept that as anything else than a declaration of war, where this government has declared war on the people of York, Durham and Peel.

1650

I will fight you. I will fight with Greg Sorbara and Charles Beer and anyone else who will come along and go after this government for having failed, for having broken the promise, for having broken its commitment. I'll fight with anyone on this government, because if you want to know, you've kicked a hornet's nest. The people in our communities will not forgive this government for what it's doing to our land and our property and the things we hold dear.

This government has forgotten its promises. When it came to power, it immediately went to work to develop a strategy that is absolutely anathema. Then they come out now. What really has to be infuriating is when the Minister of the Environment, last week, when the member for Durham West raised a question—he was pretty upset that I, Don Cousens, the member for Markham and critic for Environment, could get confidential documents from the government before he got them. Managing the Impacts of Landfill: A Commitment to Fair Compensation—I have it right here. I released it first. I got it before the government members got it. Probably the best compliment I've had from Minister Ruth Grier is that she called my actions "irresponsible."

If I want to wear a badge of honour, it is just that. If I am seen ever as being one who's irresponsible for fighting for my community, fighting for what I believe in, fighting for what is true and honest, I will continue to fight that battle. I'll fight it over every one of you, come the next election. All I'm saying to the people of Ontario is, hang in till 1995, survive till '95, because we won't do it today, but you know the day is coming.

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): We'll try to bring a little bit of focus back to this. It's really difficult, because I look at this want of confidence motion, and it talks about no confidence in this government because of people. I'm sorry; I'll take responsibility if the government makes a mistake. If the government makes a mistake, sure, we'll resign, you know, if it's worthwhile. We're talking about people here and people do make mistakes.

As far as I'm concerned, we have to have a little bit of forgiveness for these people, because we're human beings, and human beings make mistakes. I think the Premier's taken the right tack. In every case, he's taken these people into their offices and he's talked to them, and where it's warranted, he's called for an investigation. He's never abdicated his responsibility in any of these cases that are listed and some of the ones that aren't listed.

Now, one of our biggest battles down here—the member for Etobicoke West started out this debate talking about the media. He spent his whole time talking about the media and some of the things that have been listed and some of these allegations and innuendoes. Basically, what you have to do is look at the media's perspective right now.

For a year and a half now, I've been sitting in committee, chairing the advocacy acts, trying to get them through. These are far-reaching bills that are going to affect more people in the province of Ontario and empower more people and give them more rights, and yet where did the media spend their time? They spent their time dealing with Bill 40, which on the whole is going to empower people working in the factories who want to join a union. If they don't want to, so be it.

But the media spent all that time covering that. They brought out full-page ads paid for by themselves, stating their position. So obviously the media are focusing against us. There's a very big war going on with the media. They're against us. The media are doing this.

The advocacy package wasn't even covered. I think one day in committee we had somebody from the press there reporting on this, and these are things that are going to mean more to more people in the province of Ontario, and they'll have more far-reaching implications.

Now, a mistake or an error in judgement is not the only scale of measurement. Let's consider some of the actions taken by this government. Right now we've got the firefighters' immunity. We're bringing in things that are beneficial to all of Ontario. Our firefighters across Ontario are mostly volunteers, and our government has taken action to protect and encourage development for these volunteers.

Our agricultural minister, Elmer Buchanan, announced that his ministry will begin using ethanol-blended gasoline, maintaining our commitment to the use of alternative fuels to gasoline. This product is environmentally friendly, which supports our environmental policies.

What you have to do is look at some of the other things we've done. There are things that aren't really noticed right now, that we haven't done a really good job of advertising because the effects aren't going to be seen for years to come. We've got Jobs Ontario and the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board.

The initiatives of this government have affected members of my constituency. Right now we've got the Mannheim water recharge system. Traditionally, in our community we've had water shortages during the summer, or threats of water shortages. With this Mannheim recharge system coming on line now, we now have the availability of more water during the dry season, and now they've even announced that they may be able to close two of the wells out in the agricultural area. I know that for a lot of the rural people who have shallow wells, they have run dry during the summer. Hopefully, this will solve their problem.

Lately, we've just given financial assistance to B&W Heat Treating. They've brought in a new fuel-efficient process, and we've acknowledged this and we've helped them out.

This is what we've done. We've gone across this province and we've looked at people who are going to help us with the environment and help us with saving our unrenewable resources.

We've provided education moneys for junior kindergarten facilities across this province. The media got hold of that and they went around saying that we're mandating junior kindergarten but we're not going to give the funding. Well, now we've announced that the funding's coming.

What's happened is that we bring these initiatives out and we go out and consult with the stakeholders, and we're getting hammered every time we turn around because these initiatives are good but everybody says, well, there's no funding or we're not going to follow through. We've built up a lot of expectations over time.

Sure, we need expectations out there because this is the worst time to be in government. I think the Liberals or the Conservative Party wouldn't want to be in power right now. I know a lot of times they say we're an illegitimate government, that people voted out the Liberals. Well, the Liberals deserved to be voted out. In 1985, when they came to power, they had two great years because the New Democrats sat down with them and wrote an accord and we had some of the most progressive legislation at that time for two years. Then they decided, "We'll take a run at it ourselves now," and for three years they did nothing. They sat around and studied the studies and we saw nothing happening in Ontario. During the five best years this province has ever had, they kept raising the deficit.

Now that we're in power and the money's drying up, we're being told, "Well, you've got to control the deficit." Where do we control the deficit? We could close every other hospital if that will serve the purpose, but that's not the way we want to do it. We're looking at it. We're trying to control the deficit and we're trying to protect services.

I know that the people in my community who are looking at in-home care for their children who they've decided to keep rather than putting them in institutions are saying: "We understand there's no funding right now, but we're willing to accept that. Just make sure you keep your principles intact and make sure you save these programs, and in two years or three years when the economy turns around, this process will be there so that we'll be able to get our children into these things."

I think the public are being very patient with us. They understand it's a difficult time. If they look at us as a total government, which will be judged in another two and a half years or three years, I think they'll sit down and look at it and say: "Yes, these people have brought in a lot of programs. They've dealt with the economic situation and the realities of being in government."

I know that when I first came down here, I talked to members of the two opposition parties and members of my own government who had been here for a while, and they said, "Make sure you don't get sucked up in the political process." That's what I've tried to do. I've tried to do a good job. I don't usually get involved in things in the House, but when they bring in non-confidence motions like this which don't address the undertakings of this government or some of the policies of this government—sure, the Premier set high standards in his first throne speech. You've got to set high standards, because if you set your standards low enough, people will come in and they'll use that. They'll lower the standards.

He set the standards high, and I think the public understands that you can't meet a lot of these standards, but

we're making a true effort. I think the Premier's done a good job by calling for requests. He can't make all the decisions because he doesn't have the facts, just like the opposition members don't have the facts. They read something in the paper and they jump all over it.

If you look at one of the recent things that has happened in the press, you'll see that it started out as a huge affair and then it eventually worked down so that it was almost a non-event. These are the things that are going on.

I think the opposition truly, when we get into committee, actually does a good job. But when they're in the House, they're doing the media, and that's one of the biggest problems. They're playing to the media in the House. This is a media event, because you're talking about people here who have made mistakes. I'm sorry to say that I'm probably going to make some mistakes over time, and I hope there will be forgiveness. I've got people in my community, people in my church, people across this province who write to me and say, "We pray that you'll have the wisdom to try and do the job as well as you can."

I'm sure when my tenure's up here—you all have five years in here—if I don't get re-elected, they can't take that away from me, because I think I'm really doing a good job for this province. But I hope to be back and I'm sure that for myself and us as a government, it will reflect and we'll be back for a long time to come.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Further debate?

1700

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): I don't know exactly how long I have to debate this resolution that's before us tonight.

**Interjection:** Five minutes.

Mr Perruzza: If someone will just tell me—I believe I have roughly five minutes, Mr Speaker, and I appreciate the opportunity to speak for five minutes on behalf of the government and in support of some of the critical things I believe our government has done.

On September 6, 1990, something very dramatic and something very new happened in the province of Ontario. The people in the province elected for the first time ever a social democratic government which is committed to a number of very real and very substantial social democratic principles, which the government has on a systematic basis laid out, a very comprehensive and a very aggressive agenda.

I'll just talk on a couple of the things the government has done and has ruffled so many feathers across the province of Ontario that it'll take quite some time to put those feathers back in place. But I believe that every member of this government is committed to putting the feathers that have been ruffled across the province of Ontario right back in place, because as Ontarians begin to look at the record this government has accumulated and is accumulating on a daily basis on a wide array of issues that cover almost the entire gamut, Ontarians will come to see that this is a government that speaks for the people of the province of Ontario, represents the people of the province of Ontario

and does its best, its absolute best, to ensure that it delivers on the services and on the programs Ontarians need.

September 6, 1990—and I alluded to this a few moments ago—something very dramatic happened. A social democratic government was elected, a government which speaks for middle-income earners, which speaks for the middle class, which speaks for the poor in our society, which speaks for the marginalized, and took power.

This almost instantaneously created reaction within the establishment, within the status quo. Business showed up here at our doorsteps with big loudspeakers, microphones, and they played some of the funkiest music you've ever heard in this town, trying to attract who to protest at our doorstep? I'll tell you who they were trying to attract: all the people who hang out in front of Queen's Park here during the lunch hours, who work in the office towers right across here from Queen's Park. They tried to attract them with very fancy music, before Queen's Park, right across our door, beneath our steps.

Well, Ontarians were wiser. They were wise to this. They knew the people who were behind renting the fancy speakers and the high-powered microphones: Bay Street, Wall Street.

Who was facing what? I'll tell you what they were facing. They were facing one of the most dramatic recessions ever in the history of Ontario since the Depression of the 1930s. That's what they were facing. Whether it was free trade, whether it was the GST, whether it was the crossborder shopping policies of our federal counterparts, whether it was because of the gloom and doom, the naysayers, the spin doctors in the opposition parties, who worked aggressively for the first two and a half years into this mandate to undermine consumer confidence, to undermine business confidence in this province and quite frankly to throw us into a worse recession than we already are in. So what were we faced with? That's what we were faced with. We were faced with the status quo taking us on at every corner, at every turn.

Who were the last to line up? The police. They lined up and came to Queen's Park because at the end of the day, when their work is done, they don't like having to sit down and, while they're filling out their daily report of duties, also write out a line that says whether or not they drew their gun and pointed it at somebody that day. So they lined up and came to Queen's Park and protested.

They tried to do to this government precisely what business tried to do before, what the opposition parties tried to do before here at Queen's Park, what the federal government tried to do before by cutting its transfer payments by billions of dollars. Did you ever hear any of the opposition members here at Queen's Park stand up when the federal government lined up and took a whack at this government? Did they stand in their places and say: "Oh, my gosh, how bad these people are. Oh, my gosh, they want Ontarians to pay for it all"? No, they didn't do that.

They proceeded to hack and attack at every government program which was introduced hence. Why? With one sole purpose, and that is: The more you undermine the government, the more gloom and doom you spin, the more you undermine consumer confidence and business

confidence, the worse things become and the more popular you become in opposition, because you don't have to present a vision, you don't have to develop a program, you don't have to try to put in place OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, which speaks to retraining people in this province, people who find themselves out of work for a number of the reasons which I've mapped out in front of you. You don't have to do that in opposition.

You don't have to develop a wage protection fund which eases the pain that is felt by working-class people when they lose their jobs. You don't have to develop a budget and find the capital moneys to initiate capital works programs and job retraining programs to put Ontarians back to work. You don't have to try to preside over a budget which is ever-ballooning as a result of cutbacks, as a result of failing government revenues, as a result of high unemployment and expanding welfare rolls. You don't have to deal with any of those things.

But when you cut through the fuddle-duddle, Mr Speaker—because you, I know, are a fairminded member of this place—when you take away interest payments on the debt, when you take away the rises in social assistance, you will find that this government has managed to control government spending to a level that has never been done before. Zero point three per cent: That's the rise in government spending once you eliminate some of these costs that are beyond government control. That's the reality of it.

Mr Speaker, do you find the opposition standing in their places and applauding the government for having done just that, for having controlled government spending, which rose at unprecedented rates in the past? Our Liberal friends raised taxes 32 times in the span of five years. They took the provincial budget from \$27 billion or \$28 billion when they took office to \$44 billion when they left. That is unbelievable, and they claimed to have a balanced budget when they got there.

In September 1990 they were in a \$39-million surplus. We all know what happened to that and we all know how that panned out. Was there a \$39-million surplus? No, they were billions of dollars in the red. We were billions of dollars in the red and we've been struggling to manage that, to fix those mistakes, to fix the old Conservative mistakes, to fix five years worth of Liberal mistakes.

Quite frankly our executive, that is, the cabinet of the New Democratic Party, is doing an excellent job of doing just that: managing the finances, managing the legislative framework within which this government is trying to operate and making the lives of middle-income earners and the poor people across the province of Ontario during the worst recession since the 1930s more tolerable.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Mahoney: I would be tempted to go nuts and respond to all of that stuff but I won't bother. It's just a good thing that when he was out there like this, there wasn't a gust of wind. I think we might have had cause for a byelection.

I want to say something quite seriously, and that is that I think this government is doing a really good job.

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): Thank you, thank you.

**Interjection:** Screwing up everything.

Mr Mahoney: Well, you said we weren't going to say that.

I think you're doing a terrific job of showing the people in this province what a disaster has been created as a result of the election, by 37% of the population, of the most inexperienced gang to ever come into this place.

**Interjection:** Any place.

Mr Mahoney: Into any place. Truly amazing.

Then we hear a member of cabinet, the Minister of Agriculture and Food—

Interjection.

Mr Mahoney: I'll get to you in a minute, Oxford. We hear the minister standing up and telling us that really we shouldn't be worried about the confidence the opposition has in this government because of all the good things the government has done and some agreements that have been entered into with his ministry. Well, I would hope you're doing something. I would hope you're meeting with your counterparts in Ottawa and discussing how to help the farmers. You've had two years to try to do something, so I would hope you would do that.

But to suggest that there's no cause for alarm, to suggest there's no reason to put forward a motion of nonconfidence in this government is truly mind-boggling. What they don't seem to understand—they simply don't get it—is that this motion is not put on behalf of simply the members of the Liberal caucus in this place.

I would like to see the results of a phone-in poll that's conducted every day on the radio stations around this province. CFRB does one every morning. They ask a question and ask people to phone in. I would like to see a question, very simply: "Do you have confidence in the New Democratic Party governing this province? Yes or no?" That's all. I can assure you that if—

Interjection.

**Mr Mahoney:** Well, if you don't care what the results of such a poll would be, then obviously you're sticking your head in the sand and you don't seem to understand.

The member for Oxford raised in his comments the fact that we should be getting on to what he termed "other more important items" and we should be ignoring all of these things. We would be delighted to get on with job creation. You know we had another 1,600 people laid off in Windsor today by General Motors. We see the tragedy of the hundreds of people in St Catharines. We see the fear and the anxiety of the people at Algoma Steel in Sault Ste Marie that while, yes, you did ultimately put together a bailout program to help the employees take over, they live in fear of losing their place in the international market-place and facing restructuring on their own. We see the fear of the same thing happening in Kapuskasing.

We see people in my own constituency office—I'm sure it must happen in yours—if you answer the phones, you find people phoning you all the time, predominantly male individuals, 45 to 55, calling and saying: "Mr

Mahoney, I'm out of work, I've been laid off. I still have a mortgage, I still have a family, I still have a youngster going to university, I still have responsibilities, but I do not have a job." What can you say to them? It is very frustrating for any member.

I don't lay all of that at the feet of this government, but in two years this government has failed to do anything other than announce a few programs supposed to help. What, \$1 billion for Jobs Ontario to create 695 jobs, and they say, "Bear with us, we're getting to the rest of them." You see, we don't have confidence because we don't believe you understand what you're doing. Not just the members of my caucus or the Conservative caucus, but the people do not believe you understand what to do to help this economy. Indeed, that is predominantly the issue we should be dealing with.

But what happens? I just did a quick analysis. Mr Speaker, you might be interested in this. Do you know there are 26 members of the current cabinet? Out of that, sir, as far as I can tell, eight of them have not been tainted with some form of allegation, scandal or impropriety.

The Premier himself has his own staff sending a letter to the Ontario Municipal Board trying to influence the date of a hearing. The most important thing, if you are a proponent of a development proposal, about an Ontario Municipal Board hearing, once the reference there has taken place, is the date. "When are they going to listen to my appeal?"

That's the primary thing any proponent would be concerned about, and this Premier doesn't think it's a problem that a member of his personal political staff, on his behalf, on his letterhead, writes a letter to the Ontario Municipal Board asking it to fast-track the development proposal. It's not a problem to the Premier because the development is important to him.

Mr Mancini: It's in his riding.

**Mr Mahoney:** It's in his own riding, so that's okay. 'It's going to create jobs," he says. "Therefore, we should put our principles on the side burner and simply try to influence the date." You just find it incredible. Talk about moxie.

Mr Stockwell: It is not moxie, my friend.
Mr Mahoney: I think it's called chutzpah—

Mr Stockwell: Not even chutzpah.

Mr Mahoney: —for someone to stand up in this place and actually defend the record of this government and to pretend and tell us that we should ignore all of these problems when we've got eight members out of a 26-member cabinet, and that doesn't count the seven who have either resigned in disgrace or been fired.

I would love to be in a caucus meeting, wouldn't you? Can you imagine what it would be like in a caucus meeting? If any of these people have the courage to stand up when the Honourable Robert Rae attends—I assume he attends there more than he does question period, although I'm not sure—it must be truly an experience to behold.

You must sit there and go: "Premier, how are we going to get elected next time when we've only got eight members of our cabinet who are not involved in some kind of hanky-panky, creating distrust in the province of Ontario? How are we going to get elected next time and go to the people and tell them that you promised this would be a new and open government?"

Go back. Remember not only the throne speech; remember the wonderful swearing-in ceremony at the university, over at Hart House, when I think the comment by the Premier was, "This government will give access to people who have never had access to the halls of power before." He didn't tell us it was going to be John Piper. He sort of left us out there to wonder, "Who's he talking about? He's bringing in some people who are going to influence"—

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Mr Stockwell: The OPP.

Mr Mahoney: The OPP all of a sudden have access to our offices. They knock on our door and they walk in. There's a certain tavern in town that has become somewhat famous of late for the—

Mr Stockwell: The Loose Moose.

Mr Mahoney: The Loose Moose. They have wonderful T-shirts they've put out. The phone number on the back is 1-800-SCANDAL. It's gotten to the point where people out there are laughing at you. It's almost past the point of sadness. It's become a comedy show. Some would call it a horror show.

Go down the list: We have the member for Sudbury East. No problem, tell a lie. Get up, admit she lied, take a lie detector test to prove she was telling the truth when she lied. "That's no problem. You can stay in cabinet because your daddy's Elie and I owe Elie big time." That's Bob Rae: good principles. We didn't make it up, folks. That's not a fabrication of what happened. That is exactly what happened.

The only honourable thing I've seen a cabinet minister do is the member for Ottawa Centre, I say, who made a mistake, blurted out the name of someone who was using the system for medical reasons, realized she'd made a mistake and resigned, went out of cabinet and was brought back in later in the Ministry of Housing.

**Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West):** She did it before she got Bob Rae—

Mr Mahoney: She didn't do it without some anger and without some serious, hard meetings. But at least, I say to the other members from Ottawa, she made the decision to resign, albeit orchestrated and forced, I'm sure, by the Premier's office.

But the rest of them—let's go back to one we've all forgotten about. What was the very first thing that happened in this place?

Mr Stockwell: The walk in the park in Hamilton.

Mr Mahoney: The secret meeting in Hamilton. Somehow that's not important any more. You see, you sort of grade the scandals from one to 10. It's down there at one, I guess, in importance because now we've got ministers who have admitted they've lied. We've got a personal appointment of the Premier charged with sexual harassment. What does the Premier do? Can you imagine the phone call at Tory Tory DesLauriers and Binnington? "This is Premier Bob Rae calling." "Who? You're calling us? You want us, that Tory law firm"—

Mr Stockwell: "Do we owe taxes?"

Mr Mahoney: "Do we owe taxes? You want us to investigate one of your appointments? Premier, we'd be delighted to do that. That just sounds like that's going to make our day."

They conduct an investigation and they finish their investigation, presumably. What happens?

Mr Mancini: They send the bill.

Mr Mahoney: I assume they sent a bill to the taxpayer. I assume they got paid. We can't get the results of that information.

He resigns. Now either the Premier is putting Mr Masters in some jeopardy—his own father, for goodness' sake, in Jamaica, is quoted in the newspapers as saying, "Please, Bob, my son's a good man." I presume that may well be true, but I don't know that. Carl Masters's own father is calling on the Premier to come clean and release the results of the inquiry done by the big law firm.

Why won't he do it? Is there some way we should simply say, as the member for Oxford said, we should ignore that? We could say: "Okay, that's fine, Bob. Sorry to bother you. Sorry to really put you under that kind of pressure. Go ahead. Keep that publicly paid for investigation and information in your sock. We don't really care. We don't have a responsibility as the opposition to try to get this government to come clean with the people of Ontario. We're really sorry we bothered you. Everything is okay." Is that what you really believe?

I just can't imagine how any of you can tolerate that nonsense when he comes out and simply says he can't tell us because he's hiding behind freedom of information. He wants to protect the reputation of the individual involved. Meanwhile, he's destroying it.

Finally, the greatest insult of all—I want to leave a substantial amount of time for one of my colleagues to wrap up this debate—the most incredible situation of all is the John Piper issue. What is it they say now, that Piper picked a piece of personal papers from the office in the middle of the night or late at night with some staffer watching this? And we're just supposed to once again sit back and say: "Sorry, Mr Howard Hampton, Mr Attorney General. Sorry, Mr Premier. We don't mean to bother you. We're just curious. Do you have any idea what was in those boxes."

Could it be there was anything important to the good of public business? Could it be that he punched a button to wipe out a computer program? I don't know, but we can't find that out. This government acts in the most sanctimonious way. The Premier's own admission, on a television interview when they asked him why the opposition was giving him such a hard time, was, "Probably because of 10 years of sanctimony in opposition."

Let me tell you, that's only one of the reasons. The real reason is that this Premier's leadership is lacking. He's showing incompetence. He has no backup. He has a cabinet riddled with scandal, inexperience and mistakes. If you people believe we should show any kind of confidence in you, you have got to be kidding.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for London South.

Mr Stockwell: You told me you weren't speaking.

Mr Winninger: It's true that I said earlier that I wasn't speaking, but I was prompted to great heights of eloquence by some of the lofty sentiments expressed across the House just now. I think it behooves me to address the issue of scandal that seems to have taken up much of the debate today.

I represent London South, as you know, and it's only a short time ago—in fact, it seems like yesterday—that there was much brouhaha in the House about a certain former Solicitor General and party whip for the official opposition who found herself in some difficulty too. In those days, as an innocent bystander in London, I felt some empathy for her role and position in this House. I was also cognizant that she had brought many things to the riding of London South and that she had achieved a great deal over the course of her illustrious career on the board of education, on city council and finally as an honourable member in this House. Yet due to a late night visit at the Lucan detachment of the Ontario Provincial Police, all of that came crashing down around her.

I'm cognizant that in the spirit of the House at that time, her achievements were obliterated overnight by the fact of this scandal in which she found herself. I find quite distressing that this emphasis on negativity, this emphasis on scandal, this emphasis on trivial matters that detract from the important business of the House can consume the length and degree of attention it's being given today and that it has been through repeated question periods.

1730

It would seem to me that we come to this House with the mandate of our constituencies to address very real problems. The people who call my constituency office in London South have very immediate problems. Their concerns are with the economy, job creation and protecting quality and services in the kinds of programs this government delivers. I think the members of my community respect the fact that our government has taken some very concrete initiatives in protecting vulnerable people, delivering long-term care, delivering advocacy services, as my friend the member for Kitchener-Wilmot spoke of earlier—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Winninger: —in connection with introducing for the first time an environmental bill of rights, in connection with advancing the native agenda to a level that is unrivalled across this province, and I have some intimate knowledge of that.

I think we have to put these matters in perspective. We hear time and time again of the negative, but we don't hear often enough and we don't communicate well enough the achievements during two scant years in government of our party, and I think we have to be mindful of that.

At the end of the day, in 1995, when the next election is called—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

**Mr Winninger:** —I think that when we add up the list of achievements this government can take credit for—

**Mr Mahoney:** There will be little kids crying all over the province.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Winninger: —truly state-of-the-art legislation, very progressive legislation—the voters won't be as concerned as the opposition is today about some of these trivial events. They'll be looking at the achievements of this party and evaluating them and determining, I'm confident, in their own minds the overall policies set forth by this government and whether this government has made an honest effort to meet its commitments in the election of 1990. I think that honesty and integrity in carrying forward our policies will win the day with the voters in my riding and, I'm confident, across Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: Before I call for any more speakers, I just think I should say a couple of words. In the last few minutes we've had constant interruptions and interjections from members in the House. That's not acceptable. Interjections in the House are strictly out of order, and it's not fair to the honourable member who is speaking at the time. I would ask that we could please pay some respect to this House and to the honourable members.

Further debate?

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): Thanks a lot, Mr Speaker. I'm pleased to follow my colleague from London South and his very apposite remarks. I think it's true to say that in the face of these flights of rhetorical fancy that stem from the moral rectitude of the opposition, it certainly moves one to, I guess, respond in kind.

But I have to say that this subject doesn't really grab my attention the way it does the opposition's, and in fact it takes incidents like this to remind me that probably all ridings are faced with incidents like this. Of course the thing that comes to mind when I hear the member for London South discuss an incident in his riding is something that became known as the booze cruise in my area, which I'm sure many members in the House will be reminded of. It's remarkable how often that incident was raised, not only in the riding but also in other areas in the province. It gained, I would say, attention far beyond the proportions of the incident, but it just shows how important it is that we put these things in perspective. I mean, what has that got to do with good government?

I would say it's similar to many of the incidents that have been raised here. What has that got to do with good government? I think it's quite clear that people make mistakes and that, too often, in my view, the opposition leaps on these mistakes and rips them to shreds, very often at the expense of somebody's reputation. I think we would all agree that's wrong, compared to what can be done in more constructive forms of opposition.

I think it's quite clear to say we have made some mistakes. It was said right at the beginning that a government that was so new as ours, and including many new members, would make mistakes, but probably the worst thing to fear were the mistakes themselves, rather than try to do

things for the people of the province in a way we had long said we could do.

I find it a bit ironic, though, just to talk about how the opposition now calls into question our record in opposition. Why then don't they try to set a new standard of opposition by ignoring some of these incidents they think we used to criticize unfairly? Now they're doing the same thing. Why not set that new standard? However, that's up to them.

I think the worst thing is that they don't then criticize the things we're bringing forward in a way that will make it much clearer to the people of the province to see what we are trying to do, and I'm thinking of things like OTAB, where I think there is a place for constructive criticism, and in our initiatives in the environment and our labour initiatives. All these things should be criticized in a way that will lead to greater understanding and even better kinds of legislation. Instead, the things that grab the headlines are these rather superficial and meaningless, in the overall context, events.

The main point I want to make, as I say, as a new member who really wasn't that well acquainted with what went on in the days of opposition here, is that to be told that this is the way or even to see that this is the way the opposition should act in drawing these incidents before the House day after day and saying nothing new about them and ignoring the kinds of initiatives that we're doing and trying to bring up what should be done today when we all agree that there is a crisis here that wasn't created since we've been in government, that has deep roots and that have to be addressed in a very constructive way—I would say that there are better ways of doing things. I think the people in the province will realize that. I must say that in my riding I don't get these things thrown in my face very often. In fact, it's quite the opposite. There is sympathy, where it is raised; people realize that there are mistakes that are being made, but they recognize the superficial, meaningless nature in the way these things are done. But I submit that it will be the people who will decide in a couple of years' time just where the truth in this matter lies and whether the things we've been doing for the province have been to the overall benefit. I submit that we will see a good judgement in that case.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I'd like to conclude on behalf of the Liberal Party with some remarks this afternoon.

I want to begin my remarks by picking up something that the member for Kingston and The Islands has just observed and something that has been offered by the Premier himself in some comments that I saw. I will refer to an article in the Ottawa Citizen of November 30, 1992, wherein Bob Rae says, listen, we're having some trouble, but you must understand that "we are governing with a group, many of whom have never been in public life before, many of whom have never been in politics before."

The argument being advanced in this connection is, "Listen, give us time, be patient, because we are a group of inexperienced amateurs, neophytes in the business of politics and government." I just want to test that argument to this

extent: by asking my friends here and those listening out in television land to compare the record of this government with the records of the McKenna government, the Pawley government and the Romanow government, to take three non-Ontario examples. Because I think it is fair to say that any group of people, particularly a group that has no experience in office and is swept into power after never having been there before, deserves some consideration on that count. The member from Kingston's boss, the Premier, has said that a lot of the difficulty has to be credited to that inexperience.

I'm prepared to make some allowances, but I want to ask my friends in this chamber to look at the McKenna government, to look at the Pawley government, to look at the Romanow government. You will not find the mix of incompetence, nitwittery and—what else shall I call it?—scandal, in two particularly serious cases. To get this kind of nitwittery and incompetence you have to go back to the Barrett government 23 years ago in British Columbia.

Mr Sutherland: Oh, no, you don't.

Mr Conway: Oh, yes, you do. I'm telling you, I will be quite prepared to debate my friend the member for Oxford. And that's not to say there are not good people in this government. I accept that. But this parade that we have been witnessing here—this last six weeks has seen an endless array of maladministration and worse. So I want to ask people to compare the record of the Rae government with the Pawley government and with the Romanow government. Have you been watching the Saskatchewan government, a New Democratic government? I mean, they are not falling over themselves every day of the week with this kind of trouble, nor was the Pawley government, as I remember it, or the Schreyer government in the 1970s and 80s. So let's just put that in some kind of perspective.

My friend the member for Kitchener-Wilmot and others say, "You will not engage us"—I think I heard the member for Oxford say it as well—"on substantive questions." Let me say, as someone who has been around here probably too long, that when I look at this government and when I look at what it has done on public auto insurance, when I look at its current position on the common pause day, when I look at its position on gambling, when I see Pierre Berton lacerating the Rae government because he can't believe what it's up to, what are we to say about the principles of the New Democratic government?

1740

I don't want to be too provocative this afternoon but let me read a quote from the London Free Press from April 24, 1992. Let me quote an honourable member of the New Democratic caucus sitting in this chamber this afternoon:

"I don't think I have the luxury of a personal opinion in this matter of casino gambling. At a time when our government is cash-starved and trying to keep taxes down, I don't think that morals and ethics should enter into it."

That was my friend the honourable member for London South. I'm sure there is more to the quote and I think I know what he's saying there, but I have to tell you that is the kind of flexibility I never expected to hear from a principled New Democrat. If there seems to be some frustration on the part of the opposition in this matter, I mean,

what we are looking at now is Elmer Gantry; we're looking at Jim Bakker in all his sin.

I'm telling you I've sat here for 18 years and I have listened to the saints and prophets in politics, namely, the organized NDP, say that, "If only we have the chance, we would take you to the promised land of ethical purity such that you have never seen before." That has been the consistent line.

I want to say that I served in this place with people like Fred Burr and Fred Young, about whom I had no doubt in so far as their commitment to that kind of politics, but what have I seen now from my friend the Premier of this government—and I want to focus on two questions, because it is true to say the opposition does a lot of caterwauling about perhaps some trifling matters. I think that's fair to say about any opposition.

All governments have had their problems and that has to be admitted as well. When we were in government we had our share. The Davis and Robarts governments and all the governments have had their problems, but I submit that no provincial government in the history of Ontario has had on its copybook anything to match the Martel affair and the Piper affair.

What enrages me about the Martel affair—I'm even more angry about it now because I think I understand more about how it came to be that the honourable Minister of Northern Development was put in so pathetically a compromised position.

Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North): You forgot about Patti Starr.

Mr Conway: My friend says I forgot about Patti Starr. Patti Starr was a very serious matter for the Peterson government. It ought to have been treated seriously and, believe me, I think it was.

I was here the day, my friend from Wentworth, when Ashworth phoned in from wherever he was and almost instantly his office was sealed by the police. The idea that Gordon Ashworth would have been allowed, given his offence, to come back to this building and walk in there and clean out his files would have been preposterous.

Mr Winninger: Now he's in charge of the federal Liberal campaign. How did that happen?

Mr Conway: Let me just say that in the case of Ashworth's misconduct, the police investigation began almost immediately. What I remember up in that second-floor suite of offices was a great amount of police tape. He wasn't allowed into this office, nor was anybody else without police supervision.

The notion that John Piper, the dirty trickster—and think about Piper's crime. Think about what Piper was up to. I know he doesn't represent the views of people like Gordie Mills and I don't believe he represents too many of the views over there. For a government that has professed a concern about the disadvantaged in our society to see some scoundrel—and I won't use the word that I want to use because I'd be thrown out of here.

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): You're right because you never use—

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Conway: I just want to say that in the Piper case what we had was a senior official working in the Premier's office who was prepared to take information he ought not to have had and use that with wilful and premeditated intent against a defenceless woman in the court of public opinion and probably in the civil action involving the member for Kitchener, the former Minister of Energy, and that is reprehensible in the extreme. I submit that is qualitatively worse than anything I have seen in this place or know of in the so-called history and index of scandals. If I'm wrong, I will be happy to be shown how I am wrong.

The notion that any one of us, as an elected official or as an appointed assistant, would use our office to take information and to attack individuals in the community who have dared contest the government or the party is a notion so fundamentally repugnant as to make it almost unthinkable. The idea that this scoundrel, this dirty trickster was allowed to go back to this office and, with the help of another colleague, a person whom I know—I know Melody Morrison. I can't believe that she allowed herself to be caught in such a compromised position. I can't believe that she would allow herself to be brought into that mess. I can't believe that she didn't think or that somebody over there didn't think, "Even if there is nothing,"—and there may have been nothing—"I want to pay some respect to the police investigation and none of us will go back to the scene of the crime without the police there in a supervisory role."

If my friends opposite don't understand the problem with that, then this speech is for naught. But I say in relation to the Martel matter, and I've said it before, I've known the Minister of Northern Development and Mines longer than most of you and I know her to have been and, I believe, to be a decent, honourable person. I don't know what happened in that situation in Thunder Bay a year ago this week.

I can imagine the circumstances, because I know the combatant with whom she did battle. But it was absolutely unforgivable for her or any of the rest of us to have behaved the way she did, and that she did not, as a matter of honour and principle, offer her resignation is unacceptable. In the absence of her offering that, the Premier's not demanding it was equally unthinkable, and for her own benefit, if she had done so, her honour and her integrity might have been rehabilitated. As it is, she will carry that scar for the rest of her public life, and I don't blame her so much as I blame Bob Rae and that skunk Piper, who probably was in there advising in that—

Interjections.

**Mr Conway:** I'm sorry. It may be too much.

Mr Fletcher: A little low.

Mr Conway: Listen, if I did what John Piper did in the matter of Judi Harris, I would consider that I got off lightly to be called a skunk. I think what he did was reprehensible and I don't need to be given a button or a ribbon to feel that way, because that happens to be my view.

But I simply say that in allowing the Martel matter to go unchecked, what was John Piper or what was anyone else to conclude about what was permissible? If ever there ought to have been a clear message sent to the cabinet, to the caucus and to the Legislature, it was surely in the matter of the Martel case.

I have somewhere in my papers a copy of a letter the Premier was sending out to people on that matter. The Premier says to an Ontarian writing on the Martel matter, and I'll just quote the last paragraph:

"Since the beginning of this issue, Miss Martel has clearly acknowledged the seriousness of her mistake. She apologized for her remarks and she did everything in her power to make amends. She remains committed to serving the people of Ontario."

I don't doubt she remains committed, but she and her government did not do everything within their power to make amends. When she signed her oath of office, she committed herself to serve this province honestly and faithfully, to be vigilant, diligent and circumspect in the performance of her duties. Clearly, by her own admission, she failed the test of her own oath. But I simply repeat: In allowing the Martel matter to go without any penalty, Bob Rae created the environment where his good friend and adviser Mr Piper could contemplate and move to execute the dastardly deed against Judi Harris.

I say to my friends opposite, I think those two cases, the Martel case and the Piper case, are qualitatively different than any of the breaches of conduct that I've seen around here in a long time and I'm quite prepared to debate with you some of the other issues.

I see the member for Scarborough West here. I wasn't here the day that she and the member for Sudbury East had the difficulty with the College of Physicians and Surgeons. I wasn't here, but I'll tell you that in my view that was not an offence for which they ought to have withdrawn from cabinet. It was a breach, but I'm quite prepared to say, personally, that it was not a capital crime.

But I'm telling you, the Martel and the Piper cases are serious, qualitatively different issues. They have brought, rightly, the opprobrium of this Legislature and of the province down on the head of this beleaguered government. That's why we're here today debating this resolution, because while there are other issues, Bob Rae was right when he said three years ago that character and integrity are at the core of any good government.

**The Acting Speaker:** Mr Elston has moved want of confidence notice of motion number 3. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion, say "aye."

Those opposed to the motion, say "nay."

In my opinion, the nays have it.

Call in the members. There will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1752 until 1757.

The Acting Speaker: I would ask the members to please take their seats.

Mr Elston has moved want of confidence notice of motion number 3. All those in favour of the motion will please stand one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

### Ayes

Arnott, Beer, Brown, Callahan, Caplan, Carr, Chiarelli, Conway, Cordiano, Cousens, Cunningham, Daigeler, Elston,

Eves, Grandmaître, Harnick, Jackson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, Mancini, McClelland, McLean, McLeod, Miclash, Murdoch (Grey), Offer, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poirier, Poole, Ramsay, Runciman, Ruprecht, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Wilson (Simcoe West).

The Acting Speaker: Those opposed to the motion will please stand one at a time and be recognized by the Clerk.

### Navs

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Farnan, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hansen, Harrington, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathyssen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Pilkey, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers): The ayes are 43, the nays 61.

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes being 43 and the nays 61, I declare the motion lost.

1800

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker, I'd like to call the 29th and the 37th orders, with the unanimous consent of the assembly, together.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Do we have unanimous consent to bring those two standing orders to the floor? We do.

PAY EQUITY AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'ÉQUITÉ SALARIALE

Ms Murdock, on behalf of Mr Mackenzie, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 102, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'équité salariale.

PUBLIC SERVICE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE

Ms Murdock, on behalf of Mr Silipo, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la fonction publique et la Loi sur la négociation collective des employés de la Couronne.

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): I am very pleased to move both bills today for second reading. You will recall that more than a million working women in Ontario are covered by the Pay Equity Act of 1987, an act that we pioneered when we were in opposition. However, an estimated 420,000 women covered by the act cannot benefit

from it because they work in places where there are not enough male comparators. Bill 102 equips these women with new methods for attaining their pay equity rights: proportional value comparisons and proxy comparisons.

Let me be clear that this government is not putting its commitment to pay equity on hold for three years, as was suggested after the first reading of the bill. Pay equity rights are a reality now for nearly 600,000 women in this province. In less than a month, on January 1, 1993, pay equity becomes attainable for 340,000 more women in the private and broader public sectors through proportional value comparisons, and a year later, on January 1, 1994, another 80,000 women in the broader public sector will be able to benefit through proxy comparisons.

In addition, the government has already paid out millions of dollars for the achievement of pay equity, and millions more will be paid out this year and in future years until pay equity is achieved in the broader public sector.

The level of pay equity implementation that we expected by 1995 will now be reached in 1998. That does not mean that we have stopped pay equity for three years. What has been changed is the period over which the government will pay for pay equity.

Controlling the rate of payout in this long-term program is fully in keeping both with the economic realities outlined by the Treasurer and other cabinet ministers last week and with our commitment to achieving pay equity. At the same time, our government is taking immediate short-term action to combat—

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'm somewhat confused. I thought we were doing something new. I have here Bob Rae's brochure from November 1991, which says that they have already done this. Am I mistaken? Has this not been done?

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): That's not a point of order, actually. I'd ask the honourable member to please take his seat. I recognize the honourable member for Sudbury.

Ms Murdock: If the honourable member had been paying any attention whatsoever he would have heard that this has already been instituted since 1987 and that this government has continued with the program.

However, to continue, before I was interrupted, with the economic reality as outlined by both the Treasurer and all of the cabinet ministers last week and with our commitment to achieving pay equity, we're taking immediate short-term action to combat wage discrimination that affects working women in some of the lowest-paid jobs in the broader public sector, mainly care-giving and service occupations.

Today I am happy to provide more details about the pay equity down payment plan that the Minister of Labour mentioned. This program will provide payments before March 31, 1993, to the broader public sector workers who meet the criteria. The program will be similar to the recent child care wage enhancement program funded by the Ministry of Community and Social Services, which provided payments of \$2,000 towards pay equity for almost 14,000 individual child care workers.

Officials of the Ministry of Labour are surveying more than 1,750 agencies employing more than 20,000 workers in the broader public sector, and that survey will determine the number of women who qualify and will help establish the amount of the down payment per worker.

The agencies that are now being surveyed include home support, homemaker services, women's shelters, immigrant services, community mental health programs and developmental services, such as the associations for community living.

These agencies have been asked to return a questionnaire by December 11—by the end of this week. I urge the officials of the agencies, if they are listening out there, to cooperate fully so that we can expedite payment in this fiscal year; in other words, before March 31.

I want to point out that in the private sector, employers are expected to devote only 1% of their previous year's payroll to the achievement of pay equity, the same amount as required under the original legislation.

I must remind members that Bill 102, like Bill 168, which is not on the table, provides ground-breaking advancements in approaches to eliminate wage discrimination. Our new proxy methodology may well become a model for other jurisdictions, national and international, in their attempts to achieve pay equity.

I want to urge members to grant second reading of Bill 102 quickly so that it can proceed to public hearings before the standing committee on resources development during the winter months, and I look forward to the public debate that we'll be getting into when we're in that committee.

Bill 102 has a companion bill, Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act. The amendments stemming from these bills will extend pay equity to hundreds of thousands of Ontario women whose work is undervalued and underpaid, while at the same time preventing an unmanaged growth of the public service. By doing so, this government is fulfilling its strong commitments to correct both the historic and the systemic undervaluation of women's work and to administer the government's broad compensation responsibilities effectively and fairly.

1810

Currently, pay equity allows for job-to-job comparisons, which will be enhanced by proportional value and proxy comparison methods for achieving pay equity. Job-to-job wasn't too difficult; there were similar kinds of work being done by males and therefore it was easy to make the comparison. It became more difficult and took longer to determine, hence the reason we're at this stage only now, in terms of working out proportional value, but also in terms of the proxy comparisons.

While Bill 102 deals with the proxy comparison method that will affect women who are among the lowest-paid workers in Ontario's public sector, proxy comparisons will be used by the broader public sector organizations that cannot use job-to-job or proportional value because of a lack of male job classes.

Organizations that need to use the proxy method are generally those that provide health and community services, some libraries—and you'll be hearing from our member from the Niagara area where she'll be talking about some examples. The rape crisis centres are another example, child care centres, shelters for battered women and nursing homes, where there are many female workers but very few male workers, and certainly none in which the kind of work they do can be compared. So you have to go outside and look at a larger employer group in order to figure out what kind of job you're going to use as a proxy.

These agencies are often staffed entirely by women at pay levels that do not reflect the true value of the work performed. In many situations where no male comparators exist, pay equity office review officers and the pay equity hearings tribunal have found that a larger organization is the employer for pay equity purposes. In some cases, the province has been found to be the employer for pay equity purposes, and the implementation of proportional value and proxy pay equity methods that allow women to find male comparators for their jobs resolves the need for government-as-employer litigation as a means of achieving pay equity. Consequently, Bill 102 spells out the circumstances in which the crown is considered to be the employer of an individual for the purposes of the Pay Equity Act.

Another means of naming the province as employer has been through the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act. Currently, this act allows the Ontario Public Service Labour Relations Tribunal to decide if individuals are indeed crown employees, which then gives them the right to bargain collectively with the crown.

Bill 169, the other bill we are going to be debating on second reading today, amends the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act and the Public Service Act to allow the crown, as the employer, to establish once and for all its ability to determine who exactly is an employee of the government. These amendments place an important responsibility, the ability to determine the size and cost of the public service, in the hands of the government. The amendments will allow us to manage the size of the public service.

In closing, I'm honoured to be tabling these amendments today that fulfil this government's commitment to giving Ontario's working women the justice they so rightly deserve. In asking that both Bill 102 and Bill 169 go to the standing committee on resources development for further discussion, I encourage the members to support this important initiative.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? If there are none, further debate.

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I'm pleased to rise and participate in this debate on two important pieces of legislation. I have a somewhat different perspective from the parliamentary assistant who spoke before me, and I would also like to inform members of this House that I have a significant history and have participated in the development of pay equity policy virtually from day one.

It's one of the things I'm particularly proud of. As a Liberal government, when we arrived in office in 1985, what we found was that while Frank Miller had made all kinds of commitments about implementation of pay equity, in fact no work had been done.

We arrived in 1985 with the full intention of fulfilling our commitment to deal with the gender inequalities in the workforce, that portion of the gap in wages that was attributable to gender discrimination, the fact that women in this province were, and to a large degree still are, earning only about 63 to 65 cents when you compare that to what men are earning who are doing work of equal value and often in very, very similar situations. So we began in 1985 the development of a pay equity policy which I think every observer and everyone in this House, every fairminded person, would recognize as landmark legislation.

I remember when the now Minister of Housing, the member for Ottawa Centre, used to sit in her seat on the opposition benches and regularly question our Attorney General, the member for St George-St David, about when we were going to see this legislation, because the member for Ottawa Centre, as most people in the province, recognized the importance of having this legislation brought forward.

I want to tell her—I know she's in the House today—and others who are interested that the policy development in that area to ensure equal pay for work of equal value, as we called it, and call it today pay equity, in Ontario, was a very important policy development process, one that entailed much consultation and the development of a green paper. Initially, we started out with an approach to pay equity for the public sector, and at the time I was Chairman of Management Board, responsible for the Ontario civil service and was very involved in the development of those policies in the position of employer.

At the same time as that was going on, under the auspices of our Minister of Labour, who was doing an outstanding job in the development of pay equity policies from the perspective of the broader public sector as well as the private sector, we began a green paper development process for those outside government. As members will remember, the two came together and formed the pay equity legislation which has been now in law and in this province for some number of years.

When we tabled that legislation and when it was debated at committee, I had the opportunity to be a member of the committee that saw that legislation through the committee stage and process. I remember through those debates and discussions at committee arguing quite forcefully on some very technical, very complex, some would even say arcane points of view, that this was such landmark legislation that nobody could expect it would be perfect and nobody could expect that it would do everything everyone had hoped it would do. But our approach was always one of incremental change, incremental in the viewpoint that we would ultimately, and as rapidly as we could, achieve those goals.

What I found interesting and would like to share with the House today is that there were many members opposite, including the now Minister of Housing, former Minister of Health, the member for Ottawa Centre, for whom that approach was insufficient, and there are many speeches in Hansard and many discussions from members of the now government who felt that the approach of the Liberal government was not good enough, not fast enough and not going far enough.

1820

They delivered the message, I thought, in a very interesting way, because today, as the government, what we find is that they are not even going to be able to implement the Liberal legislation within the time frame and the time line that had been established under that original legislation. They are not only not going to be able to do what they said they were going to be able to do, they are not even able to do what we said we were able to do, which they said wasn't good enough for them at the time.

There's great irony, because time and again what we've seen from this NDP government is that it says one thing and it does the other. We know that's one of the reasons people are so disappointed in Bob Rae, that's one of the reasons that people are so disappointed in the NDP, and we know that's also one of the reasons the public is so cynical. Once again, when we examine Bill 169 and Bill 102, what we find is the NDP government said one thing while it was in opposition and is doing something very, very different. I'm going to point out some examples of that.

I'd like to deal first, if I could, with Bill 169, because, as I mentioned to you, that has to do with who is the employer. Having served as the Chairman of Management Board and the employer for the government, I understand the need for the government clearly to be able to establish that and clearly to be able, as the parliamentary assistant said and said quite well, to estimate what the implications of legislation will be.

I had occasions, as Minister of Health, when the question of who is the employer was a very significant and important one and under the existing legislation was being challenged by a number of organizations that were developing pay equity plans in accordance with the existing legislation and wanted rulings and opinions on who actually was the employer. There were two examples—actually, three examples—I found very interesting.

One example of who was the employer resulted in what became known as the McKechnie Ambulance decision, where the ambulance drivers, the ambulance attendants, who provide a very important service in the province of Ontario, were arguing, not for the purposes of pay equity but for the purposes of collective bargaining, as to who should be deemed to be the employers.

They argued that because their funding came almost wholly, 100%, from the government of Ontario, whether the service was delivered by the Ministry of Health or by a municipality or by a hospital or by a private sector provider, they should be considered crown employees. The tribunal actually agreed with the ambulance drivers, and the government—we were the government at the time—moved to declare that, for the purposes of collective bargaining, all ambulance drivers would be considered crown employees.

There were others who pursued this same line of reasoning. One, for example, was the Kingston-Frontenac children's aid society, a case which again the government lost and a case which I'd like to give a little bit of background on for the people in the House, because this really

does bring to the attention of everyone what Bill 169 is about and what some of the dilemmas were.

In 1990 the Canadian Union of Public Employees launched a legal challenge against the province of Ontario in an effort to have the Kingston-Frontenac children's aid society workers designated as employees of the province for the purposes of pay equity. This was slightly different from the ambulance attendants, because the ambulance attendants were seeking the status of crown employees not just for the purposes of pay equity but for bargaining purposes.

Here you had a situation where the Kingston-Frontenac children's aid society was arguing that, for the purposes of pay equity, its child care workers, workers who were referred to by the parliamentary assistant as being assisted by the legislation that's tabled today—they were challenging the government, and the reason for their challenge was so that they could compare themselves in a larger establishment, because under the legislation "establishment" is defined on the basis of who the employer is. That's quite technical, so therefore who your employer is is very important in this development of a pay equity plan.

At the time, the review officer agreed with CUPE and made the Kingston-Frontenac children's aid society workers government employees for the purposes of pay equity. The government appealed the decision and eventually lost its case before the pay equity hearings tribunal on September 14, 1992.

It's quite interesting, and I can go into the decision, but what the tribunal's decision really meant, and this is what's important, is that CUPE and the ministry—in this case it was the Ministry of Community and Social Services—had to negotiate a pay equity plan for these workers using civil service job comparisons as the relative comparator. That was a very significant finding as the pay equity plan stood, because it quite considerably broadened the concept of who was the employer. I will state today, very clearly, that it was never the intention of the original legislation for province-wide job comparison, and there was an understanding that each employer would develop a separate pay equity plan.

It was also never contemplated that every transfer payment partner, that every hospital, that every municipality, that every university, that every school board employee would, for the purposes of pay equity, be considered a provincial employee. It was never contemplated that the ambulance workers and the child care workers and all of those mental health workers and so forth who are funded completely in their programs by the provincial government but employed, under our view, by a community-based board often or by a corporate entity such as the public hospitals are would all, for the purposes of pay equity, be considered provincial employees.

There was one case that I found particularly interesting because it's one that the member for Ottawa Centre—and I see that she's in the House right now—and I had some experience with together. This was the case of the Haldimand-Norfolk nurses' association.

For the clarification of the Speaker and members of the House, the situation of the Haldimand-Norfolk nurses was identical to the situation of the Kingston-Frontenac children's aid society and it was identical in many respects to the case that was being made by the ambulance attendants. The difference was in that particular situation that the board of health, which was technically and, in my view, appropriately the employer of those nurses, launched a challenge because it wanted to determine who in fact was the employer.

ONA and the nurses were arguing that the provincial government was their employer because the provincial government largely funded and set the work rules under the Health Promotion and Protection Act for the public health unit, not only in Brant-Haldimand but for all public health units across the province. The Ontario Nurses' Association was making the case that in fact the province should be considered the employer and that the Brant-Haldimand nurses should be able to compare themselves with other employees who were not just members of the public health unit, but should, for example, be able to compare themselves with the police. They were arguing, I believe, that it wasn't the province of Ontario that was the employer but that it was in fact the municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk that was the employer. So there were some differences in that particular case.

#### 1830

But because of the province's interest in having the definitions clarified, the province, as a funding partner with the board of health and with the health unit, was sharing the funding for the court case for the appeal on the basis of having the definition clarified for the purposes of pay equity.

The reason I'm telling this story is that one of the very first things the NDP argued during the election campaign in the summer of 1990, after having questioned it and argued forcefully in this Legislature that it was a terrible thing that the provincial government was assisting in the funding of the court case in Haldimand-Norfolk, one of the very first things the member for Ottawa Centre, Ms Gigantes, did upon becoming Minister of Health was announce that she was withdrawing the funding support for the municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk in its case against the nurses. She said quite clearly and left the impression with the nurses that the reason she was doing this was that she was very supportive of the nurses in their quest to be able to compare themselves with a broader spectrum of employees, those either employed by the municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk or in fact provincial employees, if that was the ultimate decision.

Yet we see Bill 169, after that grandiose and, I would say, grand stand by the former Minister of Health, who I think left a very clear impression with the nurses in this province, left a very clear impression with the nurses' association in this province, that their policy was going to be significantly different from the policy of the previous government and that their actions would be significantly different. That was the impression that was left. We find today under Bill 169 that, having grandstanded, made all kinds of commitments and statements of intent, both spoken and unspoken, to the nurses in this province, Bill 169 says effectively to the Ontario Nurses' Association: "It doesn't matter what the decision will be of future

tribunals. We, the government of Ontario, will determine unilaterally when we are the employer and when we are not the employer."

This legislation actually removes the opportunity for future appeals and future arguments, not only for the nurses but for the Kingston and Frontenac child care workers, and has implications that go far beyond what I believe the women of this province, particularly those who believed the NDP and believed Bob Rae and thought they might do what they said they were going to do—but here again, as we've seen so often, the words and the deeds, the music and the lyrics don't match. You wonder why people are disappointed; you wonder why people are cynical.

When the parliamentary assistant stands up and in very glowing terms reads the remarks that have been given to her to again tell women about all the wonderful things this government's doing for them, she didn't mention the fact that they are planning to delay implementation of this legislation. She didn't mention the fact that Bill 169 actually takes away from those groups that have won decisions, that it actually takes away what they have won before the tribunals.

In fact, what it says to me and to many of the women and the women's organizations that thought they were going to benefit under an NDP government's pay equity plan is that not only have they begun to very seriously question the commitment of this NDP government, this Bob Rae government, but they are feeling deceived and betrayed.

I'm hopeful that in this debate the member for Ottawa Centre will speak on this issue and explain herself to the nurses of this province whom she so eloquently claimed to champion for the short time when she was the ill-fated Minister of Health in this province, whom she, I would say with respect, has disappointed so terribly by not telling them what this government was really going to do and leaving them with the impression that it was going to allow the Haldimand-Norfolk outcome to stand unchallenged and unchanged. That's what she did. She left them with that impression.

She told them she was taking away government support for Haldimand-Norfolk in their challenge and she never went back and said: "We've changed our mind. We now understand what the problem is. It is impossible for everybody who is funded by the provincial government to be considered a provincial employee. We made a mistake. That's not what we meant. We didn't understand. We were new," or just simply, "I was wrong." We never heard any of those statements coming from any member of those benches.

We never heard those statements coming from the ministers; we never heard those statements coming from those people who made commitments and promises which they are not keeping. I will say to them that this is what integrity is all about. Integrity is having the guts to stand up and say: "I was wrong. I made a mistake." Integrity is being able to stand up and say: "I may have left you with that impression. I'm really sorry, because I really didn't understand." That's the kind of integrity it takes to get people to have trust and confidence in those of us who are in public

office. When we tell them one thing and do the opposite, it tarnishes us all.

I remember that it wasn't any fun engaging in those debates and having to argue for incremental change and having to argue that pay equity legislation was landmark legislation and needed time to be implemented in an orderly way that would allow for the adjustments required. Yes, women had waited a long time for equity, and yes, we all wished that we could have seen the implementation of this legislation with a snap of the fingers, but the reality of this world is that very little happens with a snap of the fingers.

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): The Liberals had five years.

Mrs Caplan: I hear the member opposite talking about the fine Liberal record over five years in disparaging terms. I will say to him that it will be with pride that I match our five years in government and our achievements in public policy development and our commitment to equity and fairness with five years of Bob Rae and the NDP government in 1995. I will say to him that the people will judge. They will take a look at the Agenda for People and then they'll look at Bob Rae's record. They'll take a look at what you said when you were in opposition and what you did when you became the government.

Do you know something? I suggest to the people on the government benches that they will pay the ultimate price at the polls because the people of Ontario are fed up. They are fed up with empty promises. They are fed up with empty rhetoric. They don't like anybody who's going to tell them one thing and then do something else. They deserve better than that. I said that the best thing about democracy is that there's always another election.

### 1840

I happen to have some quotes from some of the women who are very disappointed in the NDP commitments and are actually questioning its commitment to equity and to pay equity.

In December 1992, the Minister of Labour announced that they were going to be putting off implementation until 1998. These are the amendments that were promised in throne speeches. These are the amendments that the NDP said were a priority for it. They have now been put off until 1998. The work we are doing here today on Bill 102 is really work that could wait for quite some time, but the reason I believe this government has lumped Bill 102 together with Bill 169 is that it wants Bill 169 and it wants it today so that it will be able to determine the employee status.

The rest of Bill 102 really could wait, because it's not going to be implemented until 1998. This government wants to be able to pass the legislation and say: "You see, we've done it. We've lived up to our commitment." But women are not going to be deceived. The women in this province understand and will know that the NDP and Bob Rae are telling them one thing and doing something very different.

Miss McCuaig said on behalf of her group and other women's groups that they had been assured repeatedly by the NDP that full pay equity was, and this article quoted, a "priority." They are worried because they know the NDP is not living up to that commitment.

I remember as though it happened yesterday, when this government changed some two and a half years ago, that it stated that the commitment to move to proportional value comparison was not sufficient. They were going to move and do that, and further proxy comparators. What we heard the parliamentary assistant say today is: "We are going to put all of that off. We are going to look at it and study it." It'll be in the legislation, but I say to the women of this province, do not be deceived. Understand exactly what this NDP government is doing. The 420,000 women who would have benefited by a proportional value amendment, which we have included in Bill 102, will now have to wait three years longer than what Bob Rae promised them.

I find it interesting that they've chosen the three-year mark. I've become a bit of a cynic too. Like the rest of the people in this province, I expected this was going to be an election promise by the NDP, that it would implement, three years from now, just about the time we're heading into an election—that they are going to restate their commitment to implement pay equity.

I can understand why people are so cynical. I can understand that because these are the same people who two years ago and three years ago and four years ago said, "The women in this province should not have to wait." They said then, "Do it now." Now that they are the government, they're putting this off beyond the next election. To me that is crass, cynical politics at its worst, and I'm ashamed that the government of Bob Rae would try to use the women in this province in that way.

I suggest that they will not be able to get away with it, that the women in this province will not be duped. All we have to do is take a look at many of the other promises this government has made that it has reneged on. This is just one more in a litany of broken promises. They've broken their commitment on so many of the things they promised in the Agenda for People, which we now know is in the shredder.

I would like to speak for a few minutes as well, if I may, on Bill 102, because it's interesting to see when this bill was finally tabled, especially when you compare it to when Bill 169 was tabled. Bill 169 is An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act, which deals primarily with the declaration of who is the employer. This was tabled December 18, 1991. Shortly after, within that first year, the priority for this government was to go back on its word to the nurses, to the child care workers, to all those people whom they championed and supported and misled.

I will say it clearly: I know that is a provocative word in this House, but if you look at the record, the nurses, the child care workers, the ambulance attendants can come to no other conclusion than that as a result of those cases this government moved, and moved fairly quickly, to change the definition of "employer." In December 1991, within one year of taking office, Bill 169 is there to make a change that nobody would have ever believed the NDP would have done.

Then, when do we see Bill 102 fulfilling their commitment on pay equity to the women of this province, doing what they said they were going to do in the Agenda for People, doing what they promised in the election of the summer of 1990, one full year after Bill 169 was tabled for the first time? On November 26, 1992, we see Bill 102 tabled for the first time, a full year later.

Why have they chosen to deal with these two pieces of legislation together? I've answered that question. As I say, I too am disappointed in the policies of Bob Rae. I too am disappointed and somewhat disgusted that they say one thing and they do the other. I am speaking for the women of this province who trusted Bob Rae and trusted the NDP that they would not turn their backs on their commitments to equity for women. But in fact that's exactly what the NDP has done. They've done it in quite an insidious way and they've also sent, I think, a very important message by tabling these two pieces of legislation one full year apart.

It's interesting also that we are going to see these bills now out to committee over this intersession, and this is the second reading debate. It's interesting because Bill 169 has been on the books now for well over a year. It's also interesting because Bill 102 is a relatively new piece of legislation, but before it's even gone to the committee, the Minister of Labour and the government have said: "We're not going to implement it. We're not going to implement the provisions of pay equity that would benefit women. We're going to delay it by three years."

I thought that was interesting because they made these announcements even before this bill has had second reading. They made this announcement even before this bill has gone to committee.

Now there is much in Bill 102 to commend it. I believe that there are many aspects and features of Bill 102 which respond to the initial piece of legislation, which, as I said, nobody could have expected would have been perfect because any landmark and new piece of legislation must be tested to see how it is working.

It is very common and very reasonable to expect to see amendments coming after you have had a piece of legislation that has been in place for a few years. That's the way the legislative process works. That's the way new legislation evolves and is developed. Anyone who is telling you the truth and sharing with you the facts of the legislative process will tell you that it is very rare that any piece of legislation is perfect, even if it's a housekeeping amendment or a drafting error.

### 1850

Those people who expect that there will be no amendments at committee because a piece of legislation is so perfect are often very surprised to find out that there are many, many amendments at the committee level. I expect that we will see many amendments to this piece of legislation. There will be a number of amendments at committee when we are dealing with these pieces of legislation. But the important thing is that there will be committee hearings.

I believe that, in principle, these pieces of legislation are worthy of support. I am not satisfied with the way the government intends to implement many of its policies and I would also suggest to people who are watching this

debate that the committee time is a very good time to really understand what the government is attempting to achieve. If you have a concern about it, you may write the committee or come in and ask to be heard. That's an important part of the public policy development process.

These pieces of legislation, as I said, are very significant. Pay equity in Ontario was introduced by the Liberal government. It is a piece of legislation which I believe is in need of some amendments and some change. I would also say that I think it is important for the government of Ontario to properly be able to plan, to properly be able to manage its resources and designate who its employees are. That is the reason our government was looking at the results of those test cases to determine what was an appropriate way of doing that without disadvantaging any of those people we wanted to see benefit under our pay equity legislation.

I want to be very clear about that. I'm not arguing against the policy. I'm arguing against the way this NDP government presented its policy. I'm arguing against the way it told people what it was going to do to and then, with this legislation, is doing something very different. They left the very clear impression that they were going to not change the definition of employer. They left the very clear impression that they were not going to intervene and make it more difficult for women to compare themselves with a broader spectrum of employees. They left the impression, when it came to the implementation of the proxy comparator, that it would be done at the same time as the proportional comparator.

That's what you told people and that was not true. That's not what you've done. It was wrong for you to raise people's expectations and tell them that's what you were going to do. It was wrong because it betrayed their trust in all of us. From time to time we will have differences of opinion and engage in partisan rhetoric, but at the bottom line, for all of us who enter public life, it is important that we maintain that public trust by ensuring that we are as honest as we can be.

I've always tried to do that when I represent the people of the riding of Oriole and I would implore Bob Rae, his NDP ministers and his NDP government caucus to please try to do better in the future. Stop the rhetoric. Stop telling people you're going to do one thing when you are going to do the opposite.

I would also say to them, if you get information that suggests that your policy is nuts or is going to be destructive to the province of Ontario or your ideology has run rampant and socialism is outdated and tilting your policies towards labour leadership is going to destroy confidence in this province, have the guts to stand up and say, "We were wrong." Have the guts to come clean with the people of this province and tell them the truth.

The reason I am so distressed and upset is that pay equity is a perfect example of what you shouldn't be doing in communicating to people and raising their expectations, telling them one thing and then doing the opposite.

I could go on at some length, but there have been a number of people who wish to participate in this debate. The House is planning to rise and, I understand, prorogue in the very near future, so I understand that the House leaders have made an agreement that we would deal with the two bills, Bill 169 and Bill 102, together and that our two critics could share our time for leadoff speakers, which is normally an hour and a half. I would therefore ask for unanimous consent that Ms Poole, the member for Eglinton, take up the remaining time for the leadoff speech in the normal rotation. If we have that unanimous consent, I will yield the floor.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): The member for Oriole has asked for unanimous consent for Ms Poole to share the lead time. Is it the pleasure of the House that the request be granted?

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would give our Progressive Conservative Party's consent to that proposal as long as the same principle applies to our party as well. I believe Mr Carr and I would be speaking.

The Acting Speaker: Agreed? The honourable member has agreement. Now we proceed in the normal order for questions and/or comments.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): Just a couple of comments. I think the statement of the member for Oriole has been somewhat overexuberant in many aspects. I'd like to remind the member for Oriole that if we go back in our memories to the period of 1985 when, for the first time in 42 years in Ontario, a government other than a Conservative government was formed, it was the members of the NDP caucus who at that point made it a point of insistence in order for the Liberals to be able to form a government that the Liberal government would have to proceed with pay equity. Our commitment to pay equity is long-lasting. It was the commitment which got this province moving on pay equity. I think the member for Oriole should both acknowledge that and accept that our commitment is a genuine one.

When she talks about the understanding of how we would proceed as we moved to carry out election promises to extend the pay equity legislation of this province to the hundreds of thousands of women who have not been covered by the old legislation, you would think that nothing in this province had changed in the last two years. You would think that times were booming in this province, that it was perfectly acceptable in this province that we could allow a system just to move out without having any discipline and that the public coffers would respond like that to it.

A lot has changed, and the member for Oriole should open her eyes, look around and understand that the women of this province understand that change has happened and that they know that when we extend the legislation, even though it will take a longer period of time, they're going to get pay equity, when they didn't have it under Liberal legislation.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel.

Mr Tilson: I was not going to respond to the member for Oriole's comments until I heard the Minister of Housing comment with direct criticism to her. Although I'm as critical

as she is of the Liberal Party, I would remind the New Democratic Party, which is are putting forward this legislation, exactly what its promise was in the agenda for power.

Specifically, on page 4 of that document they talked about pay equity and they talked about the Liberal pay equity bill and they said that:

"The Liberal pay equity bill, passed in June, 1987, excludes hundreds of thousands of women, many of whom, such as garment workers and child care workers, are among the lowest-paid workers in the province.

"New Democrats would pass legislation that covers all women. The cost to the government of eliminating current exemptions is estimated to be \$60 million."

That's what the New Democratic agenda for power says. But now we're in the debate of Bill 102, and what she forgot to say was that her legislation isn't treating all women the same, that we're going to have exactly one sector, the private sector, that's going to be dealt with now. For the public sector we're now talking about 1998, according to the announcement from the Minister of Labour. Already the promises that have been made by this government on probably one of its major planks, the protection of women in this society, are just thrown out the window.

So the member for Oriole is correct, although I obviously didn't agree with her philosophy when she was in power. Her comments today are quite timely. You people stood up and made these promises during the election. This was in August of 1990 prior to the election. Well, read it. There it is in black and white. You're contradicting your election promises. The people, and particularly the women in this province, don't trust you.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Sudbury.

Ms Murdock: I want to comment on the comments made by the member for Oriole because, first of all, this is not being implemented in 1998. In fact, it is being implemented on January 1, 1993, and must be completed by 1998, so there is no question that it is being delayed by three years, as the member has wrongly stated. The second phase for proxy comparison starts January 1, 1994.

I would also like to say that if there was no commitment by this government to do this, then these bills would not be the priority they have been in the House leader's negotiations in order to get this done before this House rises, because we want this to be law. The previous government, admittedly, put job-to-job comparisons into the Pay Equity Act very well. However, they did not go any further. Proportional comparison and proxy comparison were not even looked at. Nothing was proceeded with. We are putting it in law, it will be law and it will not be allowed to be put off by us when we win the next election or by any other government that comes after us.

You're right that women will not be duped. You're absolutely right, and we're going to see that those bills become legislation so that they cannot be duped. We said we were going to do it in our Agenda for People and we are doing it in the first session in which we sit.

The Acting Speaker: One final participant.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have to really disagree with the comments of the member for Ottawa Centre

The Acting Speaker: I must remind the honourable member we're dealing with the member for Oriole's presentation.

Ms Poole: Yes. When dealing with the member for Oriole's comments she was perfectly correct in saying that this government has betrayed its promise to the women in this province. When the government says that, "We're in different economic times," let me remind the members in the government that when this legislation was brought in in December of 1991 Ontario was in a deep recession. They knew the economic picture, they knew there was a huge deficit, and yet they brought the legislation in and they said to women, "We are going to do this because we believe in it." Yet month after month, day after day we had them stalling on it saying, "Well, it's the economy." They knew the straits of the economy. They knew what kind of money was required for pay equity. For them now to cry poor mouth and say they don't have the money just doesn't wash.

When the members say outrageous things, such as that they are doing it in the first session possible, let me remind you that this government, in the speech from the throne in November 1990, promised that they were bringing in pay equity. The next month I said, "Where is your pay equity?" Finally, over a year later, in December 1991, they introduced the bill and they let it sit.

People out there are very disillusioned. Like I said, they were promised this was coming, and we are now over two years since they made that promise that they were bringing it in, and this member has the nerve to say they brought it in in the first session possible.

This government is just full of it. They aren't telling the people the way it is.

**The Acting Speaker:** The honourable member for Oriole has two minutes in response.

Mrs Caplan: I know the member for Sudbury was not in the House between 1987 and 1990, but I would tell her that there was a ministerial statement of an announcement by the Minister of Labour at that time—it was actually in 1990—announcing many of the amendments that are contained in Bill 102 that it took this government two years to table, particularly the amendment on proportional value. That was announced and stated early in 1990—

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** You had five years. Why couldn't you get it together in five years in good times?

Mrs Caplan: —that that was the intention of the government, that was the policy of the government, and it was the member for Ottawa Centre and many of the members from the NDP government who stood in their place and said that wasn't good enough; told the people, the women of this province, "Elect us the government and we'll do better," and in fact they haven't; they've done worse. They are not even going to be able to implement the pay equity plan that is in place.

Hon Ms Gigantes: We're going to get it done.

Mrs Caplan: Further, I would say to the member for Ottawa Centre that the women of this province will not be deceived by her rhetoric. They are furious, frustrated and angry. They know it is the NDP's economic policies that have delayed economic recovery. They know equity can only be achieved in good, buoyant economic times when there is the confidence and the resources that will allow for these kinds of important public policy measures to be implemented in a fiscally responsible way. Women understand that. What they don't understand is that they have an NDP government that tells them one thing and does something which is very, very different and that stands here today more interested in the credit than the cash.

I was the first one in this House to acknowledge that there were many people in this House committed to the principles of pay equity, including the member for Ottawa Centre. I don't question her motivation; I question her competence.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate? The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel.

Mr Tilson: This evening we are debating two bills at the same time, Bill 102, which was introduced by Mr Mackenzie, which is An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act, and the second reading of Bill 169, which is An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act, which was introduced by Mr Silipo. I will be restricting my comments to Bill 102 and allowing my colleagues to debate 169.

Employment—pay equity is a subject that—

Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings): Employment's very important too.

Mr Tilson: Employment is indeed very important, and I think that is what this of course is all about, dealing specifically with employment, and that has been the disparity between men and women over the years. Probably the gap has been expanding, and I think all three parties, the Liberal Party, in spite of its faults in the last time it was in power, the New Democratic Party and the Progressive Conservative Party, are all concerned with that subject. We've all made those statements at different times, and I think you pick up any pieces of literature dealing on that subject and it's a general concern of all of us, how are we going to stop that gap between the unfairness of the high wages men are earning and the lower wages women are making. It's a problem this government has put forward in this bill and its predecessor, which is Bill 168.

There's no question, when you pick up such pamphlets—the one I have before me is the pamphlet that's put out by the Pay Equity Commission. I'm not too sure of the date of it, but the information that I would relay was as accurate when it was written as it is now. It talks about why we need pay equity and, "Doesn't Ontario already have equal pay laws?" I'd just like to quote from those two sections, because that explains the spirit of all three political parties when we are trying to work to solve this problem.

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The first comment is, "Why do we need pay equity?"

"In 1986, the average salary for a full-time working woman in Ontario was \$20,710. The average salary for a

man working full time was \$32,120. At that time—"and this was 1986"—there was a 36% difference between the rates paid to men and women and that difference is called the wage gap," which is a term all of us have used.

"Studies have shown that nearly one quarter to one third of the wage gap results from so-called women's work not being valued or paid as highly as men's work. Pay equity, which reflects 87% of working women in Ontario, seeks to eliminate this portion of the wage gap."

Clearly, that's what this government is trying to do, to eliminate the wage gap. I refer to what its promise was during the last election in the Agenda for People, and I will be referring to that again, because I really don't believe this government has honoured its commitment to the people of Ontario, and particularly the women of Ontario, by its specific policies that it is following today.

The question is asked, "Doesn't Ontario already have equal pay laws?"

"Yes. Equal pay for equal work is not the same as pay equity. Under equal pay for equal work, all employees performing similar jobs must be paid the same. For example, electricians in the same workplace must be paid the same, regardless of their sex. Pay equity, on the other hand, requires employers to pay men and women the same for jobs that are different but are of similar value, a secretary and a grounds keeper, for example. It's the difference between comparing apples with apples and comparing apples with oranges," all of which statements have been made by all of us at different times in this House and outside this House. The question is, how are we going to solve it, particularly in these difficult times?

I will be commenting on Bill 102 very briefly soon, but the difficulty that I and members on this side of the House have as we're proceeding with trying to solve this wage gap is the sudden realization of this government that it doesn't have, in these recessionary times, the ability to solve it as fast as it wanted to. Therefore, the minister made an announcement that those women in the public sector—and I correct the member for Sudbury when she commented that this bill was not going to wait until 1998. The fact of the matter is that we have two groups of women. We have women in the public sector and we have women in private sector and they're not being treated the same.

When I say that, then I turn to the Agenda for People, which is the document the New Democratic Party has relied on, the party itself, when it meets in conventions and when it meets in this House. All of a sudden that policy isn't being followed. But this is what they said, and I'll read it again. I did read it when I was responding to the comments made by the member for Oriole.

"The Liberal pay equity bill, passed in June 1987, excludes hundreds of thousands of women—many of whom, such as garment workers and child care workers, are among the lowest-paid workers in the province. New Democrats would pass legislation that covers all women."

I emphasize the words "all women." Does this legislation cover all women? The answer is, it doesn't. It covers the private sector. In the legislation, the philosophy that we're looking for is for them to honour their promise and solve this wage gap for all women, and they're not doing that.

I continue reading from the document, Agenda for People: "The cost to the government of eliminating current exemptions is estimated to be \$60 million." That's the very short passage that is referred to in the document Agenda for People, which members of this government carried around with them, all of the candidates who were running for office and all of the members of the New Democratic Party, when they were running for office.

It is referred to in this document, and this is what they said: "This is how we're going to solve the problems in this province," and they referred specifically to pay equity. The question is, have they done it? Clearly they haven't.

When you start referring to what has been going on recently, the Treasurer has acknowledged the fiscal problems of this province. The revenue isn't coming in. Job losses are unbelievable. Companies are closing down. We're in a terrible recession. The government can't make ends meet. Why in the world do they think private enterprise is going to make ends meet?

They're cutting back on hospitals. They're cutting back on the municipalities. They're cutting back on school boards. They're cutting back on colleges and universities. Tuition fees are going to go up because of the policies of this government. So they say everybody else is going to have to toe the line. They're going to have to cut back, and therefore the whole philosophy of pay equity, with respect to the public sector, is being delayed.

But with respect to the private sector, they're right on stream and they're going to ram it through with those businesses, notwithstanding the fact of the job losses and notwithstanding the unbelievable unemployment and terrible feeling that this recession is making in the working people of this province and the people who are trying to get the economy in this province moving again.

At the end of November, of course, the minister made his announcement as to what he's going to do with the public sector. I think it's important that we revisit those words that the minister made, when we're debating Bill 102, because Bill 102 does not cover all women.

There are two articles from the Toronto newspapers, and they essentially say the same thing. One is the Toronto Star and one is the Toronto Sun. They both refer to the announcements that were made by the minister previously, and the concerns that the women in the public sector have and the feeling of despair they have. They counted on you people. They really did. They thought you were going to support them on this, and yet you're not.

One article is by Peter Small of the Toronto Star. It was reported on November 27. "Tough times mean at least 420,000 working women will have to wait three years longer than promised for full pay equity," the New Democratic government announced.

**Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North):** You wouldn't have had it at all if it wasn't for us.

Mr Tilson: Listen, the fact of the matter is that you promised all women in this province that there would be pay equity in this province, and the fact of the matter is that you haven't honoured your promise. The article continues with a quote from the Labour minister, Mr Mackenzie:

"'Our resolve has not weakened, but the economy has,' said Labour minister Bob Mackenzie in announcing a delay in promised amendments to the Pay Equity Act."

Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East): How about 42 years ago?

Mr Tilson: Listen, don't talk about 42 years. We're now talking in 1992. If you're going to heckle, get in your right seat. I'm simply saying—I'm sorry; I addressed the wrong member. You're both up there yattering away. But I'm simply saying that we're not talking about what happened 42 years ago; we're talking about the promises you made to people and the women of this province. You're not honouring them, and this is the most flagrant example of a breach of promise. You're not fit to govern if you're going to make these irresponsible promises and then just revoke them.

Mr Mackenzie, in a quote in the Toronto Star: "'Our resolve has not weakened, but the economy has,' said Labour minister Bob Mackenzie in announcing a delay in promised amendments to the Pay Equity Act." Isn't that wonderful doublespeak? You know, we're going to carry on, but we're going to delay it. Yet Bill 102 is right on schedule. The heck with business in this province.

We turn on the television, and particularly the labour leaders and the parliamentary assistant and others connected with the Minister of Labour talk about the wonderful business partnership that's being formed between labour and business in this province. We have never seen those two groups further apart than they are now, never. How in the world are you going to make this province get moving when you keep having the adversarial system and you're making that whole process—they're hating each other. Why? Because of your crazy legislation and because of your contradictory legislation. So Mr Mackenzie saying, "Our resolve has not weakened, but the economy has"—their resolve has weakened. They're not honouring their commitment to all women in this province.

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I'm continuing on with this article:

"The NDP had vowed to extend the law to thousands of women in the broader public sector who weren't already covered because they work in facilities—such as hospitals and day care centres—that lack direct male counterparts against which their wages can be compared." What doubletalk. What doublespeak. It doesn't make any sense.

The fact of the matter is that they realize they have to delay it, because this government will go bankrupt. It's probably bankrupt now. Yet they think that all the private enterprise that is going to be forced by Bill 102 to honour this schedule that's set forth of company size, employees starting January 1, 1991, to January 1, 1994, is going to be honoured. They say: "Plow ahead. It doesn't matter whether you're going bankrupt or whether you're pulling up and going to the United States. You've got to do it."

Carrying on with Mr Small's brief report on the minister's announcement to abandon the women in the public sector, "Those women—who now won't get full pay equity until 1998, instead of 1995 as originally promised—

said they feel 'insulted' and will take their fight for fair wages to the steps of the Legislature."

They've been here. Big deal. Have they listened? Here we are debating just moments before Christmas and a large portion of the women in this province are not going to receive, are not going to have the results of that promise that was made by this government during the election.

They then give a quote by Kerry McCuaig, who is the executive director of the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care. She says:

""We've accepted their""—referring to the NDP—"word and we've been polite for far too long,' said Kerry McCuaig, executive director of the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care, which represents 14,000 women in non-profit child care centres.

"The only way to be heard now is to make a fuss,' she said, adding the coalition is organizing a protest with other groups."

If they are consistent, and I suspect they will be consistent, I hate to tell you, Ms McCuaig, if you're out there listening, that these people won't listen to you. They're plowing ahead, notwithstanding the contradictory stances they've been taking in this House.

The article from the Toronto Sun is similar. I don't know who wrote it; there's no name. But it's a report on the same announcement of the minister. It was made the same day. I'm going to refer briefly to it. The member for Eglinton I believe will be pleased because she's quoted in this article, and she's probably going to quote it herself, but I'll save her the time.

It talks about, "The province will delay implementing its \$1-billion pay equity plans by three years, says Labour Minister Bob Mackenzie." November 26, on this Bill 102 which we are now in the process of debating, "Mackenzie yesterday introduced legislation that allows the government to defer pay equity costs by extending the deadline in the public sector from 1995 to 1998."

Then he gives the same quote that Mr Small referred to, saying, "Our resolve has not weakened, but the economy has." I say your resolve has weakened. You haven't honoured your commitment set forth in An Agenda for People. You aren't treating all of the women in this province the same. There's no other way of looking at it. You can talk about 1995. The fact is, you've got two different sets of dates for two different sets of women, and either you're going to treat all of the women in this province the same or you're not.

"The government announced last December it would extend pay equity to cover another 420,000 women—193,000 in the public sector and 227,000 in the private sector.

"A Labour ministry spokesman said the new law will save the province \$45 million of the \$285 million set aside for pay equity this fiscal year." That just tells you in a nutshell what this government thinks of the women in the public sector of this province.

Here they referred to the member for Eglinton, and I'll quote it—maybe she'll put me in her newsletter. "Liberal MPP Dianne Poole said the delay will cost the NDP its credibility in dealing with the issue of protecting women." And she's right. She's absolutely right. I hate to admit it

because I don't like agreeing with her quite often. We've had many sessions together and it does bother me when I do agree with her, but I do agree with her on this specific point.

It continues on quoting the member for Eglinton, Dianne Poole. "She charged the NDP has known it couldn't keep its pay equity promises since unveiling the plans." And again she's right. Two points for the member for Eglinton.

The fact of the matter is it gets back to this whole issue of keeping your word. You run for office. The people of this province have become so disillusioned. There's no question. You'll stand up and say: "What about the Tories in Ottawa? What about Mr Bush?" They keep coming as we speak, and there's no question. All of this isn't your fault. There is a worldwide recession. But then you start comparing policies in this province to what's going on around us, what's going on in other provinces. There's more unemployment in this province than the rest of Canada. Why is that?

It gets back to a question I often ask the members of the government. If you wanted to invest in this province, if you wanted to start up a new business, you'd look at taxes. You'd look at labour laws. You'd look at the existing businesses. People are holding on by their fingertips. The government's holding on by its fingertips, which is why it's delaying this legislation.

I simply say: "Treat all women the same. Don't have one group in the public sector different from one group in the private sector." Again, it's that whole antagonistic feeling. It's the whole issue of fairness.

Finally, there have been protests, there have been press conferences. The Equal Pay Coalition, which I referred to, did hold a press conference on this subject and it's very concerned. There's a quote that was given in the Toronto Star on December 1 that expresses the frustration of the women in this province who have counted on this government to protect their rights, to honour the commitment that was made in An Agenda for People. I'm going to quote very briefly from that article as well. I'll only refer to three on this particular subject.

"Women's groups from across the province have vowed to hold the New Democratic government to its pledge of full pay equity—and they want it sooner rather than later.

"Representatives of the Equal Pay Coalition, an alliance of women's organizations and unions representing about a million people, told a news conference yesterday"—this would have been the last day of November—"they will lobby Premier Bob Rae to introduce immediately legislative amendments to the Pay Equity Act that Queen's Park has decided to put off until 1998."

Again, the member for Sudbury says, "Oh, it's not 1998; that isn't what this bill says." You're right, that isn't what this bill says, but the very fact of the matter is that you've got people in the public sector who now have to wait until 1998. You've put it all off. There's no other way about it. They are treating women differently in this province, and the whole issue of treating everybody the same, particularly on this issue, has been thrown down the tubes.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): What, you want us to speed it up now?

**Mr Tilson:** I'm just simply asking you to honour your commitments and be fair.

"The amendments would extend the principle of equal pay for work of equal value to public sector women not previously covered because they work in centres like hospitals and day care that lack male counterparts whose jobs and wages can be compared with theirs. At least 420,000 women would be affected"—I repeat, 420,000 women. They say, "Oh, well, they can wait until 1998."

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A quote from Pat Bird, who represents one of the people who appeared at this press conference:

"The economic analysis that says the deficit is the overall priority is a big mistake....The Catholic Church has revised its catechism of sins and one of the changes declares that paying unfair wages is now theft. That is the core—"

Interjection: Finally.

Mr Tilson: Well, finally, and yet you continue to be contradictory in this whole subject. You keep saying you're holding the torch for women. Well, the torch has fallen. It's gone out. That's what's happened in this province and it's because of this New Democratic Party, the people who have broken their promises from the last election.

Ms Bird continues: "That is the core of what the government is doing—and it's not petty theft. It is allowing employers to continue stealing from women." She's worried about the signal the NDP decision will send to the business community. "I am concerned that private sector employers will now use the excuse of restraint to pay unfair wages."

That's assuming they're still around. Businesses do operate—not like this government, of course; it doesn't seem to have any fiscal plan. Their deficit just keeps going higher and higher. They've got an endless supply of money with all the strange philosophies and policies that they can implement. Yet for businesses, if that gets too high, they're cut off. The banks cut them off. They're gone. They're foreclosed on. So long. Farewell. They're out of here. They're either on the bread lines collecting social assistance or they've left the country. Or they've left the province. Many of them aren't leaving the country; they're leaving the province for a more healthy economic area than what is going on in this province.

"Coalition member Kerry McCuaig charged that 'women on the lowest rung of the ladder are once again being told that they don't matter." That's what you're saying. You're saying women in this province don't matter. That's what you're saying with your policies on pay equity. She continues by saying, "'There seems to be an assumption out there that there have to be sacrifices that should be equally shared.'"

Of course, you know, the Treasurer has talked about some of his new fiscal policies—the issue of transfer payments. Do you remember the promise that was made of 1, 2 and 2? Well, now it's 1, 2 and minus 2. That's the percentage of the transfer payments that are being made. It's affecting hospitals. It's affecting school boards. I mean,

there's a municipality in my riding, the town of Caledon, where people aren't even paying their taxes. They can't even afford to pay their taxes, and the tax debts that are going—and I'm sure the town of Caledon isn't any different than the constituents in your ridings. The municipalities are in deep trouble. Why are they in deep trouble? Because people can't afford to pay their taxes. Unbelievable increases in percentages of people who can't pay their taxes.

So the Treasurer says that we're going to have to hold the line, we're going to have to delay this whole issue of pay equity for the public sector, and yet, notwithstanding these tragedies that are going on all around our province, this bill is going to plow ahead; the business community can afford it. He says the business community can afford it, but can they afford it? I mean, my goodness. Look at the statistics of job losses, just business closures and job losses.

You know, there was an announcement that was made back, again, in the latter part of November of a provincial Labour minister report that talked about a record 127 major business closures this year. That was announced in the government report. The provincial Labour minister report says that 23,491 jobs disappeared in the first 10 months of the year as 176 large companies closed or scaled down operations. These are the people who are going to have to be paying for this legislation, people who are going out of business. No wonder the revenue's down. No wonder there's no revenue. No wonder we're in such dire straits in this province compared to what's going on all around us.

Treasury policy assistant Simon Rosenblum said, "The figures are a sign the recession has been deeper and more prolonged than anyone had suspected." The report says 104 companies employing at least 50 workers each shut down their doors from January 1 to October 31, and another 23 served notice that they will close by year's end. Unprecedented. We're in terrible, terrible times, and yet this bill says everything's fine, notwithstanding the fact that revenue is down far lower than what the Treasurer had felt. I suspect that as he stands up more and more we're going to find more and more information as to exactly how terrible the financial state of this government is.

Again, I emphasize, the whole philosophy of this government is that there's lots of money in the government, because we'll just keep spending it. We know the deficit will get higher; it doesn't matter. But private enterprise, which is going to be funding pay equity, Bill 102, what will happen to it? If they don't have the money, they can't provide it. There will be no jobs. The companies will close down, because that's the philosophy on the one hand that the NDP is saying for its own operations, and yet for business, "Oh, the heck with business." We saw what they felt with Bill 40 and some of these other pieces of legislation, though now the most amazing part is Bill 80, where they're going against unions.

Mr Rosenblum also said, "Government forecasters predict modest economic growth next year," and added, "We would be very, very surprised if the numbers don't improve." So this is going to continue; the whole state of job loss, as it appears from the government's own

reports, is going to continue; the whole issue of job closings is going to continue.

Problems with seniors: We've just finished debating the long-term care issue and the whole philosophy of the Minister of Health where seniors are going to face health cuts and jumps, and it was indicated in that debate that 33,500 seniors face higher nursing home fees of up to \$330 a month under a plan to overhaul Ontario's long-term care system.

You start looking at the information that's gradually coming forward as to the desperate straits that school boards are being put into, which plan, hopefully, far ahead, notwithstanding the very strange policies that are coming out of this government from Mr Silipo on non-fiscal matters. School boards and the administration of school boards are having a very difficult time operating. Again, the philosophy is quite clear with Bill 101: Everything's okay with those guys to do it, but we're not going to do it. Again, it's creating a disparity.

Remember the whole issue from my opening comments: It's called pay equity. Already by passing this bill they're going to have a disparity; they're going to have a disparity between women. The whole subject of pay equity, the whole matter that all three parties have supported, is a contradiction. We were trying to talk about the disparity of pay between men and women. Now we're going to have a disparity between women by your policies.

You look at some of the reports that the Treasurer has gradually talked about in the scrums in the last number of weeks, and there were hints at one point of 63 conceivable ways for Queen's Park to raise money. There's a list revealed of different ways. They're going to sell things. They're going to sell GO buses. They're going to sell things all over the place because they're broke. They're absolutely broke, which is why they made this announcement that they're going to delay pay equity for women in the public sector to 1998. They're broke, and yet they won't acknowledge the fact that people in business are broke, and they're doing nothing about it.

His rationale for this whole thing is, to quote one of the papers, Mr Laughren, the Treasurer, saying, "The recovery is a bit bumpy and slow, so that we still have a lot of problems containing our expenditures in order to meet our fiscal targets." It's fine for him to say that; he's got control of the cards. But business doesn't. They're going to be stuck with all these funny taxes that are coming out. This government has put more taxes than any other government in the history of this province has ever done; even worse than the Liberals, and the Liberals were a disaster. You people went during the last election campaign and talked about what they were like. They're beautiful compared to what you're doing—

[Applause]

Mr Tilson: Well, don't let it go to your head. Finally, it said that the revenues the Treasurer was counting on to pay for the promises they've made, including pay equity, haven't materialized because people and businesses aren't making as much money as the Treasurer had originally hoped. It's taken him two years to come to that conclusion.

Doesn't he read the newspapers? Doesn't he read his own provincial reports?

I'm going to close because of my agreement that Mr Carr, from our party, is going to make a few comments. I will close by repeating my thoughts that what this bill is doing is creating the problem it was trying to solve. It was trying to solve the subject of pay equity, but by doing so, you have women making wages up here, up high, and then you have a lower wage scale to the people in the public sector, so that gives me grave concerns that this government has not honoured its promises.

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**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel, Ouestions and/or comments?

Ms Murdock: I want to thank the member for Dufferin-Peel for getting into the fray. However, I have to clarify some things for him in regard to the disparity issue he's mentioned.

First of all, I would point out that pay equity in 1987 came into being following the accord with the New Democrats and the Liberals. Second, I would also strongly urge that he look at the difference between the public and private sectors.

Women in the public sector, first of all, have much more stringent requirements. They have to have job-to-job and proportional value comparisons, and they must achieve pay equity by 1998; that's true. They started the job-to-job in 1990 and they're going to start the proportional value comparisons on January 1, 1993.

Women in the private sector, however, have no deadline whatsoever. The only requirement is that the employers must set aside 1% of the payroll from the previous year for pay equity adjustments; there is no deadline.

What I understand from the comments of the member for Dufferin-Peel is that, somehow or other, all women should be lumped in together and that it should be done automatically by one bill. I wish it were that easy. It's been over a year trying to figure out how we're going to do proxy alone.

If we treated the public and the private sectors the same way, we would end up putting a deadline of 1998 on the private sector, and then they would have to come up with all the money and, you're right, bad times for them, bad times for us too. But we'd be putting that kind of restraint on the private sector, and if that's what the Progressive Conservative Party is advocating, then I suppose we could consider it, but he'd have to answer to his corporate friends.

This bill goes some way to strike a balance between fairness to working women and private sector employers. Like I said, 1%; it is not applied to the private sector, there is no deadline, there is only a deadline on the public sector.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to add a couple of comments to my colleague's remarks here this evening. As usual, he has taken a fairly complex issue and cut right through it and put it in very simple terms that we can all understand.

I would reaffirm a lot of what he has said. This government asked the private sector to do things that it cannot do. They have told their transfer partners that they're going to be getting less money. It's kind of ironic that this socialist government blames the federal government for transfer payments, yet its transfer payments proportionately have been less than the federal government's were, which it criticized. That's why people are a little cynical about politicians.

We heard Bob Rae running around criticizing, saying that all the problems of the provincial government were the federal government's fault, and then he turns around and what he did to municipalities, universities, school boards and hospitals is going to hurt the very workers.

And I hear them talking about helping the women of this province. It's very ironic that they gave the nurses big increases and then turned around a year later and laid them all off. In a portion of my riding, in Burlington, the Joseph Brant Memorial Hospital is going to be laying off nurses at a record number. Pay equity won't matter when they're on the unemployment line. You could make it 50%, 100%, you can increase it 200%; it's not going to matter when they're on the unemployment line.

The point we want to get across is that it works the same for the private sector. All these programs, whether it's pay equity, employment equity, environmental assessments, aren't going to matter, because this government is driving jobs out in record numbers. Quite frankly, the people being hurt are the women of this province, who are losing their jobs and going from well-paying jobs to the unemployment line. It's a tragedy.

I compliment the member for his great speech. I hope the other side is going to listen to him.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Chatham-Kent.

Mr Hope: I was just going through Hansard and trying to understand where the Conservative Party was in 1987; that's still hard to understand. But there is something I want to try to understand. I remember a leadership campaign. During the leadership campaign—or was it during the provincial election?—the leader of the Conservative Party, the member Mr Harris, made a comment that he would repeal the pay equity legislation because he was not in favour of making sure that women are appropriately paid for their work? I know the member mentioned a three-party agreement in 1987, but I wasn't clear: Was it during the leadership campaign that the current leader of Progressive Conservative Party made that comment or was it during the 1990 election? I wonder if the member opposite could maybe clarify that for me, just so I get a clear understanding of where the people are.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): That's a flip-flop.

Mr Hope: Is that what they call it? I'd just like to know for my own interest, as I had the opportunity to read Hansard and I saw what was said back in 1987 on June 15, and I'm just curious about where the Progressive Conservative Party may be today.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant in questions and/or comments.

Ms Poole: I would like to make a few brief comments on the speech by Mr Tilson, the member for Dufferin-Peel. He has raised a number of valid points. The previous speaker was quite critical of where the Conservatives may stand on this bill, but I don't think you should make light of a number of things that he said.

Right now, it is very difficult for business. We have seen daily that there are bankruptcies. This is really a warning: Any time government comes in and imposes a system, even if it is something we agree with, there has to be a sensitivity to the impact it will have. The best thing that can possibly happen is if employers and employees work together in a very cooperative approach, because if it is imposed without this cooperative approach, it will not work, but I think that can be achieved.

I support pay equity. I am going to vote for this legislation and I'm not ashamed to say it, but at the same time, I say that there are ramifications and that we have to be very careful. We have to be very careful that we do not get bogged down in bureaucracy. We have to be very careful that when the regulations are put in place—and much of the substance of this bill, actually, will be in regulations—we must take care that the rules and the time frames are reasonable and that there is this cooperative approach between business, which must implement it, and the employees, who desperately need this pay equity.

I guess the bottom line is that we want this legislation, we must support this legislation. It's not perfect, and we'll talk about that later, but for heaven's sake, don't close your eyes to the fact that it must have some change.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel has two minutes in response.

Mr Tilson: I notice that when the members of the government are desperate, they always point to what somebody did 42 years ago or what the people in Ottawa are doing or what Mr Bush is doing or Mr Clinton is doing. The fact is, we're here talking about Bill 102. There's no question that if you look at the policies of this government on pay equity—and I'm talking about now. I'm talking about December and what this government has done as a result of the minister's announcements now, not 42 years ago or not last year or not X number of years ago. I'm talking about this bill, and there's no question—and there's no way the government can get around this unless it changes its philosophy—that this bill is creating a double standard in that there is one group of people, particularly women, which they are abandoning. I can simply say that in your attempts to solve it—all very admirable you're creating inequity.

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I'm simply going to close, if I have a few seconds, by reporting on a letter, which I'm sure will be referred to throughout this debate, from Catherine Swift, who is with the Canadian Federation of Independent Business. She says:

"The Canadian Federation of Independent Business is deeply concerned by the double-standard approach of the Ontario government to the issue of pay equity. The announcement yesterday, November 26, to delay the implementation of Bill 168 came complete with the rationale that the economy was too weak at this time."

The groups really haven't had an adequate chance, and I'm sure they're going to come forward at the hearings to do it, but that's the concern that is starting to come out, once they realize that what this government is creating inequity among women of this province.

The Acting Speaker: I wish to thank the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel for his participation. Further debate?

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): This is quite an intriguing debate, especially some of the things I've heard from the previous speaker. I believe he was saying that this government was in effect not doing enough to help women. Following from that logically, the supposition is that his party certainly would do that.

I put to you, member for Dufferin-Peel, that if we had moved ahead faster with pay equity, if we were pushing this any faster, is there any doubt that you would stand up right here, at this moment, in this House and say, "You are driving business out of this province"? There is absolutely no doubt that they would say that.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order. I would like to remind the honourable member to address her remarks through the Chair, please.

Ms Harrington: I am personally disappointed that pay equity cannot go forward more quickly in this province. I am personally very committed to it, and I believe we all are. It must happen. There's absolutely no doubt that it must happen. Why? Because it is an essential tool in a much bigger picture in our society, a much bigger change; that is, a change in attitudes in our society towards women and towards the disadvantaged, attitudes that have been around for decades, centuries, probably millennia. That is the reason, I believe, for me to be in this House, and I believe that is part of the reason for this government to be here: to redress some of the inequalities that have existed for a very long time, and we must move as quickly as possible.

Pay equity is part of full equity, and what is equity? Equality. What it means to me is some measure of control and some measure of choice in life. This reminds me, going back seven years ago, 1985, of when I was involved with the YWCA. I was the president at that time, and at the annual meetings I had to give a talk about the purpose of that organization. In the city of Niagara Falls, we provided different courses for women but also a residence for women who were in various desperate types of situations. Teaching women life skills, providing a residence and a haven, was in effect to allow these women some control in their lives and some choices in their lives.

I'd like to go back to that era. From the YWCA we had a group, called a social justice committee, which evolved from that. Part of the issues we addressed over the years from 1985 to 1990 were public forums. The first one was about the problem of prostitution. Second, we held one on pay equity, where we invited Shirley Carr. We had one on housing, the desperate situation of housing for women in

Niagara Falls. We held one on the socialization of women, that is, the attitudes that women are brought up with, and we had Rosemary Brown come and address the people of Niagara Falls at this public forum. We also more recently held one about pornography. So this group addressed very difficult controversial subjects, and the whole idea was to have women have choices and equality in their life.

Before I get to the bill, I'd like to make one other observation, that another symptom of inequality of women in our society is sexual assault. I see it as a vicious circle, that inequality causes sexual assault or makes that venue flexible enough that people feel they can do that, and sexual assault also causes inequality. So it is a vicious circle.

How and why has inequality been perpetuated in our society? It is lack of economic power, and that's exactly what this bill is here to address. Lack of economic power means you're trivialized in society. It is so important that we have the ability as women to have those choices and controls.

The other point I'd like to make here of the reason inequality is perpetuated is lack of political power. One of my personal goals is that in the very near future, this Legislature would be 50% women, and hopefully this House would function in a better way. I think most of us would support that.

The purpose of this bill is to allow women to have their full potential to strengthen and contribute to our economy. It will benefit our economy to have women's full skills, their creative talents, involved in our economy, and not just in certain segments of the economy.

I'd like to point out also that we must realize a very important point here, that equity does not bring anyone else down. I've heard some white males say that they fear this from our employment equity legislation that we are proposing. There is nothing to fear. Equity, equality, in fact liberates those who have enjoyed the privileged position in society. They need no longer struggle to maintain that artificial position. So both men and women will benefit from initiatives like pay equity and employment equity.

Historically, women have been in certain jobs and job groups such as care giving and service occupations, community service such as mental health service providers and the women who work in women's shelters. I remember at the YWCA that we were trying to work for women's equality and pay equity; at the same time we could not pay our own women employees what we knew they should be paid. It was a very difficult position to be in. These are important jobs. I think people are beginning to realize that, and now as job comparator systems are coming forward, a point system, it does show that these women's jobs compare favourably to men's jobs which are higher paid.

We believe that women's work must be paid fairly. Pay equity represents a basic right of women to equitable, non-discriminatory rates of pay, and it is part of a bigger picture of equity that we are pursuing. I'm very proud of this initiative. I admit that it is a very difficult initiative. It is going against centuries of the way things have been, and that's always difficult, but we must continue.

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The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Carr: I appreciate the member's comments this evening. I will bring it up because she did: sexual assault. It's interesting that all these people who are concerned about sexual assault and sexual harassment—where were you during the Piper affair? Your people sat there. What happens during that? Some poor, innocent woman's records—and where was the member then? When did she speak up to the Premier of this province and say, "That's not right, for somebody in your office to be doing that"? Where was she then? I say this as best I can, without trying to be too partisan: You lose your credibility when you don't stand up all the time.

The same situation comes up with the Masters affair. There's total silence on behalf of this government. We don't know whether he is innocent, guilty, what deals have been made. Where were you, I say to the member, in speaking up to this government when the silence came in on this issue? You can't do it only when you're in opposition and before the election, and then when the election comes and you're elected it just isn't convenient any more, because you lose all credibility.

I think most people respected the NDP before the election for principles. We didn't agree with you, but we thought you had principles. You cannot stand up here and talk about these things and then when your own government does it—the harassment, and I.just pointed out those two cases—sit silent and expect to have any credibility.

I'm sorry. I know the member, and I say this trying to be non-partisan; I know she won't believe it. But you lose your credibility when you don't stand up; when you do it when it's convenient; when you do it when, politically, you can slam the Liberals or the Conservatives. You have to be consistent. You haven't been, and that's why nobody, but nobody, respects you.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Bisson: I want to take this opportunity to congratulate my colleague on what I thought was an insightful look into the basis of this whole issue, which is the question of equity.

I've listened to a couple of the speakers in debate. Members from the opposition have raised some points that I guess are issues we can agree with, but what the member for Niagara Falls did was to come at this from the perspective, basically, that one of the things we have to strive for in this society is to try to address some of the inequities that have been there for a long, long time, and a lot of these problems are very systemic.

I thought the member put the point across in a very concise way, that we have these problems within our society, they've been there for a long time, and it's our responsibility as people within a society, and especially us as legislators, to try to deal with those issues so we can really get to the root of the problem, which is dealing with the question of equity so that, in society, it doesn't matter who you are, a man or a woman or a person from a visible minority group or whatever: You all have equal opportunity to

move through the workplace, move through society in a way that would be deemed fair among all.

Another thing the member brought into the debate—and I think the member of the opposition brought that point forward—is that around this place there are times when we have to get into the political fray; there's no question that that's what happens in this Legislature. But there are times when we're trying to deal with substantive issues when members opposite, such as we had from the other member, try to take the low road on some of the issues. I thought the member had tried to deal with the whole question of equity, that not only do we have to do something on the side of pay equity but we also have to deal with employment equity, because the basis of all this is the root of the problem: We have to deal with the systemic problem within our society.

I'd like to congratulate the member on a very well made speech.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): We just heard the member on the government side, Cochrane South, talk about my colleague from Oakville taking the low road. I have to strongly disagree with that. I think he made very valid points.

I have a great deal of respect for the member for Niagara Falls. She has roots in my home town of Brockville, so obviously she can't be all bad, despite her political affiliation. Hopefully she'll see the error of her ways in the next couple of years and cross the floor. There's always hope. We'd welcome her with open arms. She's one of the few folks across there whom we would welcome with open arms.

With respect to the comments by my colleague from Oakville about sexual harassment, I think they're quite valid. I think the instance he raises in respect to Mr Masters is very appropriate and very timely. We have seen the members of the government proudly wearing their white ribbons for the past week or so with respect to violence against women by men, but at the same time we have very serious allegations about a personal friend of the Premier, a personal selection of the Premier as our representative in the United States: his being charged with sexual harassment and this whole matter being covered up by the Premier and his government, his cronies in cabinet and his sheep-like backbenchers.

I think you have to address that very serious concern. We can't simply say that this didn't exist. It happened, and we have no real answers from the government with respect to these allegations.

We have to look as well at Mr Piper and what happened there. There's no question about the allegations surrounding Mr Piper and the way he dealt with an individual who herself was the object of sexual abuse in her lifetime.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. We can accommodate one final participant.

Ms Poole: I would like to make a couple of comments on the speech by the member for Niagara Falls. By the way, I have a feeling that if the member for Niagara Falls crossed the floor—I can't imagine her going over to that

right side of the room; I think she would be much more liable to end up over here.

The member for Niagara Falls mentioned a couple of words that I think are very important in this debate, and they are "fairness" and "equity." Women are not asking for anything that we do not deserve. We are not asking for special treatment. We are asking for equality and we are asking for fairness. There are those who believe that women have all the fairness we're entitled to, thank you very much, and there is no work left to be done. Let me tell you, that is not the case, and pay equity is a perfect example. We have made enormous strides over the last six or seven years in pay equity and there are many women who have pay equity today, are in the beginning stages of pay equity, but there are women out there right now who aren't covered, and that's what we should be talking about: How do we bring fairness and equity to those women?

I have some disagreement with one of the approaches of the government in how to obtain it, but the other method, that we'll be talking about tonight, the proportional method of evaluation in pay equity, is one that I think will bring fairness and equity. I am very supportive that the government is taking that move to extend it to women. I wish they were doing it sooner, I wish they were not delaying it so that women are going to have to wait those three years to get that fairness, but I think at least it's a move in the right direction.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Niagara Falls has two minutes in response.

Ms Harrington: I appreciate some of the comments that were made. I will allow my colleagues who are going to be speaking later to go into some of the details with regard to this legislation and the 420,000 more women that this legislation is now going to cover.

Yes, I agree that we must address the attitudes towards women; there is no doubt about that. We have to keep at it. And it's not just sexual assault or physical assault against women, but it's also mental abuse, and that can be in very subtle ways. When women offer an opinion or put forward, as young girls growing up, their own ways of dealing with things, very subtly they are told, "No, you don't have the right to have an opinion or a value judgement." I think those little attitudes, that can be overlooked, are something we have to draw more attention to. I think if we do have half the legislators here as women, that will at least be a role model to say we are valid in our opinions, as valid as anyone.

I agree that we must stand up at all times and say—this is what the opposition member was accusing me of, of not being able to stand up at all times and say that equity is very important. If I didn't believe that, I probably wouldn't be standing up during the last few minutes.

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We need everyone's help, all the people in this Legislature, to change these very long held attitudes, and this legislation is only one part of this movement forward. I would really appreciate the other members of the Legislature being involved. It's not our duty only.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you to the honourable member for Niagara Falls. Now, as previously agreed upon unanimously, the honourable member for Eglinton will have the remaining lead time for the official opposition.

Ms Poole: Tonight I would like to give you some comments, some facts, some viewpoints about pay equity. It's not an easy subject for many. It is particularly contentious in a time of deep recession, and there are people who are saying, "We believe in pay equity, but is this the right time?" I say to you, if we start saying that there is a bad time for equity and there is a bad time for fairness, there's something very wrong with our priorities.

Tonight I'd like to talk about how we got where we are today. I want to talk about the need for equity and pay equity, and I want to talk about what it means for women. I want to examine this government's action on pay equity. I want to talk about some of the concerns that have been expressed concerning pay equity and how it will be implemented, and I want to give my personal response to those concerns.

How we got where we are today: In the mid-1980s, when the Liberal government took over, there was an accord signed between the NDP and the Liberals, and one of the items on that accord was to bring in pay equity. The Liberal government kept that commitment and it brought in the Pay Equity Act in 1987.

I am proud of that legislation. I'm proud as a Liberal and I am proud as a woman, because Ontario is the only jurisdiction in North America which requires the preparation of pay equity plans in both the private and the public sectors, and I'm not ashamed to take credit for that achievement.

The act brought pay equity to about 1.4 million out of the approximately 1.75 million women working for employers covered under the act. When this legislation was brought in, it was recognized that there was a deficiency: The deficiency was that it was a beginning and the method chosen was job-to-job comparisons, but job-to-job comparisons cannot be utilized where there is no male job class which can be used as a comparator for female job classes. Without male comparators, female job classes covered by the act cannot benefit from the legislation, even if their jobs are undervalued.

This was something that the Liberal government was aware of at the time, but we felt it important to go ahead and take that very first major step. At the same time, we made a commitment to study and propose changes to the act to enable employees in female jobs without appropriate male comparators to achieve pay equity. In October 1989, the Pay Equity Commission released a report recommending that two new comparison methods be introduced to increase the number of women employees able to benefit from the act.

As I said, there were two recommendations: One was for proportional value and one was for proxy. The Liberal government had a problem with the proxy method. We believed it was problematic to try to compare with another establishment, because, first of all, the definition of pay equity was to bring equity into the same establishment—that was one of the definitions of pay equity when it was

introduced—and also, this involved complex administrative difficulties and the sharing of confidential payroll information.

But the Liberal government did support the proportional value method, and in February 1990 the Minister of Labour announced that the Liberal government was recommending adoption of the proportional value method of job comparison for any female job for which there is no male comparative job in the same establishment.

Of the 420,000 women that we're talking about today, this method would have covered approximately 340,000 to 350,000, so the vast majority were going to be covered by the Liberal announcement of February 1990. Unfortunately, there was an accident, an aberration in September 1990, and the Liberal government did not have the opportunity to carry out its plan.

I must say before I go on that when we said that we did not believe the proxy comparison was the right way to go, we did say there was an alternative. The alternative that we believed in as Liberals was that we would set aside funding to improve the wages of poorly paid social services workers, and we also made direct operating grants to child care centres for wage improvements.

Let me tell you, the child care wage improvements were a fantastic success. There is no doubt that today child care workers are still not paid what they're worth, and anybody who doesn't recognize that, doesn't recognize how little they're still paid, but we have made enormous strides. I want to quote from an article in the Toronto Star in April 1992. The title is "Ontario Tops Day Care Pay Survey."

"Ontario day care workers fare much better than counterparts in other provinces, a national survey shows. Day care workers in Ontario earn an average of \$11.38 an hour, compared to wages below \$7 an hour in some provinces.

"The survey of 7,200 child care workers across Canada was funded by the federal Department of Health and Welfare and sponsored by a number of day care advocacy groups.

"Ontario day care workers earn an average of \$22,983 a year. In Metro, the average annual wage is \$25,104. Workers in municipally run day care centres in Metro do even better, with average annual salaries of \$29,409."

What this points out, although these wages should be higher, is that a government policy, which was to directly give wage enhancement grants to the child care sector, was very, very successful. In Metropolitan Toronto, we were particularly delighted to see that both the Metro level of government and the city of Toronto level of government also participated in this and helped raise day care salaries.

For members who think that just under \$23,000 isn't very much money for a child care worker—and you're absolutely right—I can remember that when I first ran for Parliament back in 1985, the average salary around that time was something in the vicinity of \$9,000 or \$10,000. We paid our zoo keepers three times as much as we paid our child care workers. What did that really say about us as a society, when we were thinking of people who do the valuable task of taking care of our children being paid a third of what zoo keepers are? Certainly, although I personally am an animal lover and have three in my house at

the present time, a dog, cat and hamster—nothing against animals; I think they should be well cared for—surely our children deserve more than that and the people taking care of our children deserve more than that.

I got on a bit of a tangent there, but I wanted to say that that was the route we felt was appropriate to help reduce this inequity, so the Liberal government said we were going to go ahead with proportional value; that we had problems with the proxy and we had other mechanisms to address this.

For people who say that women are in a fine position today and they don't need pay equity-"Let them fight their own battles"—I'd like to give you a few statistics of where we are today. Statscan 1989 statistics show that the wage gap between men and women means that a woman earns on average 67 cents for every dollar a man earns. You've heard that statistic many times. Have you heard this statistic? They looked at the Ontario female labour force, at the composition by earnings in 1989: 59% of the full-time workers who are female in this province earned less than \$20,000; 81% of the women in this province earned less than \$30,000. Now, we have made some progress since then, because the pay equity plan put in in 1987 is well on its way, but I submit to you that there are still major discrepancies between what women ought to be earning for the valuable work they perform in our society and what they are earning today.

#### 2020

I want to take a look at the women who are going to benefit from this legislation. Obviously, there will be a large number of women in the private sector who will benefit, but I want to talk about some who are in the broader public sector who will end up benefiting. We have visiting homemakers, home support services including homes for the aged, children's aid societies, shelters for battered women, child care workers, workers who work with the physically handicapped, those who work in elderly persons' centres, Indian friendship centres, credit counselling, children's mental health, children and youth services, developmental services, children's boarding homes, nursing homes, public health units, community health centres, psychiatric facilities, district health councils, laboratories, small hospitals, libraries.

These are the women who are going to benefit from this legislation. If you look at the pay of the women in these sectors, it is far below what they deserve, far below what we would consider to be equitable. The estimate is just under 80,000 workers who would benefit from these particular categories, but with the cutbacks that have been in our social service sector, I suspect that these figures are overly optimistic. I know for a fact that in the child care sector, where they're estimating that 16,000 workers will benefit, right now there are only 14,000 because 2,000 child care workers have lost their jobs; that's what cutbacks are doing. Those are the types of women who will benefit.

That takes us to where we are with this legislation today. This government has chosen to delay the implementation process. They're putting a brave face on it, but when all is said and done, Bill 102, that was first introduced only 10 days ago, delays the implementation of the legislation

which they promised they were was bringing in two years ago. I want to tell you some of the comments of the women who have been affected by this delay.

I want to refer to an article in the Toronto Star November 29, 1992, the story of Nancy Easton:

"Premier Bob Rae has done more than hit Nancy Easton in the pocketbook. As far as she's concerned, he's insulted her professionalism and set her career back light-years.

"Easton is a Toronto child care worker, one of at least 420,000 Ontario women who will have to wait three years longer for the New Democratic government to fulfil its promise of full pay equity.

"Easton is now questioning the future of day care in Ontario after the decision Wednesday by Queen's Park to hold off extending the principle of equal pay for work of equal value to the broader public sector—women who weren't covered because they work in facilities that lack direct male counterparts against which their wages can be compared.

"'I've been offered other jobs over the years but I've stuck to child care, because I believe that some day, eventually, its importance to society has to finally be recognized,' said Easton.

"'What the government had been promising us was only a down payment on what we deserve, and now they've dashed even those meagre hopes. Who is going to want to do this job? What sort of quality is that going to ensure?'"

The article also quoted another woman, day care provider Cheryl West. She says she's not sure how much longer she can continue to pay to have her own child looked after while she works.

"'The insecurity is overwhelming,' said the single mother. 'I have thought of leaving the field in the past, and it's on my mind once again. We are facing more and more responsibilities, and the compensation is shocking.'

"West said her disappointment at the delayed implementation of full equity 'is not just a matter of finances—there's a principle at stake here too. Our centre was taking a case to the Pay Equity Commission, but we decided to put it aside on the day that the NDP was elected,' she said. 'We trusted their promises. Now we're going to be dusting it off again.'"

I have a quote from Kerry McCuaig, who is executive director of the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care, which represents 14,000 women in non-profit child care centres. She said that recruiting professionals is going to be more difficult than ever. "Child care careers are starting to have a lifespan of about five years. A lot of women are going into the field because they love kids, but they can't afford to hang in; you can't eat love. We want highly skilled workers with a college education, but we don't treat them like professionals."

Kerry McCuaig was representing the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care. It was part of a press conference called by the Equal Pay Coalition, the Coalition of Visible Minority Women, the Union of Child Care Workers of Eastern Ontario. Together, those five organizations called a press conference after this government delayed the implementation of pay equity. These women had been waiting; they had been

waiting for two years. One of them said to me: "We didn't make a fuss because the government kept saying it's coming. 'It's coming next week. It's coming next month. We are going to deliver on our promises.'" So they patiently sat back and waited. When this government announced it was, one more time, delaying implementation of this legislation and bringing in a new bill to make that happen, these women were fed up.

This is what they said; I copied down a few quotes: "This government is good for a lot of announced dollars which translate into nothing." They said they were tired of having announcements made by the government which the government got full credit for, yet those moneys never flowed, those programs never happened. They said this government was petty to delay pay equity for this sector of underpaid workers. Remember, I told you about them: 59% of the women in Ontario who are working full time earn under \$20,000. Well, that's who is paying for this and that's why these women were upset. They said, "Have we delayed pay equity for our sector out of existence?" They talked about the average time of a child care worker in the sector. They said it's five years. There is burnout, there is low pay and there is no recognition. They said that by the time pay equity is in, those workers will be gone. They will never benefit from it. They talked about the delay and they are convinced there will not be any moneys flowing until 1995-if they're lucky. The moneys will still not be flowing until then.

I just want to speak to that for a moment. When I heard that, when they said that to me, I thought, "I can't believe I'm hearing this." After being in this Legislature for over five years, I thought I had become a bit cynical; I try to retain a few illusions but they rapidly dissipate, being in this place. Why 1995? The probable time of the next election; moneys start to flow at the time of the next election. They don't even have to account for the moneys until after the election, if indeed they are the government and have to account for it at all: "Let the next government take the rap for what this is going to pay." These women are saying they are disillusioned by this government and don't trust its promises any more.

2030

I copied down another quotation at that conference because I thought it was very eloquent and very true: "This government is slamming the door on the most vulnerable." And I said, why does it have to be on the backs of women? We understand that there's a financial crisis in this province, we understand that there isn't money to burn, but this government has priority for everything else. Why not priority for women? Many of them candidly admitted that they voted for this government because they thought this government would do something, and now they're telling us, "Well, no, this government has betrayed us."

The final comment I'd like to express from that particular press conference was from the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care. "Women on the lowest rung of the ladder are once again being told that they don't matter, that they're going to have to wait again."

The member for Lambton may laugh at this. She may think this is all a big joke, but it isn't. These women are at the lowest end of the pay echelon, they're the ones most in need, and this government has said, "But you can wait." The unions couldn't wait: They could have their Bill 40, they could have their legislation. But these women, they don't have the protection. They're going to have to wait.

I'll take a direct quote: "How can you feel anything but anger? How can you feel but that you've been used?" These women feel betrayed. They believed the promises of this government in 1990. Do you remember November 1990? There was a speech from the throne, when this government said, very proudly, "We are going to be the government to extend pay equity to 420,000 women."

As women's issues critic, I waited and I waited, and I asked some questions in the House: "Where is this legislation?" Then in November 1991, I was reading through a household newsletter put out by the Premier. I think you'll recognize this, members of the government, the Premier of Ontario, Bob Rae. This was his community newsletter, which I assumed was distributed to 35,000 or 40,000 people in his riding.

The Premier said in November 1991, "We have extended pay equity to cover 420,000 women who work in jobs that until now did not qualify for pay equity increases." I thought: "I'm women's issues critic. I would have noticed if they'd even introduced the legislation, let alone passed it, yet in the fall of 1991 the Premier's claiming they've already done it." I really didn't quite understand how this could be.

The opposition House leader stood up at the beginning on a point of order and said: "Mr Speaker, I have the Premier's word for it. This has already passed, so why are we doing it again? Why are we bringing in legislation when the Premier of this province, we suppose a man of integrity who's going to tell the truth to his constituents, says, 'We've already done it.'"

When I got that, I was pretty outraged. To add insult to injury, the very next week I received a letter from Jill Marzetti, who was the secretary of the New Democratic Party. She said, "I'm proud as provincial secretary and as a woman to give just a short list of what the Ontario New Democrats have done in our first year of government for the women in this province." I looked and, lo and behold, it says, "extended pay equity"—past tense—"to an additional 420,000 women who work in jobs that until now did not qualify for pay equity increases."

I said, "I'm going to go check this." I went to my House leader and said: "The Premier of the province has told me that pay equity has been extended to 420,000 women. How could I not know about this?" I showed him the letter from Jill Marzetti, secretary of the New Democratic Party. And if this letter went to a Liberal member of the Legislature, I can only assume it went to several hundred thousand other people in the province, when they're reduced to sending it to a Liberal member of the Legislature. My House leader said: "No, Dianne, you haven't been asleep. They haven't introduced it. They haven't even given any indication."

So I made a statement in the House. I asked a question to the Minister of Labour: "Where is the pay equity? Your

Premier says you've already brought it in. Where is it? It's been a year since you promised in the throne speech you were going to do it." The minister blustered and said, "We're going to bring it in," and sat down, and lo and behold, several weeks later they brought in the pay equity legislation for first reading.

I was quite excited by this, and I thought: "Finally, women are going to get pay equity extended. We've waited. The Liberal government made the announcement in February 1990 that it was going to do it. When the government changed in September 1990, it said it was going to carry on and do what the Liberal government had said it was going to do. And here we find they are finally introducing it in December 1991."

I would say that probably 10 or 12 times in the last year my House leader has said to me, "Dianne, we're going to do pay equity next week." At first I was quite excited by this, because I thought, "This is great; we're going to put through this legislation." There were things we wanted to change in it, but, hey, it was a step in the right direction. But unfortunately, that day didn't come. Just like the women in the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care and the Ontario Coalition for Pay Equity, I believed this government, that it was going to bring it in. Finally, in December 1992, a full year later, this government stands up and says: "We're very proud of this. We're still going to bring in pay equity, but we just had to delay it a titch because the monetary situation isn't too good."

I submit to you that this government knew the monetary situation in December 1991 when it introduced Bill 168. They had to have known it. The deficit had gone out of control, the province was in dire economic straits, and they brought it in. I submit to you that this government brought it in knowing well that it couldn't do it, but it did it to pacify the little women out there. Well, I don't find that acceptable, I'm sorry.

That wasn't the only way in which this government let down women and betrayed women. A year ago I made a statement in this Legislature. I talked about the delay in the pay equity legislation, the fact that the Premier said it in his householder but they hadn't delivered, they hadn't even introduced it. But I also talked about the \$30-million payment in pay equity for child care workers. This government promised it in January 1991, reannounced it August 1991, and by November 1991 it still hadn't delivered, almost a full year later, and child care workers were furious.

I talked about the fact that they made a grand announcement about \$20 million extra to women's shelters, but I pointed to a press release from Hamilton, which was just one of the many shelters that indicated that not a penny had flowed. They'd been promised in the spring; November they were still waiting for this government to show its commitment.

I said: "What about the 30,000 nursing home residents, 70% of whom are women? When can they expect the money this government promised them? Why did this government refuse to advance the money for support and custody that it had promised? Why did they delay that until the spring?" These were questions I asked a year ago, and what this points out is that this government is great on

talking but it isn't very good on delivering, and it has badly let down the women of this province.

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The last example I want to give—I could give many more, but I want to save some time to talk about some of the concerns with pay equity—the last example of how this government has let down women was illustrated in an article in the Hamilton Spectator, November 24, 1992. Members of this government will remember the OAITH lobby, the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses; well, not very many of them will remember, because only 10 of them showed up. This was what was written about the concerns of those women who work in assaulted women's shelters across this province.

"The concern Ontario's NDP government once showed for abused women appears to be drying up, say workers from women's shelters across the province.

"Beleaguered by scandal, Premier Bob Rae and most of his cabinet did not show up yesterday at an annual meeting between Queen's Park MPPs and members of the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses. Fewer than 10 NDP members attended this year. During the 1990 and 1991 meetings, the 74-member NDP caucus packed the room. Their absence yesterday sparked sharp criticism from the 150 women, who warned the government that it ignores them at its peril.

"What will happen is, women will not vote this government back in power. If they want to be in a position to show us in a concrete way that action is going to happen to stop violence against women, they'd better start listening to us,' said Lisa Duggan of Hamilton, the meeting coordinator.

"In 1991, 25 women in Ontario were slain by their male partners. This year, a partial list of 46 killings has been compiled, said Ms Duggan, yet the government has failed to keep up with inflation in its funding of shelters and hasn't done enough to reform the justice system to protect women, participants said."

The article goes on and on in criticism of this government.

What we've got is a government that was full of hot air. They talked about protecting women, but when push came to shove, they did nothing, and the women of this province will remember that.

I haven't got that long left in my speaking time, so I want to touch on some of the concerns that have been expressed about pay equity and in implementing it at this particular point in time.

The concerns that have been expressed are: What is the cost? Will the government pay for the pay equity adjustments in the broader public sector? If not, the agencies concerned will have to cut programs or cut staff; those are their only alternatives. Then they ask, how much more can the beleaguered taxpayer bear? They also ask about the impact on businesses and on jobs.

I'd like to address some of these concerns. What will it cost? We have yet to see this government's cost estimates for the implementation of the two methods of pay equity. To the best of my knowledge, the Ministry of Labour has not yet released any public estimates of the cost implications

of proxy and proportional value. If he has, he's kept it a well-guarded secret. He certainly did not send it to the critic for the Labour portfolio in the Liberal opposition, nor did they send it to the women's issues critic. From what we've talked, and all the groups affected, there has been nothing, no breakdown, no analysis of what this is going to cost.

Ministry officials have said that the government has stated it will be absorbing 100% of the cost of implementing proxy; proxy will only affect the public sector, by the way. So I contacted the Ministry of Labour when Bill 102, the new, not-so-much-improved Bill 102, was introduced some 10 days ago. I contacted the Ministry of Labour and said: "Look. The government House leader has said he wants this to have second reading during this session. We have not the resources at this time, with so much on the docket paper, to do an analysis of the changes. I would like to see an analysis of what this will cost. What is this going to cost us in the future?"

This is what I got back. I got back some figures on what they had spent to date including, for instance, the \$19 million on the child care wage enhancement program, but for future cost? I got: "In 1992-93, up to \$240 million will be spent. The real figure cannot be finally ascertained until surveys of pay equity costs are returned from transfer payment agencies."

That's the definitive word from the Ministry of Labour, which wants us to give second reading to this legislation within 10 days, but it hasn't analysed the cost yet, when it has had the year the original Bill 168 was on the docket paper. What's happening?

Today when I was talking to some of the people who are involved with pay equity in the various agencies, they said, "I've got those estimates for you." I said: "Where did you get this? I haven't seen anything public." They said: "Oh, no, there's nothing public, but we have a copy of a letter from the government, from the Ministry of Labour. We have an analysis of what it's going to cost."

They shared it with their buddies in the Ontario Federation of Labour. They said funds for pay equity are to be allocated as follows: dollars in mature costs by 1994-95 fiscal year, job-to-job will be \$175 million, proportional value \$400 million, proxy to equity \$285 million, the Ontario public service pay equity \$140 million. The total is \$1 billion.

But when the critic for women's issues for the Liberal Party, who has responsibility for carriage of this legislation, asks what it is going to cost, "We can't tell you because we haven't contacted the transfer agencies." Not so much as the courtesy to say, "These are our estimates, but we can't confirm them until we get everything." The Ontario Federation of Labour can get that, but somehow we can't. I'm still not sure what this is going to cost. I'm still not sure what this government is going to pay towards it. I don't know, because they won't share that information with me.

The second thing that people have had to say in concern with pay equity and whether it should be introduced right now is the business reaction and whether this is going to be the straw that breaks the camel's back. That is a very valid concern, and I don't think for a moment that this government should make light of that concern.

There was an excellent article in the Globe and Mail in June 1992 called "Small Business," by Martin Harts. In this column, Mr Harts said:

"Pay equity is now law in the federal government and in all but three western provinces. Ontario, however, is the only province with pay equity laws that directly affect small business. Companies with more than 10 employees—meaning more businesses in Ontario—must comply with pay equity.

"As the only jurisdiction in North America with sweeping pay equity rules for the private sector, Ontario has been praised and damned, depending on who you talk to.

"Larger companies that went through Ontario's pay equity exercise from 1989 to 1991 generally support the process. These organizations, which typically have a human resource department and at least one in-house compensation specialist, often see the pay equity law as an opportunity to review or update their compensation policies.

"Small companies, on the other hand, have reacted negatively to pay equity. Typical comments from CEOs and owner-operators include:

"'What is the penalty if I don't comply?' 'Let them catch me.' 'If government continues to interfere with business, we may as well throw in the towel.'

"What is it about the pay equity law that evokes such emotional responses from small businesses?

"A lot of it has to do with the recession. Reduced sales, lower profit and a minimum of administrative staff leave small companies unable to afford the time and costs of undertaking the pay equity exercise.

"Lack of knowledge of what pay equity means and what it requires of an employer is another problem. The many publications provided free of charge by Ontario's Pay Equity Commission are often of limited value.

"Reluctantly, small companies that decide to comply are seeking the advice of experts to help them through the pay equity minefield. Some, of course, are simply ignoring pay equity altogether in the hope that authorities will take years to catch them."

The article goes on to talk about the current legislation: "The Ontario government tabled amendments to the Pay Equity Act last December. They are expected to become law by this fall.

"The main impact will be on companies that have female-dominated jobs for which a suitable male-dominated job comparison does not exist. In this case, you must increase the pay of these female-dominated jobs in proportion to the pay of some, but not necessarily all, male-dominated jobs in your company.

"Complicated? It sounds worse than it really is. An example of greater government interference in how you run your business? Probably."

I want to bring you to the conclusion of the author of this article:

"But as cumbersome and costly as pay equity may be, your daughters and their daughters will probably thank you some day, particularly if they end up working in female-dominated jobs."

I guess that's what it comes down to: What do we owe our daughters? I think we owe them passage of this pay equity legislation.

It is a difficult issue. In September and October, I went out on a women's issues outreach to a number of communities across the province, and I asked many of these organizations: "What about pay equity? What are your feelings? Should we pass it?" And I said: "This is the dilemma. On the one hand, this is a terrible time for business and this might be the straw that breaks the camel's back. On the one hand, maybe this bureaucracy and this process will be very difficult for some businesses to cope with. On the other hand, there is no best time to bring in equity. Now is always the best time to bring in equity, and if we don't proceed now, is there a possibility that it will be lost for many, many years?"

#### 2050

The interesting thing is that a number of these groups, like the YWCA or the children's aid societies, or the professional and business women's club, were organizations that were in the throes of implementing pay equity or which, under this legislation, would be implementing it. They talked about the difficulties: They talked about the bureaucracy, they talked about the impact on business. I said, "So you think I could vote against this pay equity?" And they said, "Well, wait just a moment; on the other hand-" And I said, "Yes, on the other hand?" They said: "If it doesn't go ahead now it probably never will. There will be people who sacrifice, there will be people who lose their jobs, and there may be women who lose their jobs. We must try as much as we can to protect those jobs and those women, we must protect our agencies, but at the same time, we must go ahead with this pay equity legislation."

So they recognized the difficulties, and it was unanimous. Of all the women's groups I asked this question of—and I got a lot of suggestions about how to implement it, how to phase it in, how to buffer it, how to cut the bureaucracy, how to help small businesses with it. With small businesses, I'm not talking of those under 10 employees, because they are not covered under this legislation nor were they under the previous Liberal legislation; I mean 10 to 50, that size of business. So it was really interesting, because in the bottom line, women said, "Yes, it is difficult and it may cause difficult times, but we must go ahead."

So when we have public hearings, which I'm sure we will—I believe there is an agreement from the government that we will have them; certainly I will be pushing for them—I think it is important that people come to us and tell us how we can make this work, how we can smooth the transition, how we can ensure that women get this pay equity provision as quickly and as expeditiously as possible. We cannot stop now.

For all the difficulties, difficulties with bureaucracy, with the enormous cost in taking any case to the pay equity tribunal, with the difficulty in bringing it in when the money isn't there, I think it's important that we recognize that the time is right to continue a policy of fairness and equity towards women, to give women that small ray of hope that at the end of the tunnel there is that light, that one day in this society they will have fairness and equity.

I think we must look on the positive side of this. While we must try to ameliorate any dislocation for the business sector, isn't this a good time, when the business sector is already in the midst of restructuring its labour force, isn't this the right time for them to look at their policies towards payment of women? Isn't this the right time for them to say, "Let's address this inequity"? I believe it is.

If you say this is not the right time—"We believe in it, but it's not the right time"—I ask you the question, when is it the wrong time to bring in equity? If you say it is the wrong time to bring in equity, then I suggest you have to re-examine your priorities.

I would like to close with a quote from one of the Kennedys—I think it was John Kennedy—who said: "If not here, then where? If not now, then when?" That's what it comes down to. You're never going to find a right time. This province is probably going to be in for some severe economic times for years and years to come. We have a deficit that is very difficult to cope with. Money is going to be very short for not only the next few years but, as I say, the decade to come.

The time is now, the place is here. I would hope that every member of this Legislature will stand and support this legislation. It isn't perfect. There will hopefully be things we can do to ameliorate the impact in these tough economic times. But in the bottom line, if you truly believe in the equality of women, if you truly believe it is unacceptable for 59% of the women of Ontario to be earning under \$20,000, you must put your courage and your conviction on the line and you must vote to extend pay equity to the women of this province.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Thank you for your participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments?

Mr Bisson: I want to congratulate the member for what I thought was a fairly insightful speech about pay equity. She made, I think, the same points my colleague from Niagara Falls had made about the whole question of equity in general, the things we need to do as a society in order to give people equal access.

I was most interested in the point she made about the question of timing. As she said, many would argue that questions of equity should not be dealt with in times of recession, that they should not be dealt with in rough times, but she raised the point, and I thought she did it very eloquently, that there is never a good time to do this. I would say we have to do it now.

For that I would like to extend my congratulations to the member across the way for comments that were well taken, a very well thought out speech that raised some points that should be heard by many people within this province. We have a province probably not different from any other in Canada and probably not very much from any other jurisdiction in the world when it comes to how people look at the question of equity.

She raised earlier in her speech the question that some people see equity as taking something away from somebody. I think the point has to be stressed over and over again, as the member did, that giving people access within our society, through employment equity rules or through pay equity rules, doesn't take anything away from anybody. It basically puts them on a level playing field so that they can compete within our society on an equal footing with any other person. Long behind us should be the times when people had to compete in an uphill battle because they were women, because they were a visible minority or because of whatever reason. Everybody should have equal access.

I'd like to extend my congratulations. I thought it was a very insightful speech.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

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Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs): Just a few brief comments: This subject matter comes under "societal" and goes to the very core of what each and every member portrays or tries to convey. There have been others; I have seldom heard this just cause put in such a commonsensical way with a course of action. I, too, wish to congratulate the member.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Sudbury.

**Ms Murdock:** I just wanted to thank the Liberal critic for her comments, because she obviously is quite knowledgeable about the bill and has done some work in preparing her remarks. That is evident and should be commented upon.

But I do want to correct one of the statements that was made, in that it is not true that the government isn't flowing any money until 1995. That is incorrect, because right now we're paying up to \$240 million in the 1992-93 fiscal year, which she herself stated later on in her comments, for pay equity to the broader public sector. I think again we have to make that distinction between the public sector and the private sector. Money will be paid on a targeted pay equity down payment program by March 31, 1993, which I mentioned in my comments at the very beginning, and then proxy will be implemented, but not until January 1, 1994.

Again, I will reiterate for the record and for the benefit of those people out there who don't understand the difference between proportional value and proxy, there is no deadline on the private sector at all. The deadlines that are mentioned—1998—go to the public sector only.

I would adjourn the debate on these two bills.

**The Acting Speaker:** No, actually, we're not ready for that yet.

Any further questions and/or comments? If not, two minutes for response for the honourable member for Eglinton.

Ms Poole: First of all, I'd like to thank the member for Cochrane South and also the member for Lake Nipigon for their very kind words. I'm beginning to get very nervous. I think I've lost my identity. First I have a Conservative over here agreeing with me and quoting me in the House, and now I have two NDP members who have said very kind words, so I think I'm losing it. It's Christmas, or they feel sorry for me because I'm exhausted after market value assessment. But I thank them for their comments.

For the parliamentary assistant: When she's talking about already flowing funds to the broader public sector, this is, of course, from pay equity plans that are already in place under the previous legislation. One of the problems with this is that funds aren't flowing the way they should be.

We had a meeting, I think it was about six or eight weeks ago, with the Ontario Hospital Association. They said their concern is that they have been given a minimal increase, like 1%, in their budget, and they're being told that there will not be a pay equity adjustment to help them. Their concern was that if they don't get this assistance from the province with the pay equity adjustment, then they will have to lay off workers. If you look at the hospital sector, who is it who is going to be laid off? It won't be the doctors; it will be the nurses. Look at the gender of those nurses. It's the women who will pay.

That was the point I was trying to make, that it is going to be extremely important that, if the government brings this legislation in, it keep its commitment that our agencies will not suffer. Women should not have to suffer because of this legislation; neither should our agencies.

I thank all the members for their participation in this debate tonight.

The Acting Speaker: I recognize the honourable member for Oakville South.

Mr Carr: I understand there's been agreement that we'll go on to another bill so I will save my comments for a later date. Just like last night, I was prepared to speak on long-term care and I ended up speaking on something different. So I will move that file aside. I believe, by unanimous consent, we have agreement to go on to another bill, so I will move adjournment of the debate.

The Acting Speaker: Mr Carr has moved adjournment of the debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

INCOME TAX AND ONTARIO PENSIONERS
PROPERTY TAX ASSISTANCE
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'IMPÔT SUR LE REVENU
ET L'ALLÉGEMENT DE L'IMPÔT FONCIER
DES RETRAITÉS DE L'ONTARIO

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur le revenu, prévoyant des crédits d'impôt sur le revenu pour les personnes âgées et visant à éliminer progressivement les subventions prévues par la Loi sur l'allégement de l'impôt foncier des retraités de l'Ontario.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): My understanding was, when we left this debate, Mr Sterling was going to have his two minutes' response. Mr Sterling is not in the House, so in terms of rotation, we now move to the government side. No? Further debate?

Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): I'm rather surprised that none of the government members has anything to say

on what I think is quite a significant measure and, frankly, a measure that I think is going to have some political consequences for the governing party.

When I explained to the public—because I'm sure not too many members of the public out there will know offhand what Bill 31 stands for. It's a measure to eliminate property tax grants for seniors and to turn them into tax credits. Up to now, seniors received up to \$600 a year from the government to take account of the school taxes, the property taxes, they have to pay and to help them a little bit with all these expenses they have, and also the \$50 sales tax grant which is going to be taken away.

Also, in Bill 31, there are certain other adjustments. In fact, there are increases to everyone's taxes. There's an increase in the basic income tax rate, and I will be talking about that a little bit later.

Then, of course, there's also a lowering of the income tax threshold to apply the Ontario high-income surcharge. So, again, to make this simple, what this bill does, in addition to hurting seniors, is try to raise more money from basically the middle class. I know the government members probably will argue, "It's not the middle class, it's the high-income earners we want to get more money from." But as we will see, the definition of "high income" from the NDP government is very different from what the ordinary person would consider a rich person.

## 2110

I should say that when, in the good old days, the Liberals were in power, when my party was in power—unfortunately all too long ago, but I'm sure it's going to change again very soon when I look at the poll results—I was parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Revenue. I used to be in this place and argue very shortly before the adjournment of the House, before Christmas, certain tax measures. I always found it rather strange that, at the very end of the session, we would still talk about and decide on measures that were long ago more or less already decided by the government. These measures we're talking about tonight were in fact announced in the spring budget by the Treasurer. Of course, whatever the public was saying about it, the government had made up its mind.

When the Treasurer stood up in this House—I don't remember the exact date, it's that many months ago, but it was some time in the spring session, at the end of May or the beginning of June—and announced his budget, these measures that we're voting on and talking about tonight were included in that budget. I must say that perhaps we should find a better means to look at the tax measures arising out of the Treasurer's budget and not wait six or seven months to give them the full legitimacy of the Legislature. I think there should be a better means to discuss these issues when they're proposed.

But be that as it may, we are discussing this matter tonight. I would like to first of all speak about the, in my opinion, regrettable step to take away the tax grant to the seniors. Mind you, this government seems to be getting very used to taking away grants from people who can least afford it, and that's really what's bothering me very much about this government.

I know that the Speaker tonight represents the government, but I respect members who have certain views about social policies, social democratic policies. Sometimes you call them socialist. I don't particularly care for that word, but I don't mind it either. If people hold dearly to those views and want to represent the interests of the less-well-off, the underprivileged, I think it's a very noble goal. I personally share in that.

But when I then see a party and a government that had, once upon a time I guess, committed itself and gotten itself elected on a platform especially to support those who are less privileged, when I see that party and that government turn around 100% and take away grants from seniors and take away, as the Minister of Colleges and Universities just did—obviously on instructions of the Treasurer and the Premier—from students, I have some very serious questions about the integrity of the NDP and the promises and philosophy of this government.

I'm sure there must be not a few party members out there, grass-roots members, who are bitterly disappointed. In fact, I have had in my own riding card-carrying NDP members call my office and say that they're so disgusted they're handing in their card and they're going to vote for me the next time.

Mr Daniel Waters (Muskoka-Georgian Bay): I have trouble believing that.

Mr Daigeler: If the member doesn't believe me, he can come over here and I will give him those names. I should tell him I've also had some Conservatives who've also said that they're going to vote for me.

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): Oh, that can't be true. Hans.

Mr Daigeler: I guess there must something I'm doing right, because I am getting these calls from both NDP and Conservative members saying that they are going to support me in the next election and they're going to support the Liberal Party. Why is that? Why are the NDP members turning against their own party? Because, as the Speaker whom we have tonight knows only too well, the NDP government is turning against its own principles on a great many issues, and this bill that we're discussing tonight is just a perfect example. It does not go unnoticed by the public.

I have had over the month since this was first announced letters and calls from constituents. I asked my staff this afternoon, when I knew I was going to talk about this measure and that this was coming up in the House tonight, to pull out again the letters I had received. Constituents in my riding were very upset, and I'm sure other members have received these complaints as well. They were very concerned that the government was making it harder for seniors to cope with the property taxes, which always rise.

It is true, but the argument is being made that these are seniors who have a certain level of income. But many of them, even though they live in a home that is perhaps worth a good deal, do not have the operating income that would enable them to pay ever-increasing property tax rates, especially from school boards. I've had many complaints from seniors, even before this measure, this reduc-

tion of the grant was announced. I've had these concerned seniors contact me and tell me how difficult it is for them to cope with the ever-increasing cost of living, and in particular the taxes.

This measure, the property tax grant, was put in place I think by the Conservative government; I think it was Premier Davis. Seniors did count on getting that cheque. If I'm not mistaken, it arrived around Christmastime and it helped them celebrate Christmas and purchase some of their gifts, perhaps for their grandchildren or their family. It helped them to have a more enjoyable Christmas season.

Now the government is saying, "We will still give you something, but it will be all rolled into the tax credit system, and when you file your income tax, then you can reduce your payable taxes, but the maximum you can get back through your reduced payable income tax will be \$450." It used to be \$600, so there is a reduction even for those who will take the full benefit of that credit that will still be available. In addition to reducing the full credit from \$600 to \$450, there is also, however, a gradual reduction in that credit according to the income seniors have.

### 2120

Frankly, if that were the only measure we're asking seniors to accept, perhaps it would be reasonable. I don't want to stand here and say this is going to make it impossible for seniors to live. This measure in itself, just taken by itself, I think you could say: "What's the big fuss about it? After all, we're not talking about that much money." But this is just one measure, together with many others, that this government is putting on the seniors. For example, again, I've had people contact my office—many of them go to Florida—who are now no longer covered under OHIP in the same way they used to be. The residency requirements have been changed.

It's mostly seniors, people who have been living a productive life, who have been paying taxes in Canada and in this province for a long time. They write to me and say: "Listen, I've done my share for the province. I've done my share for many years for this country. Now, when I'm finally able to enjoy life a little bit and enjoy retirement and spend a few months in the south where it's warm, all of a sudden I'm no longer able to do that because of the changes in the health care coverage." That's another coverage on seniors.

I should mention the fees for seniors that are now charged when they go to provincial parks. Again, in itself, when you just look at that one measure alone, it's not big money, agreed. Previously, during the week seniors were admitted free to the provincial parks and now there's a fee. Again, you'd be surprised the number of people who have contacted me on that and who are concerned about it, because they just see this as a rather nasty way to collect taxes.

If the government is really that desperate, let it do some of the other measures in this bill. I can see that. Let them raise the income tax rate, even though one can certainly seriously ask whether this is the time to raise taxes further. But at least from a philosophical point of view I can see a certain logic that an NDP government would raise the income tax rate, especially for high-income people.

As I said earlier, it depends how you define "high income." According to this government you're a high-income earner when you make something like \$53,000. That, for the people over there, is a high income. One can argue whether this now makes you super rich or not. I begin to wonder whether you really have made it in the list of Forbes magazine if you make that amount.

My point simply is this: I think that's a much more logical argument, that if you need revenue you go that avenue, you go that direction. Frankly—I shouldn't shy away from it—my government did it and I was here in this House as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Revenue, making the very same point and raising income tax rates, usually at the end of the year.

That is an avenue open to governments and from time to time it has to be done. Obviously, you have to take into consideration: What is the general economic climate? What will be the impact of this measure on people spending money? Is that wise? Are you encouraging people to spend money by raising taxes? and so on. But I think these are more pragmatic considerations. Reasonable people can come to different conclusions on this and I think that's fine, but when you start and go by the back door which, unfortunately, this government seems to be getting into the habit of doing, then I see real trouble.

What is the back door for seniors? As I just said, this measure we're talking about is eliminating, for the most part, the property tax grants for seniors, raising fees for the provincial parks for seniors, making it much more difficult for seniors to enjoy their retirement in Florida, or in the south generally, by jacking up the rates of OHIP coverage.

There's another measure that I haven't mentioned yet and that I'm still getting quite a few letters on, and that I sure hope the government members are getting letters on as well, the increase in the copayment fees. I don't know whether the people out there who are watching are aware, but as of January 1 the copayments in nursing homes are going to be increased by a daily amount of \$11. That's a 38% increase of that fee.

Again, who are the people who are presently paying that \$24 copayment towards the cost of the nursing homes? Who are those people? They are mostly seniors. I'm getting these letters from them, from people who are extremely concerned about it.

I have one of them. This is from one of my constituents. These people—it's signed by the husband and wife—say: "We understand that the Ontario government is considering an increase of \$10 per day in the copayment that residents will pay in long-term care facilities. We believe that a 38% increase is incredible and in fact far beyond the government's own rent control legislation."

That's a very good point. I see the Minister of Housing here. Knowing her predilection towards rent control, I wonder what she was arguing around the cabinet table about increasing what is essentially rent, I guess, by 38%.

They say, "We urge you to oppose this proposal and to encourage the Minister of Health to lower and, if need be, phase in any increase." Why are they saying "phase in"? Because, as I said earlier, seniors are reasonable. They are aware that the government needs revenue. They are aware

that the services that are being provided, and from which the seniors benefit, have to be paid for in some way. They are certainly prepared to pay their share and, as people are saying in their letters to me, they are prepared even to see an increase.

I think that is very praiseworthy. The seniors are not just shying away and saying, "Don't touch me at all." They are saying: "We are prepared to pay somewhat more, but 38%, \$11 a day? Is that really fair? Is that reasonable, especially if you take this measure, this copayment increase together with these other significant increases to the cost on seniors?"

This is what concerns me so much about this bill and what I feel is quite an unnecessary and a very hurtful step to take by this government, which supposedly is the government that represents seniors, that represents the underprivileged, those who are less well-off, those who are less fortunate.

#### 2130

There is not much time that I have left. I want to touch briefly on the two other measures being proposed in Bill 31. As I indicated, there are three aspects to the bill. There is the one that has this effect on the seniors, but then there's an increase in the Ontario basic income tax rate.

We should, for the benefit of the viewers, indicate that for the tax year 1992—in other words, for the one that's just finished—the income tax under the Ontario income tax rate will be increased to 54.5%, and in 1993, next year, it will increase even further; it will go to 55% of the basic federal income tax.

That actually brings in quite a lot of money for the provincial treasury. This measure will bring in approximately \$520 million in one year. In 1992-93, it will be about \$520 million and in subsequent years it will be even higher, approximately \$580 million. That's a lot of money.

Of course, what this measure does is that it really takes away again with the provincial hand what the federal government was trying to give back, because the federal government at the beginning of 1992 decided to reduce the surtax on higher-income earners. With this increase in the provincial income tax rate, the federal largess is pretty well totally taken away. I guess the NDP government says, "If the Conservative federal government wants to give it, we can use it." I can understand that. That's a back and forth between those two governments, but I think we should realize that this measure, this higher income tax rate, brings in close to \$600 million a year more, and that's important to remember.

As I said, there's this third measure of a special tax, because when you make higher income, we have taken in this province, and I guess in this country, the position that you should also pay higher taxes. I think that's a reasonable and fair approach and most people will agree with this principle, but there's a special surtax if you are at the higher end.

It used to be that you had to make \$84,000 to be hit, or be charged with this surtax or this special income tax. Now you're rich, as I indicated earlier, or super rich, if you make \$53,000. Whether that's rich, super rich or not, I will leave it up to the viewers to decide. I guess they will know

whether they find that they should be or can be classified to be super rich.

I doubt very much that many of those people out there who are in that income tax bracket are living on the high. I think to put this special high-income surtax, with Bill 31, on people who are making \$53,000 is a measure that only hurts the middle class. I don't think we're talking about high-income earners here. We are talking about the middle class. We are talking about the vast majority of the people in this province.

This measure in itself brings in a lot of money: \$150 million. I can understand the Treasurer's looking for money everywhere and he's doing that, but let's be fair, let's be frank. I think the government should come clean and say: "We need the money. We have to raise taxes." But don't try and hide, saying "We are implementing our NDP philosophy in taxing the rich." You're not taxing the rich. You're taxing the middle class. As I said earlier, you're hurting, with this other measure, the seniors and those who can least afford it in this province.

**The Acting Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Nepean for his participation in the debate. Questions and/or comments?

Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York): The member for Nepean distorts reality in such a serious and injurious way that I feel compelled to make some remarks. Prior to 1992, every senior got a tax grant, irrespective of what he or she made, so it meant that a senior who made \$50,000 or \$60,000 or \$70,000 got a tax grant in the same way that a senior who made \$10,000 got a tax grant.

To offer an example that is quite simple, my mother, who makes \$10,000 with all of her combined income, would benefit from this more than someone who's making \$50,000 or \$60,000 as a senior citizen. That, in my view, is good, because what it does is to redistribute the wealth in such a way that those who make a lot will not need it as much and those who make little will need it and therefore will benefit from it.

The remarks the member for Nepean makes that this is an increase in everybody's tax, that it's a high-income surcharge tax, that it makes it harder for senior citizens to cope, that the maximum you can get is \$450, that it's a nasty way to collect taxes—all of that—are a serious distortion of reality. I think it would be wrong to allow that to be said without some retort.

What it does is to bring some justice to those who are on low income in such a way that those who make less than \$23,000 will get the \$600 they always got and get a little more, and those who make less than \$30,000 are likely to get the same amount, more or less, and those who make more than \$30,000 will get less. It brings justice to those who are less well off without affecting in any way those who are very wealthy.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I want to congratulate the member for Nepean on a fine presentation which I think fairly reflects what's in this rather draconian measure, Bill 31. I am amused, as I think most members

and most members of the public might be when they reflect upon the Agenda for People. I didn't see this in the Agenda for People. I didn't see the idea in the Agenda for People that the rich people in this society were making \$53,000.

I look around at who might make \$53,000 in this society and I think of my steelworkers, the few who are still working at Elliot Lake, at Rio Algom. I think a lot of them are making \$53,000. They're working very hard to make that \$53,000, and they're working very hard to pay their bills. I don't think they think of themselves as rich people. But I know now that the definition a socialist government, a New Democratic government, is that \$53,000 is a rich person.

### 2140

I look around my constituency and I ask who else might make \$53,000. Frankly, my constituency does not have one of the highest average incomes in this province. As a matter of fact, unfortunately I think it would be one of the lowest. But who makes that? I'll tell you who makes \$53,000. It's my friends the school teachers. They make \$53,000. Some of the public servants make \$53,000. These people are people who work hard, serve, do good work, but who I think would be totally amazed—and the member for Nepean might want to comment on this—about how rich this NDP government of the people has just found them to be. I find that totally amazing.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): I'd just like to say in response to the comments from the member for Nepean that in spite of the fact that the member for Fort York was able to give a wonderful critique of the member for Nepean's comments in two minutes, the rest of us on this side of the House, on the government side, in order to make sure we get second reading of this bill this evening, will not be joining in this debate, not because we have nothing to say or do not have any critique of what will be offered on the opposite benches, but because we wish to get the business over.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): The last speaker, with her remarks, indicated that I should speak. I cannot accept what she has said here this evening. This government wants to get this business over because it doesn't like what it's doing to the seniors of our province. That's why they don't want to take part in this debate.

They're the ones who, during the last election campaign, had the whisper campaign going that Harris wanted to take the tax grant off the seniors, that he was going to give them nothing. These are the very people who are now doing it and who never whispered a word in the Agenda for People about what they intended to do. Here the Minister of Housing is up tonight saying they don't want to take part in this debate. I can tell you why they don't want to take part in the debate: They're ashamed of themselves.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Nepean has two minutes to make a response.

Mr Daigeler: I think the member for Simcoe East very rightly pointed out the difference, frankly a difference that surprised me. I really, honestly, did not expect that the NDP government would bring in initiatives and changes that it gave no inkling of whatsoever during the election. In fact, on many issues they're doing exactly the opposite—and I mention the elimination of OSAP grants as one of them—to what they had promised during the campaign and what reasonable people expected them to do as an NDP government.

As I indicated, I accept the fact that the member for Fort York was arguing that this is a more just measure, that seniors who are more well off get less and that seniors who are less well off get a little bit more. First of all, the reality is that even those seniors who are less well off get less under this system, because the property tax grant used to be \$600 and the maximum is \$450 now.

# Hon Ms Gigantes: No.

**Mr Daigeler:** The Minister of Housing says no. I have the bulletin of the Ministry of Revenue right here.

**Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West):** You haven't read it right.

Mr Daigeler: It says, "The maximum will be reduced to \$450 in 1992 under the budget proposal." I also thought that when the Minister of Housing stood up she would at least give some comments as to how she can justify a 38% increase in copayment fees when under her rent control legislation all the other people who are paying rent are held to increases of something like 4%. I thought she was going to comment on that and give an explanation to those seniors who are being hit by that other measure of this government over there which is added to the one we're talking about now.

# The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

**Mr McLean:** I welcome the opportunity tonight to participate on Bill 31, the Income Tax and Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Statute Law Amendment Act, 1992.

The explanatory note with regard to what this bill intends to do is:

"(a) increase the Ontario personal income tax rate and the surcharge imposed under the Income Tax Act;

"(b) introduce a property and sales tax credit for seniors in the Income Tax Act for 1992 and subsequent years and phase out grants payable under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act; and

"(c) make necessary administrative amendments to parallel the 'fairness package' recently enacted under the Income Tax Act (Canada)."

There's more to this legislation than just the pensioners act. This bill is the Minister of Revenue's attempt at implementing proposals in the NDP government's budget for 1992. They want to increase the Ontario personal income tax and surtax rates, to replace the senior sales and property tax grants with an income tax credit and to make administrative changes to parallel the Income Tax Act of Canada.

Under Bill 31, the PIT rate is increased from 53% of the basic federal tax payable to 54.5% for 1992. For the 1993 and subsequent years, the PIT rate is increased from

54.5% to 55% of the basic federal tax payable. For 1992 the surtax, currently at 14% of Ontario's PIT over \$10,000, is changed to 7% of Ontario's between \$5,500 and \$10,000, plus 14% of Ontario PIT over \$10,000. For 1993 and subsequent years, the surcharge will be 14% of Ontario PIT between the \$5,500 and \$8,000, plus 20% of Ontario PIT over \$8,000.

Prior to the NDP government's 1992 budget Ontario senior citizens, regardless of their income level, were eligible to receive a property tax grant, if they paid either rent or property tax, to a maximum of \$600 annually, and they got a sales tax grant of \$50. This government now proposes to replace these grants with a refundable incometested property and sales tax credit with a maximum value of \$1,000 per year. The legislation also provides for a credit reduction equal to 4% of the combined family income in excess of \$22,000. The grants program, which seniors rely upon very heavily, will be terminated at the end of this year.

During the 1991-92 fiscal year, the sales and property tax grant programs cost the province about \$512 million. That's \$60 million for the sales tax grant and \$452 million for the property tax grant. Approximately 740,000 senior citizens benefited from this grant program, with the average property tax grant amounting to \$429. That is a lot of money to senior citizens. They got back an average of \$429, those 740,000 seniors.

There's an Orillia resident, Mr Ken Clark, the president of zone 11 of Simcoe county for the United Senior Citizens of Ontario. Mr Clark attended the USCO's 34th annual convention in Windsor last August. Mr Clark was good enough to provide me with a copy of the resolutions that were debated and voted on during that convention. These resolutions deal with issues of great importance to Ontario senior citizens and focus on such matters as health care, law, housing, pensions, transportation and, lastly, a matter that concerns us here tonight: taxes and grants.

## 2150

I would like to read into the record seven of the resolutions that were approved by the USCO membership in August because I believe they should be of interest to the Minister of Revenue, who is responsible for Bill 31.

"Property and sales tax grants," something that's been in place for many years:

"Whereas we protest any move to discontinue the \$600 property tax grant and the \$50 sales tax grant for seniors"—they don't believe that should have been removed—"Therefore be it resolved that the USCO make a strong protest to the provincial government objecting to any proposal to reduce these grants."

They also had a resolution with regard to the elimination of the sales tax that says:

"Whereas a significant portion of the cost of living experienced by senior citizens results from government taxes and such seniors cannot afford such costs on fixed incomes, and

"Whereas economists predict that only by stimulating the economy of this province, especially in the retail sector, can the present recession be broken, "Therefore be it resolved that this USCO convention go on record as urging the various levels of government, federal and provincial, to eliminate such sales taxes for senior citizens who are retired and on fixed incomes."

They went on and they talked about many different items. They talked about the rent rebates and they had resolutions with regard to them at their convention. It says:

"Whereas rental costs for housing for senior citizens can take up to 25% or more of pension incomes, and represents the most significant portion of income expenditures for senior citizens trying to live on fixed pension incomes,

"Therefore be it resolved that this USCO convention call upon the Ontario government not to reduce rebates to which senior citizens in this province are presently entitled."

There are not many seniors who only pay 25% of their income on rent. It's mostly 50%, in some cases 60%, in some cases 75%. They were calling on the government not to reduce any of the funding that they were getting. They need those dollars.

"Property tax rebates." They were being taxed to the limit. "Whereas the news media has mentioned that the provincial government plans to cancel the \$600 maximum tax rebate," they went on and indicated "that the United Senior Citizens of Ontario request that the provincial government retain the special tax rebate for senior citizens."

That's all part of this tax system that is being taken away from the seniors, except those in very, very serious need.

There were some other resolutions they looked at at the Windsor conference, and Mr Clark was good enough to pass some of these on to me because he's very concerned. As the chairman of zone 11 at that convention, he was capable of getting his points across of what he felt, as a senior, was the need.

It says, "Whereas seniors citizens in Ontario have benefited from the Ontario property tax grant and sales tax grant for the past several years." These people relied on that money in October, in the fall of the year, to help to pay the bills.

It says, "Whereas a great number of seniors residing in Ontario have not heretofore been required to prepare an income tax return because of insufficient earnings." I've had some people in my office who indicated they have not filled out a tax return. I've indicated to them very strongly that I felt they should because I felt that they were missing out on some benefits that may be in their favour if they did proceed to have their income tax filled out. I felt there were some benefits that perhaps they may not have been receiving that were possible for them to receive.

"Whereas the United Citizens of Ontario have consistently opposed de-indexing of old age security pensions on principle, and

"Whereas no opportunity has been given for consultation with senior citizen representatives respecting the proposed change."

Doesn't that sound a familiar tune? Whereas they have not been consulted. That is the history of this government when it comes to dealing with anything it is doing. They are not consulting with the people.

They went on and said, "Therefore be it resolved that the United Senior Citizens of Ontario beseech the government of Ontario to reconsider its intention to change the property tax grant and sales tax grant as outlined in the provincial government budget speech of 1992."

I want to speak briefly with regard to the property tax rebate.

"Whereas at present the provincial government gives senior citizens instalments of \$300 twice a year towards property taxes, and

"Whereas the present taxes on each residence continues to rise significantly, be it local or education taxes,

"Therefore be it resolved we approach the government of Ontario to continue these biyearly payments.

"Be it further resolved that these payments be increased or indexed to assist the seniors to remain self-sufficient in their homes or apartments or rental accommodations."

As I've said before, these residents have relied on this amount of money for many years. When this program started out it was \$450 a year, and at that time this program was in place to help to pay for the education tax on the seniors who found themselves in need when the education taxes had increased drastically. The \$450 was going to do that. Now it's been increased to the \$600.

That was a great benefit to many people and that was increased about five or six years ago. Many of us thought it should have been increased to \$1,000 because of the cost of taxes today on property. This government has seen fit to bring in a change whereby those it feels are in need will get it and those it feels are not in need will not get it.

I want to talk briefly about adjustment and property tax grants. This is part of the overall convention that was held in Windsor when Mr Clark indicated to me the resolutions were talked about there.

"Whereas the provincial budget for 1992-93 announces adjustments to provincial tax grants. Under these arrangements senior households with incomes between \$23,000 and \$40,000 will suffer appreciably. Furthermore, with Canada pensions linked to inflation, and bank interest rates falling to levels unheard of since the 1960s, many seniors have even less income than they have had in previous years."

That's very true. Seniors of this province realize that. The seniors of this province are saying this at the conventions they are holding. They went on and said:

"Therefore be it resolved that the provincial government be urged to raise the \$23,000 threshold, in order to help those seniors against whom the loss of the former level of property tax grants is especially discriminatory."

I have noted before that it is rather ironic that this NDP government goes to great lengths and expense to designate, proclaim and promote one month out of the year in recognition of our senior citizens.

This is the same government that continues its discriminatory policy that requires senior citizens over the age of 70 to undergo automatic driver's licence testing in the event of an accident, regardless of the circumstances. Clearly such testing should be restricted to only those charged with causing the accident or those who have displayed a lack of competence in operating a vehicle.

This is the same government that penalized senior citizens on June 8 when it increased the cost of several civil court transactions, such as real estate and mortgage transactions, wills and estates, divorces and family law matters, mostly pertaining to the senior citizens of this province.

Yes, this is the same government that has penalized senior citizens in a government ripoff that will see their nursing home fees increase up to \$300 a month with the passage of Bill 101. There have been contradictions to that, but it has been increased substantially.

## 2200

I would like to take the opportunity to thank Mr Ken Clark, president of zone 11, Simcoe county, of the United Senior Citizens of Ontario, for bringing these important resolutions to my attention. I have offered this Legislature tonight the opportunity to be part of those resolutions that Mr Clark brought to me. He told me that a copy of all the resolutions passed at the USCO's 34th annual convention last August in Windsor was forwarded to the government for its consideration and comments. Judging by Bill 31, I don't think the Revenue minister even glanced at the USCO resolutions. He failed to give them any consideration whatsoever; I'm not so sure they've been looked at.

There are also some other considerations that should be part of the property and sales tax grants. The USCO made many recommendations with regard to the concerns they raised at their annual meeting in Windsor, many concerns that I know have been forwarded to the minister. They talked about many different issues of the property tax grants; about the adjustment to the property tax grants; about the sales tax rebate; property tax and sales tax grants; elimination of sales tax on certain items, and rent rebates. I wish the Minister of Revenue had sat down with these people and listened to some of the concerns they raised at their annual meeting.

They also talked about dental care and mental health programs for our senior citizens in this province. I remember, some seven years ago, an election where a Premier was promising free dental care to seniors. I have not seen that yet. It's not part of this bill, it has not been discussed, and I wonder why. Have they forgotten about our seniors in this province?

I've said many times at events I attend that our seniors are the people who have made Canada and Ontario what we're enjoying today. Those people worked for very little, did without many things. They worked hard. They were part of a community, they built a community, and made sure that things in that community happened. And they did it mostly on a volunteer basis, something we're lacking very strongly in society today. In small-town Ontario we still have that, and it's the seniors who instilled that into many people of this province.

I hope the people listening tonight will realize who I feel are the most important people of this province, the ones who built it, the ones who cared for us and the ones who made this Legislature what it is. But when I look at this bill, I have the feeling that this government does not realize who built Ontario and Canada and made them what we're enjoying today.

Even the students of this province are having second thoughts now. I remember that somebody here called the last Liberal leader in this province a liar five times. When I look at the Agenda for People and at what's in that Agenda for People, and when I look at what's happening today and at what's happened in the last two years in this Legislature—the people out there watching know what's happening. The people watching know the mistake they made. The people out there know they did not elect an NDP government. The people out there know they were sick and tired of tax increases they had seen and that they wanted a change.

In that last campaign, I remember going to seniors' homes, and they were saying that Mike Harris was going to do away with the tax grants to the seniors. That was not the case at all. I did not see any of that in the Agenda for People.

The Agenda for People indicated what they wanted to do in education, with small business and farmers, how they were going to make loans available to the farmers and the small businesses and keep them in operation. Has that happened? No, it has not happened, and they know it. They know full well what they have done. They blame everything now on the economy. They want to blame it on the government in Ottawa.

Today, I asked some questions about why business is moving out of Ontario. I couldn't get answers about why business is moving out of Ontario. We appointed a head of Hydro who was businessman of the year in the United States of America. I said to myself: "You and Bob Rae have something in common, because Bob Rae was the Buffalo Booster man of the year, and you were the man of the year for the United States. So you did have something in common."

Look at education costs and this government. There was all kinds of talk about 60% funding: "Within five years we will have 60% funding, back to the level that people want." When we left government, 51% was what the province was paying, when the new government took power, 43% was what government paid, and today it is somewhere between 37% and 39% that the government pays, the government that promised a commitment of up to 60% funding.

The other thing they promised was that student tuition fees were going to be free, no charge for tuition fees. What did they do? There are no more grants. If you want to apply for a loan, that's your privilege, but there are no grants.

Look at tuition fees and the cost of education today. We're dealing with the sales tax grant here for our seniors, and all we've got to do is look at these people who are living in their homes, at the increased education costs in their property tax. How can some of these people remain in the homes they have built and worked so hard to achieve? This government has not made it easy for that to happen. Now this government is bringing in a bill that says: "The \$600 and the \$50 sales tax rebate you got, no, no, you've got to apply for it now. You don't automatically get it; you apply for it." So there are a lot of things—

Hon Ms Gigantes: The GST, the GST.

Mr McLean: All the Minister of Housing can talk about is GST. She's not interested in what's going on here in the province of Ontario. She's not interested in looking at her own ministry. In one case, this government bought 127 two-bedroom units for an average of \$140,000, and the survey showed that the average Metro price was \$70,000 in 1989 and \$51,000 in 1991, and this minister has the gall to talk about the GST. You can't even run your ministry. You don't know what's going on in the province of Ontario when you pay \$140,000 a unit for subsidized housing. You should know better than that. The people know better, but it's unfortunate that you don't.

With regard to the property tax rebate and the sales tax grant, this bill certainly leaves something to be desired. They want to talk about dental care, some of the programs that should have been brought in for our seniors. We don't hear it. They think somebody who's making \$23,000 a year is making a great salary. Ask some of the seniors out there who are paying \$4,000 and \$5,000 in property tax on their homes if that's a good salary. Mr Speaker, you know different and I know different, and I'll tell you, the people out there know different.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr McLean: When it comes to dental care, health care and health promotion and illness prevention, the Minister of Health has just recently brought in a bill with regard to streamlining the health care in this province. We all know it's going to cost up to \$300 a year extra for a lot of people, seniors, to stay in their homes.

## 2210

A part in here talks about the Huronia Regional Centre in Orillia; it's what I have been talking about for years. The senior citizens in Windsor discussed this very issue. It says:

"There is an increasing need for chronic care facilities in central Ontario to deal with illnesses of an ongoing nature and which require specialized care; and

"Whereas the province already owns the Huronia Regional Centre, located in Orillia, which is an adequate facility for this purpose; and

"Whereas the Huronia Regional Centre is located on the shores of Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching, which would provide a positive quality of life with a holistic and restorative atmosphere, and Orillia is situated in the centre of Ontario's most highly populated areas, making it convenient for visitation; and

"Whereas the Huronia Regional Centre is conveniently located in relation to the Soldiers' Memorial Hospital in Orillia, convenient to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Barrie, Parry Sound Regional Trauma Centre, Huronia District Hospital in Midland and the public health laboratory which is located in Orillia on the same grounds;

"Therefore be it resolved that the USCO strongly recommends to the provincial government that the existing Huronia Regional Centre be used as a chronic care facility for the treatment and care of patients suffering from longterm illnesses such as Alzheimer's." For at least seven or eight years now, I have been making statements in the House on this very issue, this very issue of helping our seniors, this very issue about people in this province who are Alzheimer's patients. I spoke here the other day about a friend who was in the hospital in Orillia in the chronic care unit who couldn't see anything out the window.

Those members who want to make fun of this, who are not interested, maybe should listen, because they may be old some day. They may not be able to look out a window, like this lady. They may be in a position where they would like to be in a homey atmosphere such as the Huronia Regional Centre whereby they would be able to have some dignity and some pride, and family and friends' visitation would be all part of it.

The last thing I want to leave with you is that during the 1990 election campaign, this government had indicated nothing in its Agenda for People—there was no such talk—about taking the sales tax grant away from our seniors. It was a program in place for many years. It started at \$450 a year and increased to \$600 a year. It was something those people looked forward to. The \$50 tax grant may not seem like a lot of money to some people, but to our seniors it is a lot of money.

I went to seniors' homes, and they said that our leader was going to do away with the property tax grant. It was a whisper campaign from the very people who are sitting here today and doing it to them. And the ones who voted for them will do it back. The people will not forget what these people have done to our seniors of this province, who made this country, who made Canada and made Ontario that we're enjoying today. They're penalizing them tonight, and I say to all you people who are taking this property tax grant from our seniors, shame on you.

The Acting Speaker: Now is the time for questions and/or comments.

Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming): I'd like to compliment the member for Simcoe East on his speech today on this bill. He brought out some very germane points, I thought, about how this government is really taxing the seniors of Ontario. I like very much his feeling about the seniors being the people who built this country and how we of this generation, whom they took care of, really owe them for that. In this legislation today, I think we're not doing that.

It's worthy to note that one could say that maybe some of the changes in this particular bill aren't the worst things in the world, but when you look at the cumulative impact of all the different bills, regulations and issues that this government has brought down upon seniors, I think you could go so far as to say that this government has basically declared war on elderly people in Ontario.

If you look at the provincial park fee increases, that's another one in isolation, but add that up. For the seniors who travel south for more than six months of the year, while I agree with that policy of them having to pay their share, that's another cost being borne by them. Add that up. Yesterday we debated Bill 101, talking about long-term care. The copayment structure fee has been changed and

the average senior in those institutions would now pay 38% more.

It's one change after another. It's the changes in these bills and other bills that have gone on for the last little while. But the cumulative impact is going to mean that seniors are going to have to be paying a lot more in Ontario in order to live, and that's wrong.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs): Tell the truth.

Mr Ramsay: That is the truth. The member for Lake Nipigon over there says, "Tell the truth." I'm just listing off all the various things this government has done. For each one in itself one could make a very rational argument, but the cumulative impact of all of these various issues put together is costing the seniors of Ontario a lot of money. On behalf of the colleagues I represent, I just want to say that I think it's a shame.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I want to compliment my colleague the member for Simcoe East for what I thought was an excellent and very compassionate speech on behalf of the senior citizens and the frail elderly of Ontario.

It strikes me as passing strange that this government, which went to our senior homes during the last campaign and said that Mike Harris was going to cut the property tax grant, is now manipulating that property tax grant to the tune of saving itself, the government, \$80 million to \$100 million a year, simply out of the pockets of senior citizens of this province. As the Ontario PC Health critic I find it strange indeed that the Minister of Health and other ministers of the government get up and tell us that the way to go in health care is with community-based health care. How can seniors afford to stay in their homes if this government keeps attacking what little money they have?

I say to you that we have not seen any studies to indicate that community-based care is any cheaper, and it won't be cheaper if you don't give seniors the property tax grants they're entitled to. These aren't freebies. These were introduced by Tory governments to offset property tax and school board taxes and enable seniors to stay in their homes with dignity as long as possible. This government's sucking \$80 million to \$100 million out of the pockets of seniors and yet the Health minister says they're supposed to stay in their homes. Many seniors simply won't be able to afford their property taxes and school board taxes and their heat and hydro and everything else that's gone up under this government.

I think the NDP should be ashamed and the members who are here tonight should be ashamed to be part of that party that spread falsehoods in the campaign about my party, a party that introduced the property tax grant. Now these people are out to destroy the Ontario that our seniors once took for granted. All I can say is that they should be ashamed.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Nepean.

Mr Daigeler: I think the member for Simcoe East put some very important points on the record. I have heard him before speak on behalf of seniors and I certainly appreciate when he puts forward the views that he's heard from people in his riding and other events he has attended. The member for Simcoe East put them on the record.

I too get a lot of letters and comments. I quoted some when I spoke earlier on this evening. I just want to put on the record something that I just received from somebody in my riding. This is a letter I have here. It's dated November 28. The member for Fort York was saying earlier: "We're making it fairer. Those seniors who have a higher income will get less. In fact, they get very little when they have high incomes." This senior who wrote to me, his income is \$60,000, which sounds high, sounds very high.

Interjections.

Mr Daigeler: Just a minute. Listen to what this gentleman says. His wife is in a nursing home, and the cost he has to pay for his wife to be in the nursing home is \$30,000. That reduces his income to \$20,000. You're increasing the copayment fee. You're charging him almost \$4,000 more, reducing his disposable income way below the poverty line.

2220

On paper, in theory, according to you NDPers this gentleman is supposed to be rich, but the reality is that the actual life is very different. You're hurting this gentleman further with the elimination of this property tax grant and with all the other measures you have introduced and that you're about to introduce that are hurting the seniors and that are hurting the people who are writing to me, and whom I have the letters from right here.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I'd like to save the NDP from the truth but you're going to hear it anyway. What I object to about this tax and why I fully support my colleague Mr McLean is simply because this government doesn't have a vision or a policy framework in which to deal with senior citizens.

It's very clear, if you listen to the debate in this House, what the Bob Rae government didn't say to seniors. I hearken you back to your election platform. There were no specific proposals or programs for seniors. Seniors were basically being told: "You don't count in this province. You're not part of our future in this province."

What did we see in the throne speech? The very first throne speech in November 1990 was the first throne speech in modern Ontario history with not one reference to the word "senior," to the person "senior," to those personnes âgées, says my colleague opposite. He knows whom we're talking about. But I defy you to pull out that throne speech and show anywhere where there was a commitment from your government to senior citizens. That has been the policy of this province for many years, to ensure that retirement is as important as early childhood education in this province.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): You guys offer a lot of lipservice.

Mr Jackson: The member who is sometimes masquerading as the Community and Social Services critic knows the many programs which he and his ministry have withdrawn from, but the story is much deeper. Not once did this government mention its interest in seniors in the fair property tax commission review—that irony of statements, a Fair Tax Commission. Not once did you mention in that literature, in that pronouncement, the interests of seniors. But today you're asking this Parliament to pass a bill to remove the tax grant that was given to seniors in recognition of their many years of commitment and service and the increased costs that seniors will face.

You've pre-empted the commission because you don't have any commitment to seniors in this province.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Simcoe East has two minutes in response.

Mr McLean: I'd like to thank the members for Timiskaming, Simcoe West, Nepean and Burlington South for their comments.

There are a lot of people here who don't know what it was like to be poor and they don't know what it was like to work hard. My father built the road between Orillia and Barrie with a team of horses and a scoop. I remember my mother going shopping with a \$10 bill for seven kids. I remember going to the beef ring with my father for a pail of meat that would do our family for the week.

I know what the seniors did in my day. I know what my parents did for me and my brothers and sisters. I know what our party did to bring in the property tax grant to help those very people who built Ontario and built Canada with a team of horses and a scraper like my father did.

Interjections.

Mr McLean: Those people over there are laughing about that. I'm telling you, that's hard to accept when I hear these people saying what they are saying about people like my parents and many parents in this province who worked so hard.

I remember working for \$2 a day. These people will probably laugh about that, but they don't know what it was like to be poor. They let on they know what it's like for the little people. With the legislation that I've seen brought in here since they've been in power, they're not what they have said they have been over the years: the people for the poor. No. They are different. They should be ashamed of the legislation they are bringing in in this Legislature.

The Acting Speaker: I want to remind all members that interjections are out of order, and we do have the opportunity for questions and/or comments. Please use those. We now proceed with further debate. The honourable member for Algoma-Manitoulin.

Mr Brown: I was waiting for one of the government members to stand and take their turn in the rotation. I suppose many of us are really quite surprised that they don't want to participate in this debate, or perhaps we're not very surprised they don't want to participate in this debate. You know, this is the first week in December.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Hon Ms Gigantes: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: My point of order is that if the member had been present earlier he would have heard me explain, on behalf of the government side, that we are not participating in order to allow the opposition full rein this evening in the hopes that this very good measure will pass.

The Acting Speaker: That's not a point of order. It's clearly a point of view; it's not a point of order.

The honourable member for Algoma-Manitoulin has the floor. I remind honourable members that interjections are out of order, particularly when they're not in their own assigned seat.

**Mr Brown:** Thank you, Mr Speaker, for your patience. Just to help the Minister of Housing, I of course was here when she made that comment. I didn't accept that explanation. I think the explanation is that the government is ashamed of this bill

If I can take you back, just for a while, to the spring of this year, when this draconian measure was put before this House, doesn't it strike you as a little strange that this measure is being debated the second-last day this House sits before the Christmas recess? I think the government is hoping that the people of Ontario are thinking about Santa Claus, reindeer and other things, and not paying attention to what this government is doing. I put that to you because I know they don't want to participate in what I think is a valuable debate on some really important policies to the working people of this province and to the senior citizens of this province.

I would like to indicate what this bill is really about. It does three things. The first thing is it changes the seniors tax grant program to a seniors tax credit program. There's a significant difference; I'll get to that later. The second thing it does is increase Ontario's basic income tax rate for all Ontarians. The third thing this bill does is lower the threshold for the application of the Ontario high-income surcharge.

The government, through this bill, will increase Ontario's personal income tax to 54.5% of the basic federal income tax for the 1992 taxation year. For 1993 the government will increase the rate to 55% of the basic federal income tax. That means, for example, that a single-income family of four at the \$40,000 income level will pay \$110 more in taxes to our good friend Pink Floyd.

The government says, and I think this is important, that this measure, this increase of income tax was necessary because of high deficits. I want to take you back again, because I think this is an important point. I recall, as most members will, that this government was going to buy Ontario out of this recession; this government was going to buy the free world out of recession. Singlehandedly, Bob Rae, the only one who understands economics in the free world, was going to buy Ontario out of the recession; hence an increase in the first year, Mr Laughren's first budget, of, I believe, 13% to 14% in the gross spending of this province. That reflected an unbelievable deficit, something that no other government in the free world saw fit to

run, an atrocious deficit. But it was going to work. It was going to take us out of the recession.

## 2230

Well, here we are a year later and we're in the middle of this recession, still here, and now the Treasurer is going to tax his way out of the recession: a very interesting suggestion. He waited. He waited until Mr Mulroney had his budget. Remember that? Mr Mazankowski in the House? He cut the income tax. A good old Tory cut the income tax, and guess what? Mr Laughren was back in there as soon as he could get a budget to take up the slack. He increased Ontario's income tax exactly the same as Mr Mazankowski dropped the income tax: kind of interesting, interesting in that he thought he could hide it. He thought nobody out there would notice. He thought they wouldn't know Mr Laughren was taking back the money Mr Mazankowski had just given.

It worked, maybe, except for one thing: He had to increase the tax this year to 56% because he only had half the year to do it. He increased it so that you, Mr Speaker—and I know you're in this income category—could pay a little bit more to help out good old Floyd. Sleight of hand is kind when you describe that.

I'm told that Mr Mazankowski, that generous Tory Finance minister, gave somebody making \$10,000 a whole \$10 rebate. He could pay \$10 less in taxes. Maybe it wasn't going to help a lot, but Mr Laughren grabbed that \$10 before Mr Mazankowski could hardly blink an eye. For \$20,000 a taxpayer would save, I believe—I could be wrong on this, but I think it was in the neighbourhood of \$30. Floyd grabbed the \$30 right back. And guess what? For \$30,000, and a lot of my constituents don't make \$30,000, but they would have saved \$75 if Mr Mazankowski's measure was taken through, but Floyd, with his greedy little paws, grabbed the money, because now he's going to tax his way out of this mess because he wasn't able to buy his way out of this mess. I find that kind of strange.

Then what did the party of the people do next? The party of the people wasn't satisfied in just having every Ontarian pay more tax. They decided that the income surcharge, which previously had applied to people making \$84,000 or more, would apply to people making \$53,000. In other words, you became rich in Ontario, under this Bob Rae socialist government, when you got to \$53,000.

Who makes that kind of money? I'm sure I've got some people at E.B. Eddy in Espanola who will make \$53,000, and they would tell me they're not rich. I have a few folks at Rio Algom—what's left after the NDP laid most of them off—who would make \$53,000. They're going to be out of jobs in 1995. They don't think they're rich at \$53,000. I have schoolteachers, who work very hard for our children in our school system. They're going to be paying the surcharge because now, in Bob Rae's Ontario, they're rich.

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): Tax the rich. Make them all poor.

**Mr Brown:** That's exactly what we're finding. The NDP's policy of tax the rich when they were in opposition has become tax the middle class.

I don't know, but in my travels through my constituency, I'm getting what I guess the political commentators call "tax fatigue." My constituents are telling us: "We just can't accept more taxes. It just won't work." You can't keep going back to the well, because people are hurting out there. People are unemployed.

But not in Bob Rae's Ontario. In Bob Rae's Ontario, we're going to tax our way out of this deficit. I tell you, I don't think it will work and I don't think Ontarians, in this Christmas season, will believe that it's going to work. I suspect that perhaps in this Christmas season the good people of Ontario might be calling our friend Bob, "Scrooge."

I think perhaps the most interesting part of this bill is the changes to the seniors' tax grant system. It is now being changed to a seniors' tax credit system. That means a great number of my constituents will no longer qualify, or will qualify for reduced amounts from the provincial government. I think of the people in Mindemoya, the people in Manitouwaning, the folks in South Baymouth, those at Whitefish Falls, the good people at Massey. Their families came to the area over 100 years ago to carve out of the wilderness farms and places for people to work and prosper. They had a great deal of difficulty in doing that. They worked hard, and through the generations they have managed to build a society that is good.

The intent of the seniors' tax grant was to offset, primarily, education taxes. That was the real intent: to offset education taxes that seniors pay. It seemed reasonable to people that after having worked your whole life, put your own children through school, and probably your grandchildren, after you reached 65, you would no longer have to continue to pay education taxes through your property tax base. That was one of the primary reasons the grant was put in place.

But that's all gone, because in Bob Rae's Ontario I believe the number—I should look at my notes—is that if you make \$27,000, you're now considered rich. You start to see the money, the tax credit, evaporate.

I'll tell you, \$27,000 is not a great deal of money. When we're trying to encourage our seniors to stay in their homes, stay out of institutions, to not be taking advantage of the facilities the good taxpayers of Ontario make available to them, the property tax grant was probably a good deal in helping them pay their bills. But now you're rich at \$27,000.

The true problem with this is that the Treasurer should be really up front. This is really a revenue bill that is going to bring the Treasurer of Ontario hundreds of millions of dollars. He's doing it on the backs of seniors. He didn't balance it. He didn't say, "I'm going to take some of the money from the high-income earners and give it to the low-income earners." He didn't say that.

What has happened is that he's paying the low-income seniors a little bit more, and that's good, but he's taking a lot of money away from higher-income earners and just sticking it in his jeans and using it to finance one of the many government fiascos that we see going on today.

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The seniors I represent have had a difficult time in the last few years. This is not the first attack on seniors. As a matter of fact, I suggest to you that this government has made numerous attacks on seniors, and on the middle class: the middle class of seniors, that is. Seniors, for example, are now paying huge amounts more money if they choose to go to more southern climes for a month or two in the winter, through having to pay tremendous increases in fees for out-of-country health service. That may be fair—I'm not sure—but I know that it presents more burden on these folks in their homes.

I also know that the long-term care initiatives of this government are following the same principles. Now we have a 38% increase in what seniors must pay to be in institutions. That may not seem a tremendous amount of money, but I think it works out to be \$3,400 or \$3,500 additional a year. If you are, as are some of the people I know, in the position that your spouse is in a nursing home and you have a reasonable but relatively low level of income, the cost of having one spouse in the nursing home while the other tries to maintain an apartment or home is very difficult for these people. I don't believe the government has taken a hard look or a good look at how those people who have a spouse in one of our institutions are supposed to cope.

Another problem in particular for seniors has been hydro rates. With the exception of welfare, I probably get more calls about Ontario Hydro than any other particular issue. Seniors in my communities do not have access to a cheaper fuel such as natural gas. Many of them heat their homes with hydro. The increases in hydro, I believe, would be in the order of at least 30% in the last three years. That is another increased burden on people whom the government professes it wants to keep in their own homes.

Moving on, I look at rent control under this government. The Minister of Housing is here. That's great. I want to tell you how well that's worked. What that's done is that under the previous regimes of rent control the average rent increase in the province was always about the rate of inflation. When inflation was 5%, it was around 5.6%.

Interjection.

Mr Brown: It's right there. There was very little difference between the increase in rent and the increase in the rent control guidelines. But guess what? Under this government rent increases are running 3% to 4% ahead of inflation every year. That's rent control that really works. I know seniors who got something like 37 cents additional in their last federal seniors' cheque. What do you call that? Social security cheque? Whatever. Those people got 37 cents and were hit with very large rent increases last year. It was 6%, I believe; this year it's almost 5%.

To add further injury, the government went so far as to charge senior citizens more to go to provincial parks. Even provincial parks have to get more money from seniors.

I think it would be a good time to point out that there is one good thing about this bill. The good thing about this bill is at least it's up front. At least we have an

opportunity in this Legislature to debate it. At least we can talk about it.

I have a list of but a few revenue grabs that the government has passed by regulation that will not be debated here. No one in here will talk about it, because it's done by order in council behind closed doors. But guess what? You get surprised every time you go to see a government agency. I'll just indicate a few of them.

There's a \$50 corporation filing fee imposed. So every time you file your corporation papers, \$50. That's up from zero. That's going to raise for the government another \$1.8 million.

Now there's a fee to register handicapped elevating devices, and it's up 320% to \$210.

Fees for signs. You know the signs you see on the sides of roads? They're up 200% in some cases. Two hundred per cent.

The cost of probating a will has tripled. The cost of a divorce petition transaction is up 68% to \$320. The cost of searching a title for residential real estate has tripled to \$11. The cost of filing a claim in civil court is up 66%, from \$75 to \$125. The cost of defending a claim in civil court is up 75%, from \$40 to \$70. The cost of a writ to seize property goes up 80%, from \$25 to \$45.

The cost of a fishing licence is up 30%, from \$11.50 to \$15, and you have the added pleasure of paying \$6 so you can have your Outdoors Card. There's a new royalty of 2% imposed on the value of fish caught by commercial fishermen.

Environmental certificates of approval, formerly free of charge, now require a fee that will generate \$900,000 this year and \$1.85 million next year.

I've had municipalities write me about this one: There's a fee now charged by the Ministry of the Environment to test well water. I'm also told they're now going to charge municipalities for testing their water.

Lab licence fees are up 6%, from \$602 to \$634.

This members will really like. There's a \$20 fee charged for the government book listing on the value of used vehicles.

That's just a partial list. We really didn't work very hard at that list. But the amazing thing is that all these fees and all these charges, we never see here. They're never debated. They're not debated like Bill 31 is. None of us has an opportunity in this place to speak to these charges that every one of our constituents will take advantage of in some way or another over the next few years.

I find this whole revenue grab, this tax grab announced by the Treasurer, the largest tax grab in this province's history I'm told, at a time when the government is hoping the consumers will lift us out of the recession that we're in by spending more dollars—the policy is contradictory. I can't understand it. Why does the government have to be reaching deeper and deeper into your pocket?

To me, Keynesian economics or any economics would indicate that that is the way to stall an economy out. That is the way to stop an economy. That is the way to knock inflation down, do all those good things. Tax, make sure the consumer has no confidence and make sure you grab as much as you can from every paycheque that you can. That's this government's new philosophy,

a new philosophy that has come to pass because the government now believes it can tax its way out of the recession that last year it thought it could spend its way out of.

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I think Mr Laughren has been very clever here. My friend the Treasurer has snuck in and grabbed some money out of the pockets of the people. They probably haven't noticed because they probably thought Mr Mazankowski was still in their jeans. But that's not the way it is, and I think that has the full impact of the decisions the government is taking with regard to senior citizens in particular.

This government, as the seniors become more and more aware, which they will as time goes by, will find it's going to have to rethink this one. I sincerely hope you'll have to rethink this one because senior citizens, at that level of income, at the level of \$27,000, are not rich people. They do not have the ability to live in a manner that I think all of us would believe appropriate, independent in their own homes, on \$27,000.

As a poor Liberal looks over at the party of the people, at the party that promised it would tax the rich, the kind of Robin Hood philosophy, and has ended up indicating that rich people are at \$27,000, and in the case of income tax surcharge at \$53,000, and has increased income tax on every single Ontarian this year, notwithstanding what the Premier said—if you'll recall back in June, Mr Rae actually believed, at least he told us so I guess I can't be sure he believed it, that the government was lowering taxes on the low-income people, but it's just not the case.

With that, I will resignedly sit down in my seat, with no great feeling of joy in this Christmas season because, Mr Speaker, I submit to you, Scrooge is here.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Algoma-Manitoulin for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments.

Mr Wiseman: I'm rising now to make some comments because we understood, on this side of the House, from the beginning that there had been an agreement by the three parties on how this debate would continue, and it seems to me that the parties opposite, particularly the Liberal Party, have demonstrated that they have no honour, that they will not keep agreements and that they will renege on what has been agreed by the House leaders.

I would like to say that if there is a tax fatigue in the community, it has more to do with what the Liberals did in power than what we have done. I would just like to go through this as an example. In the 1986-87 year, the total taxation revenue for the province of Ontario was \$19.958 billion. In the taxation year 1989-90, three years later, the total taxation revenue collected was \$31.015 billion, an increase of \$12 billion in tax increases by that party in three years.

Let's talk a little bit about where these increases came from. Personal income tax: \$8.618 billion in 1986-87, \$13.518 billion in 1989-90. That's a 62% increase in income tax collected. Retail sales tax went from \$5.6 billion to \$8.5 billion, a 60% increase. Yet they have the audacity to sit here and say that the cause of tax fatigue is what we're doing, when in fact what we are doing is redistributing

income from those who are well able to pay to those who have been less fortunate, following on a tax program that they themselves advocated in 1980.

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired. I recognize the member for Fort York.

Mr Marchese: The member for Algoma-Manitoulin—

**Mr Daigeler:** On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Is it not our tradition that we rotate question and answers?

**The Speaker:** Stop the clock for a minute, please. We have a total of four and we try to have a balance, and indeed I'm prepared to recognize the member so that there will be a balance. The member will be recognized after the member for Fort York.

Mr Daigeler: I accept that, but it's been my understanding that we normally rotate. I can stand corrected, if you want.

The Speaker: The member for Fort York.

**Mr Marchese:** If the member for Nepean distorted reality, the member for Algoma-Manitoulin mythologizes even more effectively, as did the member of the Conservative Party.

Mr Jackson: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: In spite of your hand signals to your colleagues in the government, I'd appreciate it if you'd recalibrate the clock in accordance. Otherwise, the member opposite is getting more time, and that's only fair, if you'd consider that, Mr Speaker.

Mr Marchese: I've lost all my time.

**The Speaker:** I don't think there's a problem with the clock, no. The member for Fort York.

Mr Marchese: I hope I would be allowed the extra 30 seconds on this. As I was saying, the member for Algoma-Manitoulin mythologizes even more effectively, as did the member for Simcoe East when he spoke earlier on this bill as well. I don't know where either of these members come from, but in my riding most of the people I know don't make more than \$20,000.

I use my mother as a fine example of a senior who makes \$10,000. I use my mother as an example of a senior who took care of her husband, who had Alzheimer's disease when he was age 70, and he died at 77. She makes \$10,000. That's the world I know, and these are the people who orient themselves in my riding and, I presume, in theirs as well.

The member for Algoma-Manitoulin mentions some area called—I can't even remember where—

Interjection: Whitefish.

Mr Marchese: Whitefish Falls. I'm presuming from his comment that they make over \$50,000 as seniors. He says, for example, "You're rich." The NDP is saying you're rich if you're making \$53,000. Well, I can tell you that you are rich if you're making \$53,000, and when I see that my mother makes only \$10,000, she's very poor. So where they invent this reality somehow that we're doing something improper is beyond me.

The Speaker: The member's time has expired.

Mr Marchese: Mr Speaker, you will admit that my time had been robbed.

The Speaker: No, the member for Fort York, the time has expired. I realize that the member was trying to make presentations, but the time has expired and I recognize the member for Nepean.

Mr Daigeler: I don't think we robbed anything from the member for Fort York. In fact, he was lucky he got his turn, because normally we rotate and it was just out of courtesy that I let him speak.

Interjections.

Mr Daigeler: Well, many of the members in the House are young members. I've been in this House now for five years and it is a tradition that we have rotated the questions and comments.

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: How can the member stand on his feet and say it is his courtesy when it was your ruling that in fact recognized the member?

The Speaker: Members are recognized by the Chair, and the member for Nepean is recognized.

**Mr Daigeler:** I just would like to say I've been in this House now for much longer than most of the members over there and I know what the traditions are in this House.

But let me say to the member, because we're commenting on the remarks by the member for Algoma-Manitoulin, he made some very important points about the hidden taxation that is taking place by this government, and he gave a long list of indirect taxation measures.

One of the most offensive ones, and in fact the member for Renfrew North brought it up in this House in question period, is the one on the used cars. That again is a taxation measure that hits the underprivileged and those people the NDP is supposed to stand for most. Just last week I received a letter and it reads as follows:

"At this time I want to register a vigorous protest against the new procedures to register an older car in Ontario. This is another NDP ripoff of the taxpayers and consumers, especially the poor, who can only afford an old car, if they are lucky. It should be obvious to anyone that cars, especially old cars, are not equal in value."

That is another measure that this government has introduced as hidden taxation and is not willing to discuss in this House.

2300

The Speaker: The member's time has expired. Questions and/or comments? The member for Burlington South.

Mr Jackson: I find it rather unusual that both the Liberals and the socialists are debating over just who taxed more, or who took away services more in the last seven years in this province.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Jackson: I think that if we were to put things in perspective, we would know that far too many things are being put on the property tax base in this province. Far too many things are being offed to the municipal property tax, and there will be a large number of senior citizens in this province who will be affected by this bill tonight. The fact of the matter is that in spite of the protests opposite, those

members should listen carefully to the kinds of concerns that are being expressed.

Seniors are paying for the services you're offering them. The integrated homemaker program: You campaigned and said you'd spend \$62 million. You're spending \$3.2 million before the end of this fiscal year, and where are you going to get the money? By cutting short these property tax grants to seniors in recognition of the incredibly high property taxes that are paid in this province.

If you look at market value assessment, another one of your enforced—

Mr Hope: Darcy McKeough.

Mr Jackson: Well, you want to bring up Darcy McKeough. Darcy McKeough made some outstanding contributions to this province. We'd be well served to have a Darcy McKeough back in this House. But I'll tell you that your Treasurer, Floyd Laughren, is no Darcy McKeough. That is for sure.

It's indeed unfortunate, but I listen to the member opposite referencing the circumstances of his mother and his family's circumstances. I just ask him, if in fact he is listening to his mother's concerns, he'll consider—

The Speaker: The member's time has expired. Further debate. I err. How could I forget the member for Algoma-Manitoulin? He has two minutes within which to wrap up his comments in response.

Mr Brown: Merry Christmas, Mr Speaker. My first comment would be to thank the member for Durham dumps, no, Durham West, for participating.

One of the very interesting things they do is to talk about revenues. He talks about an increase in revenues from income tax during a Liberal government. Of course, the economy grew. People paid taxes. We didn't have unemployment. We were paying that kind of stuff. Of course the revenues went up. You've got to understand that the way to get more revenues isn't to increase taxes; the way to get more revenues is to get the economy going. That's how that works.

To the member for Fort York, I appreciate his intervention, but I wasn't talking about seniors in Whitefish Falls making \$53,000. We were talking about the tax credit. That's a \$27,000—when you start to have the credit reduced. That is a far different figure and many of my seniors—

Interjection.

**Mr Brown:** You're right. Probably the majority don't make that. That's fine. I understand that, but they're not going to get much more money. That's not how that works.

The member for Nepean made the best point of all. He talked about the hidden taxation that this government's putting out, the unconscionable seizure of not only the 20 bucks for registering your car but the unconscionable policy of this government in charging sales tax on the Canadian Red Book value, on what the bankers say the car is worth and not what the market says the car is worth. We had some good examples of what the Ministry of Transportation does in that regard, which I think all members of the House would understand to be very interesting to say the least.

I wrap up by saying again to this government at Christmas time: Scrooge.

The Speaker: Further debate.

Mr Jackson: I appreciate the opportunity to speak to this terrible tax from our Treasurer. It is with some concern, having been assigned the responsibilities of being advocate for seniors' issues and advocate for Community and Social Services issues for the Progressive Conservative Party in Ontario, that I rise to put in context how patently unfair and how typical this initiative by the government is.

I said earlier, in responding to a speaker, that what we're seeing from the government opposite is that it does not have a clear vision or a clear planning profile in which to deal with senior citizens and their concerns in this province. What is clear is that we have a patchwork of reaction and, unfortunately, the pattern is all too clear.

To talk to seniors out there, they have legitimate fears and concerns about the policy pronouncements that have come from this government. We have seen reductions in access to services. We've seen reductions in insured services in health in a variety of areas. We've seen delisting of drugs from the Ontario drug benefit plan, and as has been evidenced in this Legislature, drugs that do not have a generic alternative or an alternative drug, so that being single-source drugs, they have to be acquired by seniors. Some of these drugs are more expensive on a monthly basis than the monthly rent that they pay in a rent-geared-to-income housing unit in this province.

When seniors see that one of the first tax increases—and this government has resisted tax increases or grant reductions. It has resisted that. But why did they choose seniors first? Why is it that they chose seniors first? One might reasonably argue that political observers cynically watched some of the cuts the Liberals did in the last three years and there weren't thousands of senior citizens arriving at Queen's Park and lining up on the front lawn. Grey power did not come to Queen's Park in any significant numbers at all in the last five or six years.

I guess the NDPers felt, "If the Liberals can get away with these cuts, perhaps we can proceed and make some additional cuts, because they really don't have the cohesive infrastructure, the mobility and the ability to lobby and to demonstrate in large numbers here at Queen's Park."

Perhaps it's in their nature not to complain. Perhaps it's in their nature, having gone through a depression, having gone through a recession, having gone through a world war, to realize the true context of sacrifice. But in that context, governments have great responsibility not to abuse that trust and confidence that seniors traditionally put in their government.

It puts a responsibility on a government to ensure that it doesn't look at seniors as some lobby group that will be less effective and less vocal in the media. It becomes important, then, that they be treated with respect because they are politically vulnerable. That is not what we have seen from this government to date, and I cite Bill 31, these reductions in property tax grants to seniors, as a clear and

classic example of the government's growing indifference to seniors in Ontario.

I see the Minister of Energy opposite shaking his head. I have been a colleague of his in this Legislature for many years and I know he's raised these concerns in the past, but he also knows that he is currently responsible for some rather large increases in residential hydro rates. He's fooling himself if he thinks that senior citizens will be insulated somehow from these costs. The minister knows that, and that's clearly on the list of the kinds of additional expenses for seniors.

You can't simply isolate one policy announcement one month to the next. Seniors are sitting in their living rooms at home and they're looking at their monthly bills growing and they're looking at their income and their capacity to spend dwindling at an alarming rate. They deserve better in this province, but we make decisions here as a government, we as a Legislature make the kinds of decisions that fuel that insecurity and provide a climate in which seniors really, truly fear for their future.

I have said earlier this evening that there was no surprise that seniors have fallen to a low-level priority for the government. As I mentioned earlier, the throne speech, an address presented by His Honour Lincoln Alexander on November 20, 1990, the first throne speech in modern Ontario history that through all of its—let me get the number of pages—17 pages—I'm sure it took His Honour a good half-hour to read it—has not one mention of senior citizens.

# 2310

There was some scant hope for seniors when the government said, "We're going to pursue a property tax review, a complete tax review, on the Fair Tax Commission, and we intend to listen to seniors." Yet with the work of the Fair Tax Commission barely begun, with the scant few seniors who were invited by the government to sit on the Fair Tax Commission for their input, to understand the impact taxation issues will have on their lives, this government in its first budget jumped to the forefront and started raising issues about reducing grants to seniors.

It's incredibly important that we try and take a moment and put into context the impact that grant reductions and tax increases will have on senior citizens on fixed incomes in this province. There is the global issue of just how fast property taxes are rising in this province, and I remind all members of the House that the reason we have a property tax grant system for senior citizens and pensioners in this province was in growing recognition by the Progressive Conservative Party, when we were the government, that senior citizens had made a lifetime contribution towards their education taxes and deserved and needed appropriate relief from the effects of the very huge tax increases that were occurring. Within the last five, six years it was clear—

Interjections.

Mr Jackson: Mr Speaker, I would like to prevail upon you, if you could arrange to have this serious debate raging from the House leader of the socialists, to please remove herself from our side of the House so that I can continue with my debate. Her presence is rather disruptive and she's

making accusations that are inappropriate. She's leaving. That's fine. Thank you, Mr Speaker. You're a help.

**The Speaker:** Would the member please take his seat.

I think it would be very helpful if the member would have perhaps a touch more generous approach to the opportunity to debate in the House. If there are disruptions, of course I'm more than pleased to deal with them at the time. I also realize that all members are trying to provide a reasonable accommodation for the matters that are at hand with respect to the clock. The member has the floor and I invite him to continue with his remarks.

Mr Jackson: Thank you for your support, Mr Speaker.

Mr Marchese: You are too much.

Mr Jackson: Well, I'm sure the Speaker would prefer his impartiality to be demonstrated, especially when that incident was occurring within earshot of the Speaker. That's a tradition in this House and should continue, and he has ruled accordingly.

The other document—

Interjections.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Why?

Mr Marchese: He's doing it again. Mr Wiseman: You call it a mirror.

Mr Stockwell: Yes, it is, believe it or not, it's exactly what you look like.

Sorry, Cam, go ahead.

Mr Jackson: That's okay.

I was putting in context how many of the decisions by the socialist government of the last two years have had an adverse effect on the property tax paid by all citizens in this province, a persistent and consistent downloading of additional services and costs on to the municipal tax base.

I was in this House 24 hours ago debating this government's approach to long-term care. I indicated that there were serious gaps in the government's announcement and its legislation. I advised that there were whole components to long-term care that were implicit, that there would be additional costs put on municipalities that operate homes for the aged for seniors in Ontario, and we're talking of a large number of seniors, a large number of homes for the aged that have a component of municipal tax subsidization.

We have also seen increased pressures for additions to day care costs put on to the local tax base. In the previous government, we saw additional police services put on to the local municipal tax base. We're now seeing schools financed, thanks to this government, with debenture financing added additionally to the municipal property tax base.

Senior citizens ask, why is it that all these services are downloaded on to their municipal tax base? The limited relief they have is contained in the seniors property tax grant, and this government, for a large number of seniors in Ontario, would propose to take it away.

Seniors shouldn't be taken so lightly by a government. They really are wise, by their age. They really are understanding of what governments do to them. And I remind

them that there is case after case of where, if you take seniors for granted, they will respond at the ballot box.

The fact is that in long-term care, as I mentioned, they're not getting the resultant additional supports if they should stay in their homes. I raise the question of whether insured medical services would transfer from an institution to a home setting. Those people are sitting at home paying property taxes, because this government says: "You should stay in your home longer and receive medical treatment. But if you're in your home, you won't get some of the medical supports paid for by OHIP, and if you're in an institution you will."

The fact is that with that uncertainty, seniors paying property taxes could pay doubly. They could pay with additional user fees for medical attention and medical services while they're at home, plus pay the taxes on their property which are then in turn used to pay for institutional care within a given community.

It's an offensive double standard, and it is only further underlined when the government proposes to reduce property tax grants in the fashion that the Treasurer and the Minister of Revenue and indeed the entire NDP government propose to do with Bill 31.

I believe the government should withdraw this bill and should reconsider some of its choices for seniors in this province. I would hope that this government would begin some solid policy planning about how seniors are going to be able to afford to stay in their homes, if that's the vision this government has.

No one's challenging the notion that living at home, a meaningful, quality life, is more important; we all agree on that. The issue is, is it affordable? It can't be affordable if your property taxes are rising at such a dramatic rate and yet the government takes away from you the time-honoured property tax grant for seniors that is to offset those additional costs and burden.

Where will these seniors go? The Minister of Housing is producing subsidized housing in this province, but the number one priority is not seniors; it's families. The number one priority is not seniors; it's also for the disabled and for certain cultural groups in northern Ontario. That all may be fine, but the fact is that we're not building modified, smaller, seniors type of residences in this province in order that seniors can move to those and be relieved of some of their property taxes.

Where do they end up going? They go into older homes in communities where market value assessment hasn't been fully implemented. We all know what happens when market value assessment is implemented on older homes predominantly occupied by seniors: They experience 80%, 90%—we've seen cases in Metro Toronto here of 150% increases to their property taxes. Yet at the same time we have a government that knows that is happening, it is prepared to take away, for a large number of seniors in this province, access to their property tax grant.

I believe the government really must re-evaluate this. The Treasurer has indicated that he has a serious revenue shortfall in this province, but I remind the Treasurer that he and his government could also examine some of their spending priorities.

My contempt for the largely symbolic gesture of the \$15-million expenditure for bilingual road signs in this province is no secret. We're talking about \$15 million being spent over a three-year period for this symbolic gesture. Seniors have every right to complain, and complain bitterly, that a government is more interested in the window dressing and the symbolic gestures out there than it is in ensuring the basic comforts and security of hearth and home and family services and medical treatment. Those should be the government's number one priority.

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I ask the government to stop its experimentation with each and every cause that comes blowing through this Legislature, with each and every vocal minority group asking for something. I ask the government: Consider what seniors are trying to say to you, consider what seniors are trying to communicate to your government. Please consider the impact of these overt attempts to reduce seniors' ability to pay their property taxes.

I will not be supporting this bill when it comes forward; I didn't support it on first and second reading. I encourage all members of the House, in the spirit of the season, to reconsider the impact of this bill. I invite members, during the holiday season, to talk to their senior citizens and find out how well informed they are about this bill, if they are fully aware of its impact, and just what they would say to you when they realize what you've done and what you've taken away from them.

I wanted to put those comments on the record because they are concerns that have been expressed to me, as I'm sure they've been expressed to many members in this House. I wanted to put them on the record because it's important that in two years or two and a half years, when we have an opportunity to undo some of the social engineering and the fiscal philandering that this government of socialists has done to this province, seniors are going to have to be restored to a position of respect, and they will be when they are finally understood by a government.

Interjection.

Mr Jackson: The member opposite who again parades as a parliamentary assistant should be fully aware that his ministry has reduced many of the services to seniors. The member for Chatham-Kent knows that his ministry has just issued an edict—I was just about to finish and you want to engage me, so I will. The member for Chatham-Kent indicated that he was concerned about what I had to say. But let me say to the member opposite that it is your ministry that recently announced it had to cut a billion dollars over three years from social services to the citizens in this province who rely on it. A large number of those are seniors.

The memo that was circulated and finally uncovered by the Liberals indicates very clearly where the government's priorities are. It iterates what the top priorities are, and I can tell you, the first priority isn't seniors, and the second priority for protection in this province isn't seniors, and the third priority with social services in this government is not seniors, and in fact the fourth priority for this government did not mention seniors.

So I tell the member for Chatham-Kent that he should re-examine his own ministry for the massive cuts it's about to undertake to seniors at the same time it's prepared to reduce the modest property tax grant given to seniors.

My party is very proud of the genesis of this property tax grant. It was put in place for very legitimate reasons. I patently oppose both the comments of the Premier and the Treasurer, who said the grant has outlived its usefulness and its purpose in this province. The truth is that seniors have paid a major portion of their contribution to society and they deserve better of any government. They deserve to be recognized for their contribution. If this bill adds to their insecurity, I say it is a bad bill. It should add to their comfort and reassurance that a government in Ontario understands and is listening to them. I fear, and it's clear to us on this side of the House, that this government is not listening.

The Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Marchese: This will allow me an opportunity to finish the remarks I could not complete earlier on. The member for Burlington South makes a number of provocative statements: that we are making cuts; that seniors are low-level priority for us; that property taxes are increasing so seniors need appropriate relief; that this bill adds to their insecurity. I want to bring some clarity and some truth to this debate, which I think might be helpful to a number of the speakers who have spoken.

What have we done? What we're saying is that if the combined income of two seniors is below \$23,000, they will continue making the \$600 they have been making, and they are likely to make anywhere from \$100 to \$400 more; if they are making anywhere from \$23,000 to \$30,000, they're likely to continue receiving the \$600 they've always received; and if they're making more than \$30,000, they will be making less under this Bill 31.

Is that unfair? I say to the member for Burlington South, no. This is a matter of redistribution of the wealth. What does it say? It says that if you're making \$50,000 a year, you're very well off, and if you're making \$10,000 a year, as is the case with my mother and so many in my community, then those people need relief indeed, and that's what we're doing. We're saying that those who are making less than \$23,000 need more support. That's what we've done.

This, in my view, is a vision of fairness. I don't understand whether the Tories have a vision of fairness or not, or what that vision is, nor do I understand the vision, if the Liberals have one, of what fairness means to them under this bill. This bill is just, it's fair. It's a vision of fairness for seniors.

Mr Wiseman: I'd like to comment a little on the comments that have been made. I think it's important for us to recognize that in the seniors category, what is happening is that it's going to a tax credit. There will be a basic \$500 plus 10% of occupancy costs, plus \$100 for one spouse and \$100 for the second spouse, minus a certain amount above \$22,000. What is going to happen is that 350,000 seniors in Ontario are going to see an increase in the amount of tax credit, the amount of money they have in their pocket at the end of the day, because of this bill.

This bill, as I indicated yesterday, is in fact what the Liberals didn't have the courage to introduce, when David Peterson took to task the Tory party in 1980 when it introduced this tax grant system and transferred huge amounts of money from the lower-income earners to the very-high-income earners.

In this taxation year there will be a \$450 grant to every senior, and for those who qualify when they file their 1993 tax form, there could be up to a future \$1,000 tax credit for this year, bringing the total for this year for some seniors who qualify to \$1,450. And then next year, in the 1993 tax year, they could be obtaining up to \$1,000. This is not less money for 350,000 seniors; in fact, it is more, and it's fair.

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired. Questions and/or comments?

2330

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): Unfortunately, my colleagues have stated the numbers over and over again. I would like to dwell again on that, that the Ontario tax credits for seniors are designed to provide low-income seniors with more property and sales tax support than under the Ontario tax grants for seniors program.

Now when we talk about the-

Mr Stockwell: You're a bunch of hypocrites.

Hon Mrs Haslam: I am not a hypocrite.

When you look at 350,000 seniors' households, we're talking about 45% of seniors' households, so 45% of seniors will then receive an additional amount of money. The benefits at a lower level, when we talk about the 261,000 seniors' households—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Haslam: —we're talking about 34% as a percentage of the seniors' households. The only percentage not receiving the benefits would be 21%. Approximately 160,000 seniors' households will have incomes high enough, 21% of the seniors have incomes high enough, to exclude them from receiving the benefit.

What we are doing is helping low-income seniors, and that 45% of the seniors will have an increased benefit. I think that's worth mentioning. Low-income seniors have an increased benefit, at 45% of the seniors' households.

**The Speaker:** Further questions or comments? The member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: I wasn't even going to enter into this until the comments by the member for Durham West and the Minister of Culture and Communications. It's tough for at least myself to sit here and listen to the pap being spewed across the floor. Let's get it straight, folks. You were the people who campaigned that this particular tax credit went to all seniors. Get it? You campaigned saying that all seniors would get the tax credit. We as Conservatives have suggested in the past, publicly, that quite possibly, maybe just low-income seniors should get this tax credit.

When I spoke to this issue, I said at the time, during this debate yesterday, that I don't fundamentally believe in the universality approach to the seniors' tax credit. You campaigned, including in the member for Simcoe's riding, that you were the only party that was firmly in favour of this specific program. Now, to expect me to sit still while you stand up in the House extolling the virtues of this piece of legislation when it's absolutely contrary to everything you stood for in the past is asking simply too much.

I understand that the Minister of Culture may have a poor memory, but you have some kind of memory, I would suggest, and with some kind of memory, you should recall, as the Minister of Culture, that your party believes in universality, believe it or not. You believe in universal programs for health, for day care and for seniors.

Hon Mrs Haslam: Think of somebody besides yourself for a change. Think of the seniors. Think of the seniors who don't make \$50,000 a year. You don't need the money; low-income seniors need the money.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Stockwell: I listen to the Minister of Culture heckling, which has to be the colossal joke of all time that this minister stands up and suggests that she supports this legislation when you don't even know your own party's policies. Get off the bench and get in the game, Madam Minister.

**The Speaker:** The member's time has expired. The member for Burlington South has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Jackson: I would like to thank my colleague from Etobicoke West for his contribution, as always. But the member for Fort York, you were very pleased to offer up this statistic of a senior making \$30,000. I remind you, Minister, that it is possible to collect and get additional funding above your income from welfare in this province if you make over \$30,000. I say to you, you have an offensive standard when seniors are ineligible but you would provide welfare on a \$30,000 threshold. You are standing in the House today and calling a senior making \$30,000 a year rich, and yet you're telling a citizen who is half their age that you can't live on \$30,000 in this province, and that's what you've brought in. That is hypocritical.

**Mr Hope:** I hope you've got some clear facts, Cam. I hope you're putting some clear facts across.

Mr Jackson: You've missed the point; rather, you've proved the point. Your government doesn't understand poverty lines any more. You just know that the NDP have forgotten how seniors have to live in this province.

My colleague the member for Durham West: I'm so delighted he's no longer in a classroom, with the way he looks at statistics. You'd better wake up and smell the roses. You were quoting statistics on seniors who will benefit from this? The fact is that your government's going to increase provincial income tax, which will affect seniors, moving it from 53% of the basic federal tax to 54.5% this year. Next year you're going to up it again, 54.5% to 55%. You're taking money out of their left pocket and you're telling them, "There might even be a few of you"—and I might even buy that theory, if you had the common sense to read these statistics and realize what you were saying in the House. The fact is, you're eroding the base of financial

support for seniors. You know it, and thank God you're not in a classroom any more.

**The Speaker:** Further debate.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): Mr Speaker, I have a point of privilege. I'm not quite sure if this falls under section 21, but I have some very serious concerns about an incident that just occurred in this place.

We've had a dispute between the acting House leader and members of both opposition parties as to the agreement that was arrived at in earlier House leaders' meetings today, and I believe the dispute has been resolved. It had to do with completing the debate on Bill 31 and moving perhaps to concurrences, and there was some misunderstanding between the acting government House leader and myself as the chief whip for our party.

This has nothing to do with her, but I attended at the back and talked to the staff of the government House leader to show them that I have notes written as a result of the meetings that took place earlier today, which clearly say under this note that the seniors' tax credit speakers would be two for our party, Mr Brown and Mr Daigeler, and the Conservatives would have Mr Jackson, Mr Wilson, Mr McLean and Mr Runciman, four speakers. That's not in dispute.

I went back and informed the staff of the government House leader that in talking with the Conservative caucus I had arranged an agreement that they would finish their debate by approximately 10 to midnight, at which time the acting government House leader would place the notice to defer the vote until tomorrow, and had there been time left on the clock, we would then move to concurrences. There would not be any time left on the clock, so the House would adjourn.

I simply went back and informed the staff of the government House leader that if there was any betrayal of that agreement, I think my exact words were, "We'll be sitting here on Christmas Eve," at which time certain members of the staff of the government House leader's office in the back made some challenging noises, in an attempt perhaps to try to intimidate me in doing my duties as chief whip, at which point we had an exchange and the suggestion by the one gentleman, whose name I do not know, was, "Any time," as if to say, in typical fashion by this government, "Step outside and I will beat you up."

I don't know what kind of nonsense or intimidation—obviously the political leadership has transferred this kind of intimidation to their own staff, who think in this place they can address a member of this assembly in that manner or in any manner other than with utmost respect. I feel personally angry and insulted and believe that my privileges have been damaged in relationship to this place, Mr Speaker, and I frankly would like to refer the matter to you to bring a report back on the behaviour of staff of the government House leader's office.

Hon Ms Gigantes: Mr Speaker, if I might on this point, this is a late hour, and obviously members are tired, staff is tired, and I hope that the member will understand that our understanding—and it explains for any viewers who may still be alive, having witnessed this debate. We

did not participate as a government in the debate this evening in support of our own bill, which we feel to be a good one, because it was our understanding that we would finish, with limited debate from the government side—

**Mr Mahoney:** That's not the point, Mr Speaker. That's not my point.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** No, I am explaining. Interjections.

2340

The Speaker: I will deal with it. Just-

Hon Ms Gigantes: If the member will just be patient, Mr Speaker, I will explain why I'm providing this context to you. We had taken this stance because we had an agreement, in our understanding, no matter what his notes might say, and I certainly reaffirmed that agreement earlier this evening, particularly with the House leader from the Conservatives, that we would move through this discussion, that we would defer the vote on second reading on this bill and that we would then move to concurrences.

That was not the understanding of the Liberal member opposite, but I think he needs to understand that there has been some grave feeling of frustration on the government side and that we have all tried to maintain our patience. I have tried to maintain my patience in discussions with him earlier when I found it difficult, so I hope he will forgive others.

Mr Mahoney: Mr Speaker—

**The Speaker:** The member for Mississauga West, you raised a point. Just take your seat for a moment.

I listened very carefully to what he had to say. I must say, if the events are as he described them, they are unacceptable. No member of this House should feel at any time that he or she is under intimidation or threat. I realize, as the honourable House leader has said, that members are tired and they're trying to reach accommodations to ensure the efficient use of time in the passage of public business. At the same time, tempers sometimes are lost.

I wish that I could be of some help to the member. What I can do, of course, is make inquiries through the Sergeant at Arms to see if there is some report that we can provide for the member. I can only offer him my apology that whatever occurred, occurred within the precinct, because that does cause me to be disturbed, and I don't find that type of conduct to be at all acceptable.

Lastly, I will say that all members will know that the Chair is never privy to discussions or agreements which are made. The only agreements that the Chair can assist in are the ones that are brought to the floor of the House by way of motion or unanimous agreement.

I can sympathize with the member and I wish I could be of more practical help to him. Lastly, I could only say, as I stated before, that I regret that the incident to which he refers occurred and hope that cooler heads will prevail as we attempt to conclude the business of the House.

Mr Mahoney: Further to my privilege, Mr Speaker, I am not disputing the agreement that may or may not have taken place between the House leaders. I'm accepting in

fact the acting government House leader's statement that her understanding was as she's put it to me. I have shown her my understanding, which is in writing, which are instructions that I as the chief whip, in the absence of my House leader, am required to follow.

My point of privilege, sir, simply has to do with a member of staff. It has nothing to do with the acting government House leader or with any of those members. It has to do with a staff person behind your chair who I feel tried to intimidate me. I would like you not to report to me this evening but I would like you, as the Speaker of this place, in charge of this place, to investigate what took place and report on it.

**The Speaker:** I am sorry if I didn't make it clear to the member earlier.

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): I am just telling you— Mr Mahoney: I don't care. Are you trying to intimidate me?

The Speaker: Order. The member for Mississauga West brought a concern to my attention. I said to him before, and I'll repeat it: I am pleased to examine the situation. The Sergeant at Arms will investigate and will be pleased to report back. The only thing I can add to that is, regardless of the report, I find, if the events are as the member has described, they are unacceptable.

Hon Ms Gigantes: Mr Speaker, if we are going to investigate incidents in which people spoke unkindly, a bit roughly, oversternly and in fact accusingly and somewhat threateningly to each other this evening, I can add some complaints to that list. I think you understand that this has been a difficult evening in terms of the operations. I do hope that whatever inquiries you carry out, you will take care that all the people who may witnessed this incident in fact have a chance to describe it.

The Speaker: We have an official and effective Sergeant at Arms, and indeed such will be done. No one understands better than I the limits of extended hours and what they do to persons.

We are back into debate. The member for Simcoe West

Mr Jim Wilson: Bill 31 is a piece of legislation that I have some very strong feelings about, and I'm disappointed that my time's been taken up with the bantering back and forth between the official opposition and the government over time allocation. I think senior citizens of this province are more important than squabbling over time allocations and agreements among members of Parliament here.

Veiled threats, or threats otherwise, I think Bill 31 is a dark day for senior citizens in Ontario and the frail elderly, and it's a dark day for the NDP, a party that at one time firmly believed in universality. They never spoke in the past about just helping low-income seniors. They agreed with my party, the Ontario PC party, and the Liberal Party that the seniors' property tax grant was, much like the farm tax rebate, to be distributed to all seniors regardless of income, in simple recognition of the fact that the government felt, and all parties agreed for many years, that seniors should be rebated some money in the form of a

grant because they no longer had children in school yet they had to pay school board taxes, and because they use less of the municipal services that their property taxes pay for.

There was never any discussion from the NDP, and certainly not in the last campaign, particularly in my riding of Simcoe West, that they were going to means test the seniors' property tax grant.

Mr Stockwell: Quite the opposite.

Mr Jim Wilson: Quite the opposite, as the member for Etobicoke West points out. In fact, I remember very bitterly the NDP candidate in my riding going door to door in the seniors' apartment buildings and telling them and dropping a pamphlet that said that Mike Harris and the Ontario PC party were going to abolish the seniors' property tax grant. I remember Mr Peterson, the Premier of the day, saying the same thing and distorting the truth.

The truth is, and was, that my party had the guts and the honesty and the integrity to talk about the fact that some of these programs do have to change, that some of these programs will have to change.

Mr Stockwell: We know one thing: You are a bunch of liars.

Mr Jim Wilson: But we made the commitment that we wouldn't change the seniors' property tax grant without talking to senior citizens, without ensuring that they could afford whatever program was to replace the seniors' property tax grant. The Liberals, at our urging, raised this property tax grant from the \$450 it had been—

Hon Ms Gigantes: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Perhaps you might not have heard it, but I think probably Hansard did, that the member for Etobicoke West noted things that were unparliamentary about the government. I wish that you would review Hansard tomorrow and if, as I believe, it is recorded in Hansard, then I hope you will take the appropriate measures.

The Speaker: To the member for Ottawa Centre, I indeed was distracted by a discussion with another member of the House. I didn't hear the alleged remark, but as always, if the member who's identified believes that he did in fact make an unparliamentary remark, he has an opportunity to stand and withdraw that, and I would so invite the member.

Mr Stockwell: Mr Speaker, I did say that in the last election the NDP were a bunch of liars. I will withdraw that.

The Speaker: The member for Simcoe West may resume his remarks.

Mr Jim Wilson: Similar words crossed my mind more than once when I was preparing for this debate. Unfortunately, the language of Parliament doesn't allow us to say that, but certainly there were some untruths spread in my riding with regard to this particular issue.

Secondly—because I only have a couple of minutes left, with all the bantering that's gone on here this evening—this bill also increases the personal income tax. I think what's important for seniors and all people in this province to understand is that the NDP is increasing the tax burden on single taxpayers earning as low as \$10,000 a

year. So when the government members get up, and they have many times this evening, and say they are trying to make the tax system fairer and they point to their manipulation of the seniors' property tax grant and the abolition of universality in that program, what they forget to tell you is that they are hitting everybody in this province who makes any type of money at all over \$10,000 with increased personal income taxes and that will affect seniors.

As the member for Burlington South said earlier, my colleague Mr Jackson, they are taking not only from the left pocket of senior citizens, but from the right pocket as well. They are hitting senior citizens with high personal income tax rates.

2350

Mr Hope: You better read what it said during the campaign.

Mr Stockwell: We know what those people are, Randy. We are not allowed to say in here, but we know what they are.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. I apologize to the member for having to interrupt him in the midst of his speech, in full flight in fact. This has been a trying time, I realize, and I would ask the member for Etobicoke West—

Mr Stockwell: Look, Mr Speaker, this guy was heckling and I was heckling, all right?

Interjections.

The Speaker: No. Order. Rather than simply test the patience of the Chair, perhaps the member for Etobicoke West would be best advised to either remain silent or to resume his appropriate seat. I would ask the member for Chatham-Kent and some of his colleagues to exercise some restraint so that perhaps in the remaining eight minutes we will be able to sit back and relax and enjoy the speech from the member for Simcoe West.

Mr Jim Wilson: Perhaps the members would be silent for just a few moments on all sides of the House. I think it's sad if the government thinks that by heckling my colleague the member for Etobicoke West, it somehow is going to distract the public from the implications of Bill 31 and the very serious implications it will have on seniors and poor seniors.

That's the point I'm trying to make because in terms of the personal income tax, that will hit poor people. If you make \$10,000 a year and your taxes are going to go up as a result of this bill, which I must say—to have a bill that encompasses both an increase in personal income taxes and manipulates the seniors' property tax grant program. It's sinful that the government would encompass both of these.

If you wanted to change the seniors' property tax grant program you should have gone out and consulted with seniors. You should have been honest and forthright with the public and said: "Hey, look, we've got a budgetary financial problem. We think everybody should pay his fair share of taxes and we want to revamp the program." The cabinet did it, and now it's before Parliament, in a very closed-door backhanded way. You campaigned against this

sort of thing and in a very hypocritical fashion you now bring it at 5 to 12 on a Wednesday evening when many seniors in the province are probably asleep. They sneak in this bill and in the next five minutes it'll be the end of debate on this piece of legislation.

it is the last time we in the Ontario PC Party and members of the opposition had to speak about such an important piece of legislation that changes for ever and ends for ever the universality and the concept that every senior citizen was entitled to the property tax rebate because they don't have children in school, because they use less services on the municipal side that their property taxes pay for and because we want seniors to stay in their homes, we don't want them in hospitals.

This government has closed 5,300 hospital beds over the last 12 months. They've sent the message out clearly to seniors across the province: "You've got to stay in your homes. If you stay in your homes you have got to pay your hydro, which has increased 25%. You have got to pay your property taxes, which are going through the roof with all the downloading the Liberals did and all the downloading and the increased tax burden the NDP has done."

I think the government should be ashamed of its treatment of senior citizens, the people who built this country, the people who built this province, who went through two world wars and to Korea so that we can be here in this Parliament and debate in a parliamentary manner in Parliament, so that we don't have war and strife on our own soil and that we can take our battles to Parliament

Our seniors developed that system. Our seniors made it possible so that I can be here today. This government has done nothing but hit them over the head with tax increases, ending the grant program as we know it, telling them they can't go to Florida, assuming all seniors are rich and they go to Florida for six months of the year because they have all kinds of money to spend.

The fact of the matter is that many senior citizens go south for legitimate health reasons, and they save the Ontario taxpayers' money and they save the health care system because they're down in a warmer climate. But no, over the last year we've seen the government change the out-of-country OHIP policy. Now seniors are paying \$1,000, \$1,500, \$2,000, \$4,000 a year for third-party insurance so they can go down south.

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: All this crap you spew.

**The Speaker:** Order. The member for Etobicoke West, come to order.

Mr Jim Wilson: They're told they can't stay down south any more than six months, that there's now a new six-month residency requirement here in Ontario. I've had many seniors write to me and phone me and stop me on the street in my riding and say, "We feel like we're under house arrest by this government."

Seniors are under attack. I know they won't take this much longer. The unfortunate part is that it appears this government feels there's no hope in heck it'll ever get re-elected, so it's thumping away at seniors and it's thumping away at all kinds of other groups, because it simply

doesn't care. Its only agenda is to pay back the big union bosses.

If Bob White were a senior citizen, I can tell you that we wouldn't have Bill 31 as it's written today. We just wouldn't have it, because this government wouldn't stand for it if Bob White and the big union bosses were against this. I call on the union bosses. They'll be seniors some day. I call on them to bring some social justice back to Ontario, because the NDP, a party that at one time stood for social justice, has made a mockery of social justice, has made a mockery of the words "fairness" and "consultation." I think the government should be ashamed to be on that side of the House, supporting this terrible piece of legislation. With that, I will conclude my remarks.

The Speaker: Questions and/or comments? Further debate?

Mr Wiseman, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, moved second reading of Bill 31. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All opposed will please say "nay." In my opinion, the ayes have it. Call in the members. A 30-minute bell.

Hon Ms Gigantes: No, we are going to defer. Hold the bells.

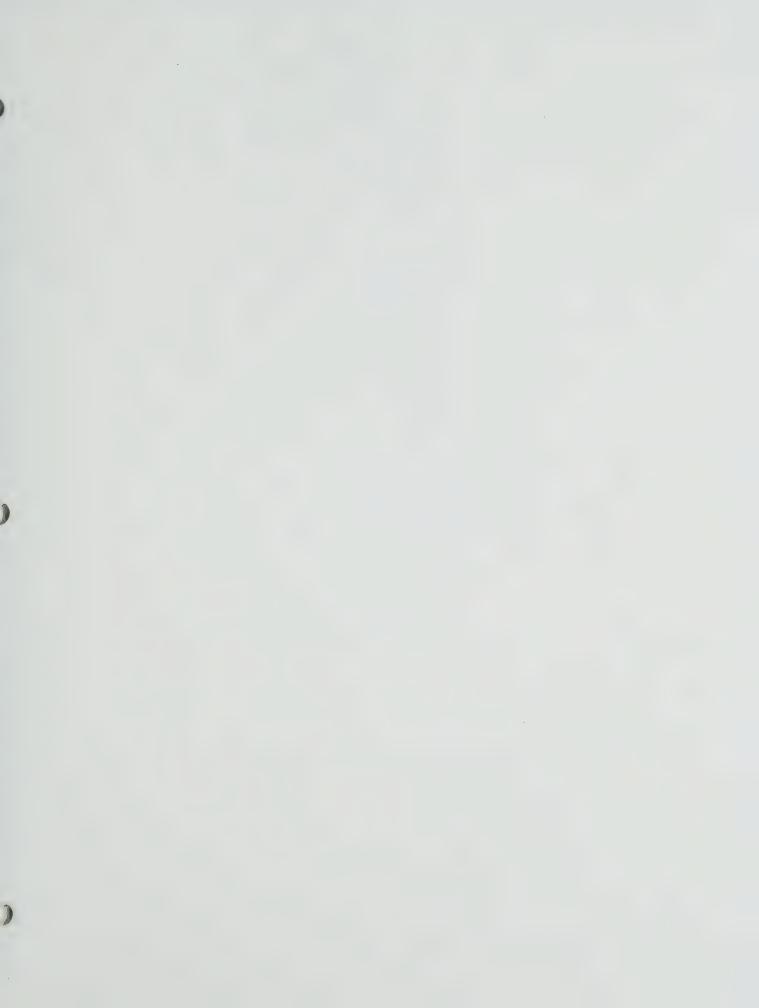
The Speaker: Order, please.

"Pursuant to standing order 28(g), I request that the vote on the motion by the Honourable Shelley Wark-Martyn for second reading of Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act, be deferred until immediately following routine proceedings on Thursday, December 10, 1992."

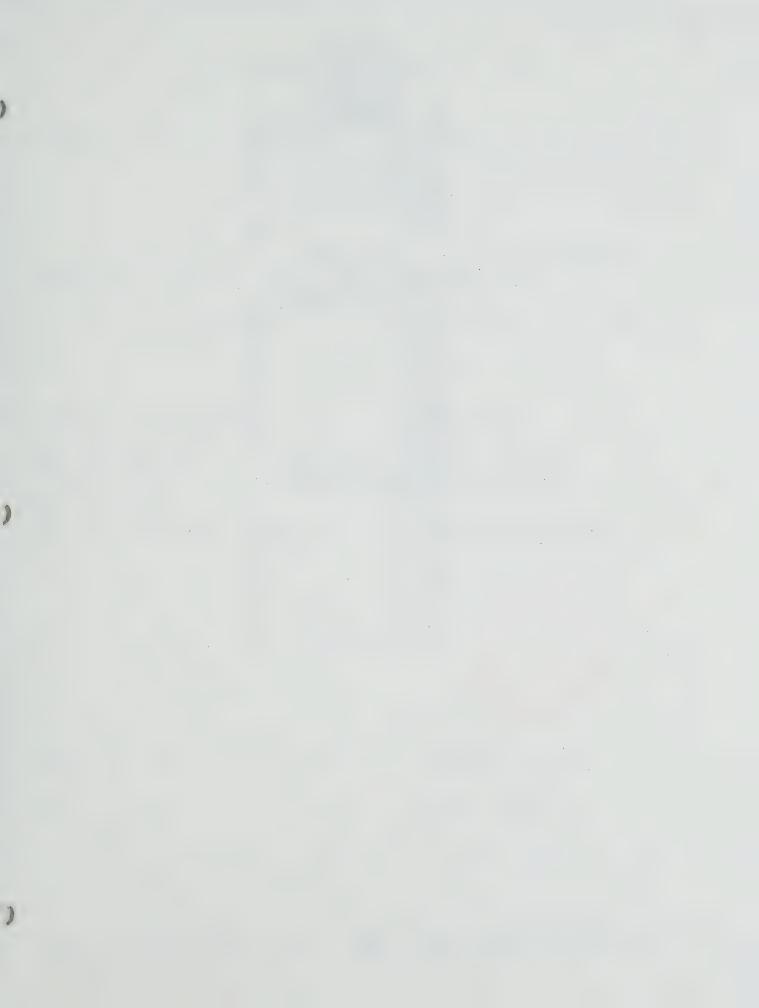
Signed by Shirley Coppen, MPP, chief government whip, by her own hand.

The vote is accordingly deferred. This may come as a deep disappointment, but this House now stands adjourned until 10 of the clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 2359.







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## Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# **Official Report** of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 10 December 1992

Speaker Honourable David Warner

Claude L. DesRosiers

## Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 10 décembre 1992



Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Thursday 10 December 1992

The House met at 1000. Prayers.

#### PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

#### SOCIAL WORKERS

Mr White moved resolution number 36:

That in the opinion of this House,

Whereas the public is entitled to receive professional social work services from legally accountable professional social workers; and

Whereas professional social workers work with people suffering from serious degrees of vulnerability; and

Whereas survivors of sexual abuse, children at risk, persons with disabilities, homeless persons and assaulted women who receive professional social work services are vulnerable to further victimization; and

Whereas Ontario is the only province in Canada without any form of legislation for the profession of social work; and

Whereas the government of Ontario has recently enacted legislation to regulate the practice of 24 professions, these protections should be equitably extended to those being served by the profession of social work; and

Whereas the province allocates substantial resources to social work services in such key ministries as Health, Corrections, Education, Community and Social Services; and

Whereas the province supports social work education at the baccalaureate, masters and doctorate levels at 10 universities including programs in both official languages and in first nation communities; and

Whereas the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers created the Ontario College of Certified Social Workers in 1982 and that body represents those who are willing to be held publicly accountable for their professional practices; and

Whereas over the past 10 years, this college has established an excellent record as a regulatory body, but it still lacks the authority of legislation;

Therefore, since the public would be best protected by legislative authorization of professional social work regulation and that social work clientele are just as entitled to such protection as are clients of any other profession, the government of Ontario should develop an act for the registration and self-regulation of professional social workers within the sanction of a ministry of the government of Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 96(i), the honourable member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): I'm very pleased to have this opportunity to advocate for a social work act and indeed to advocate for the social vision of care and connection that is so central to the profession of social work. Social workers and their clientele are well

represented here today. I've received support for this resolution from as far away as the Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse in Alberta.

I'd like to particularly mention my wife, Norah Love, my children, Amanda, Devin and Lenore, who's just celebrating her seventh birthday; Sandy Campbell, president of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers; Miriam Mayhew, director of the Ontario Association of Family Service Agencies; Mae Harmon I believe will be in attendance from Canadian Pensioners Concerned of Ontario; and I see Ray Tremblay, le président du collège.

As well, there's a broad coalition of support, including children's aid societies, hospitals, regional governments, seniors' groups, universities, colleges and many more. Their efforts show that there's a great deal of public support for a social work act for Ontario.

A public opinion poll showed that close to 90% of Ontarians support regulation for the profession of social work and a large proportion of those surveyed had personal knowledge of abuse or incompetence by a social worker. This is a rather startling testimony to the need for public regulation and public accountability of social work.

Here in Ontario we can be proud of the high quality of our public services. Our government is moving ahead with significant protections in the advocacy and consent to treatment bills. Our government has clearly affirmed that woman abuse and sexual abuse are not to be tolerated or condoned. As nowhere else, we have an agenda that creates equality of access to good public services. We are the first province to regulate midwifery and we have already an impressive legislative record and, I know, a significant and already overcrowded future agenda.

Unfortunately, we are also the only province in Canada to have no regulation for the practice of social work. Every other province has a social work act or regulation. Social workers are responsible for crucial judgements and treatment in child welfare and mental health services. They work with the most vulnerable in our community and with people at the most vulnerable periods in their lives, when families are breaking up and suffering the profound distress of family and marital conflicts.

Social work clientele deserve to have the most sensitive and skilful care possible. The public deserve to have services that are accountable to them. They should be able to trust their social workers, to be comfortably assured that they will be treated ethically and competently. That accountability, those assurances and that trust is central to our regulated professions.

During the last month I've received a number of calls and letters from social work clientele who've complained about very specific abuses.

An abused woman was shot several times by her husband. Previously she had seen a social worker who had allegedly counselled her to remain at home in an already dangerous setting. That social worker is not accountable to her for the dangers that he condoned. That woman has no recourse to the courts, no opportunity to secure public validation.

Another woman was seduced into having sexual relations with her therapist, a man in private practice, a man who also teaches at a school for social work.

A foster mother reported suspicions that her natural children were in danger of being molested by a youth she was fostering. She was ignored by the children's aid society worker. She went to that social worker's supervisor and she was again ignored. Her pre-school-aged children were abused in the most horrible of ways.

The damage and the scars from that preventable abuse may be with them for the rest of their lives. Their daily lives, their ability to trust, to have normal relationships and their self-esteem may be affected by the callous indifference or the incompetence of those workers.

#### 1010

All these clients should have the right to demand accountability, to demand ethical and competent behaviour from the professionals who are employed to serve them. In Ontario, alone in North America, the poor, the disadvantaged, the vulnerable or indeed the well-functioning family that requires social work services are denied this level of accountability.

These people and thousands like them have no recourse. If they complain to the responsible agency, they would run up against bureaucratic self-protection. They might be told that it was their problem and that everything was done properly. We know how these systems can effectively blame the victim.

Many of these disadvantaged clients are not the most sophisticated. They are loath to trust the very complex systems that have let them down so badly. They deserve better from us. We grant rights to dogs, since veterinarians are regulated. We grant such rights to bushes, since land-scape architects are regulated. We protect dogs and bushes, although not one from the other, but we do not afford such protection to people.

Regulation of professions, with adequate public oversight, is the route we have pursued with 24 other health professions. Some of these professions have little or no organization. Some have only limited skill training and educational preparation. Social workers, by contrast, are the third-largest health organization. They've been organized for almost all of this century. There are 10 universities and numerous colleges that offer diplomas, baccalaureates, masters and doctoral degrees in both official languages and in native areas. This is a profession that has long been ready.

A self-regulating profession wants to clean up its own act. As a government, we can further dictate the level of accountability that we think is appropriate. The professions pay the cost of their own regulation and the majority of social workers want to bear that responsibility. In these days of high deficits and tight finances, this kind of action will be a highly cost-efficient means of regulating the practice of social work.

Some might say that there are problems, though, with a self-regulating profession. By establishing competence and ethical standards, some will be kept out. Social workers deal with this issue with their inclusive approach and make constant efforts to bring in minority groups. As a profession that's dedicated to social welfare and to promoting equality and the strengths of their clients, social workers go the extra mile to be inclusive. The promotion of social welfare, self-development and group and social activism are central to their very written code of ethics.

Social workers are indeed their own worst critics in terms of the extent to which they have been inclusive. Still, they should not be expected to reinvent the wheel. Their association has been in existence for 75 years. The majority of social workers voluntarily contribute and they have voted and had plebiscites and firmly support a self-regulatory model—the majority. If we as a government endorse the self-regulation of so many health professionals, how can we ask the social and caring professions to invent some other process, to reinvent the wheel?

The vulnerable, the socially disadvantaged and families in crisis have long been delegated to a lesser status in our community and to inferior levels of care. Is it because social workers work with this very group that this profession has been so long, so badly and so uniquely neglected here in Ontario? Surely the disadvantaged in our community deserve better from our government.

We are moving ahead with the sex abuse protocol, the amendments to the Regulated Health Professions Act and in many other areas in protecting vulnerable adults through the advocacy office or helping patients to make difficult decisions regarding their care. We know that these services are offered by competent and ethical practitioners.

In summary, allow me to implore my colleagues to join with me and with my friends here in calling for a social work act in Ontario. I hope we can write the last and the best social work act in this Dominion. I know we have a tight and crammed agenda. Let's find a place within it for some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable in our community.

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I am pleased to rise this morning to support the resolution brought forward by the member for Durham Centre. I must say at the outset, though, that I find it more than passing strange that a private member on the government side of this House has to bring this matter before us as a private member's resolution.

May I take you back, Mr Speaker, to some letters the Premier, while he was still leader of the official opposition, wrote about the very issue we are discussing this morning? In August 1987 and again in June 1989, the now Premier, Bob Rae, wrote to the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers. In the August 1987 letter, Mr Rae said, "New Democrats will support the efforts of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers to secure a provincial statute, the social work act." August 1987, Mr Rae.

In June 1989 Mr Rae went even further and said that the ministry had "been slow to respond to the needs for responsible legislation." He said, "I was very pleased to have the opportunity to work with the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers to convince the government"—the then government—"that...regulations are needed to ensure that the profession will continue to develop and expand

based on accepted principles of practice." He continues, Mr Rae speaking: "The success of my collaboration with the OAPSW is an important milestone in the development of the social work profession."

In 1987 and 1989 the Premier, the present Premier, Bob Rae, seemed to be speaking very clearly and very proudly of his record of supporting the direction of the member for Durham Centre's resolution.

As we have heard, Ontario is the only province in Canada which does not have any form of regulation of social workers at this time and is in fact the only jurisdiction in North America which does not have some form of regulation of this important profession.

I want to go back again to 1988. A preliminary draft of the professionals' proposal for a social work act was submitted to cabinet for its consideration, and the cabinet then provided its approval of the principles of the legislation, pending clarification of certain outstanding issues.

In June 1990, after consultation with interested parties, the government, the previous Liberal government, announced that it would be moving forward the regulation of social workers and other social service providers. A steering committee was established to establish the parameters of the legislation, and it planned to complete its work in the fall of 1990.

Upon taking office in 1990 and that work having been done, the New Democratic government suspended the work of the steering committee, put it on a shelf for a whole year, pending direction from the then Minister of Community and Social Services. A draft framework for the legislation was not presented to cabinet until fall of 1991.

Since taking office the Premier seems to have had an awful change of heart about the importance of this legislation. In a letter written on November 4—not that long ago—1992, the Premier said, "Our government decided that this legislation is not a priority at this time." He went on to say, "This decision doesn't mean we have changed our minds and in no way diminishes our commitment to...bringing in social work legislation in the future."

Mr Speaker, I ask you and those who are listening, how can anyone find logic in that answer, that response? How can anyone find security? I have to think it's a flip-flop; it's another broken promise.

#### 1020

The Minister of Community and Social Services sent out an even stronger negative message on February 5, 1992. I quote from a letter from that minister: "The government has decided that the development of legislation for the regulation of social workers is not a priority at this time. Therefore, this ministry will not be proceeding with this project during this term of office." We're talking now about 1994-95. How very, very disappointing.

As my party's critic for the Ministry of Community and Social Services I'm very much aware of the important role played by social workers in our communities right across this province. The social worker is often the key front-line person who draws together all the other professionals and paraprofessional supports for people in need.

Social workers provide crucial support for many of our most vulnerable citizens: victims of family violence, as we heard this morning, our seniors, our children, troubled adolescents and substance abusers. They provide counselling services, assessment and diagnostic services, referral services, community development services. Often they serve as the bridge—the only bridge—between the person in need and the service provider.

There are, as we have acknowledged before, fears and concerns and objections surrounding the regulation of social work in Ontario. The social work reform group has expressed its concern that this kind of legislation is totally unnecessary, because most social workers are employed by agencies and institutions and therefore are governed by the standards of those bodies. Some also say that the regulation of social work would undermine the credibility of existing educational programs by adding another layer of assessment qualification and suitability-for-practice tests.

I refer you to the other practitioners who are already regulated in this province and have been for years and years: doctors, nurses, dentists, psychologists, chiropractors, and I could go on and on. Ontario's post-secondary education system provides courses of study in all of these fields, and the fact that professionals themselves are regulated does not diminish one iota the credibility of the educational programs that lead to their designation.

I support this resolution because I agree with the direction that the former Minister of Community and Social Services, Mr Sweeney, and his successor, my colleague from York North, were heading. I regret that their significant progress has been stopped in its tracks by this government. I would urge the Minister of Community and Social Services to listen, and I'm sorry she's not here this morning to listen to the legitimate concerns of professional social workers and of her colleague from Durham Centre.

Ontario needs this legislation. We know that; we have been working towards it. Ontario needs the same regulatory framework enjoyed by every other jurisdiction in this country and, in fact, in North America. Ontario's most vulnerable citizens deserve no less.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): It is with pleasure and enthusiasm that I speak in favour of the resolution this morning. Now, as we approach the end of the century, the problems that our society faces are more complex and the remedies, when apparent at all, more so.

The divorce rate today is equal to one third the number of marriages in Canada each year. For every reported case of wife-battering, 10 are not reported. And in 1986, one million of Canada's children lived in a state of poverty.

Not only have the old problems become more severe but we have newer, very complex social ills: the increasing number of homeless persons, abuse of the elderly, substance abuse, unemployment resulting in stresses and family breakdown, to name but a few. Social workers are society's front line in the battle against these increasing problems.

The roles played by social workers have developed and become more complex over the years. Today they work in hospitals, helping families and individuals to deal with the crisis of sudden illness and chronic disability. They are now more often involved in community agencies, helping people link up to the resources they need. Social workers

are expected to plan and implement social policy through all levels of government and types of agencies.

Fortunately, social workers across Ontario are hardworking, caring and competent. However, as with other professional groups, abuses can and do occur, all too often with tragic consequences. The public needs protection from professional social workers as well as from those without qualifications who claim to be social workers.

It is astonishing that Ontario is currently the only province in Canada—indeed the only jurisdiction in North America—without any form of social work legislation. This places the public in every region in Ontario at enormous and unnecessary risk from incompetent and/or unethical social work practice. If the government has one moral imperative, it is to protect the public, especially those most disadvantaged and vulnerable. Social work regulatory legislation is urgently needed, and the process to develop this legislation must begin immediately.

I can only say personally, as the former critic for our party of Community and Social services: Here we are again. In June 1990 I asked the then Minister of Community and Social Services, the member for York North, Charles Beer, when he would be introducing this important legislation. In answer to my question, he announced in the Legislature the initiation of a process to bring key stakeholders together to craft that legislation. At the time, then-Leader of the Opposition Bob Rae expressed his unqualified support for the need for consumer protection through regulatory legislation.

Boy, if you want to get something done, be the Premier. Here's his chance. Indeed, once in government the process seemed to be moving forward under former Minister of Community and Social Services Zanana Akande, currently Bob Rae's parliamentary assistant. I hope she urges him on with this one.

I've been most impressed over the past few years at how different groups have reached out to each other and come together in the effort to develop representative social work legislation. I've met with several people in my own riding, including social workers and the public, who have urged action. Mr Speaker, you have to know, this has not been an easy process. There has been divisiveness, and when I say "come together," that's exactly what they've done.

During this time a large coalition has been assembled representing thousands of service providers and tens of thousands of service recipients from every corner of Ontario. The profession has never put together a bigger coalition representing over 50 major service providers. I wish I had the time to read it into the record, but I don't. I will submit it for the record. All of these people have reasons for putting their names on this list. There are many stories behind the urgency for them adding their name to this list.

The Toronto Star has said, "The time has come for a proper governing body for social workers that will protect the public and set standards for the profession."

"Legislation is a win-win situation," as Don Andreae put it, who is the coordinator of Project Legislation.

Who will gain from social work legislation? Very clearly, the public, the government and all social workers. I look forward to working with my colleagues and the

government in making this legislation a reality in the fall session of 1993.

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): I'm very honoured to have the opportunity to participate in the debate in support of the resolution moved by the member for Durham Centre. I think this is an important resolution to support social work legislation and I think this is an opportunity where I can share my experiences that I received as a social work student in getting my MSW. I also had experience being a social work client, because I received services from a social service agency. So I have the university and the social services agency background.

I think it's important that social work education include cultural sensitivity training, and when you talk about a model, it's important to focus in on an affirmative and empowerment model instead of negative aspects. I think there need to be some positive images there. I think there have been some improvements in the social work curriculum: decisions have been made; there are more and more women now being involved; there are more and more visible minorities being involved in social work education. This has happened in the last few years, so it will continue to improve.

I think it's important to develop ethical standards when we talk about the skills in assessing and the social work counselling. Those are areas that have greatly improved.

Also, my own experience using the services: There are some social workers who have received community college diplomas. I have experienced quite a negative impact because of people's lack of understanding in terms of the cultural needs I had, or they had a paternalistic model and that had quite a negative impact on my own experience.

I have heard concerns from the social work reform group, which has strong concerns, when it talks about employment equity or access to professions and trades, that visible minority groups have been excluded from these groups, and that's interesting. Their concerns, I think, are valid, but until now, I think—we have noticed a change.

#### 1030

The Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers has become more proactive in meeting the needs of the various ethnic groups within the community and matching its curriculum to their needs in becoming more culturally sensitive and more respectful of the different groups. I think the program of affirmative action is taking into consideration the different groups. I think this is very important.

Also, a social work act is important to establish in legislation, because it will then give some public accountability to the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers so that they will be required to follow high ethical standards. The social workers who have the qualifications will need to continue to update and maintain their certification, so the best benefit of this will be for the benefit of the clients and the vulnerable people who have experienced sexual abuse or oppression, or who are victims of the system in terms of experienced discrimination.

Then these people will be able to empower the clients to help themselves to more effectively use the services. I think this is done by the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, which has given great leadership in this issue and has been able to reflect the needs of the various clients.

In closing, I would like to strongly support the resolution moved by Drummond White, the member for Durham Centre. I think this is important legislation and will most benefit the people who are vulnerable in society and who will use the services of social workers.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I am delighted to just take one minute to offer my support for this legislation. When I first graduated from university several decades ago, I went into the social services area with Community and Social Services and worked as an adoption case reviewer, first of all, and then a field worker with the children's aid society as a provincial worker. What I saw then convinced me that we need this legislation.

There are many, many good social workers out there, but when you're dealing with the vulnerable, when you're dealing with the people who use these services, you must ensure that the people who are doing it are qualified. There has to be that public accountability.

I just want to say on the record that I am supporting the legislation of the member for Durham Centre and I'm delighted he's continued the philosophy of our government that this was good legislation.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I am very pleased to have the opportunity to speak to the motion that's been put forward this morning. I congratulate my colleague for bringing it forward. However, I have to also say I'm disappointed that Mr Rae himself, the Premier, and the cabinet have not brought forward this legislation, because there is a desperate, desperate need in this province for this legislation.

That became very obvious to me shortly after I was elected in September 1990, when several women in my community—my community being Kitchener-Waterloo—approached me as individuals to share with me their experiences concerning sexual abuse that they had suffered at the hands of professionals in my community.

I'm very concerned that this government, although there have been promises made by the Premier, as has been pointed out this morning, has been extremely negligent in responding to this desperate need to regulate social work in our province and to protect the very vulnerable public. Although the government has seen fit to move ahead on midwifery and to provide advocates, unfortunately, this has not received the same attention from this government. I'm extremely disappointed that has not happened.

I'd like to indicate that our party has now for many years supported the regulation of social work. In fact our leader, Mr Harris, when he was elected in the spring of 1990, indicated his very strong support for this legislation, and we were very optimistic that the government might have included this when it enacted legislation to regulate the practice of the 24 professions earlier in its term. However, it failed to extend protection to those who were being served by the profession of social work, and it's absolutely appalling that we are still the only province in Canada with no self-regulation.

I'd just like to read to you a letter from one of the individuals who came to my office to discuss this issue. It's a letter to the Honourable Frances Lankin, Minister of Health:

"I am writing to you as a person who would like to make changes as a concerned consumer and as a victim of sexual abuse by a social worker who is in practice in our community.

"As someone who has spent the last three years attempting to have someone respond to my situation, I looked forward to your recommendations, believing that the regulations would be forthcoming which would provide me and others in my position an avenue through which our concerns could be addressed.

"When I read your proposals to the Health Disciplines Act, I was extremely distressed," to discover that indeed there was not an opportunity to have her concerns dealt with. I won't read any further, but I want to tell you I know how desperate these individuals are, and I know how desperate I felt, not being able to help these women who had been victimized by social workers.

I would urge this government to follow through on the resolution that's been put before us today and act as quickly as possible. They have a responsibility to respond to the needs of very vulnerable people in our community who deal with social work.

Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East): I am very pleased to stand and offer my support to this resolution, which I know my colleague Mr White has put a great deal of effort into promoting.

For a starter, I'd like to note that as other people previously have mentioned, this is the one jurisdiction in North America which lacks such legislation. They surely can't all be mistaken.

I actually spoke to my mother-in-law, Marianne Breslauer, in New York City this morning, who has been a social worker for over 50 years, and she was quite surprised that we didn't have legislation here. To her, it's a commonplace that social workers are regulated and certified.

I think we should acknowledge the existence of the voluntary Ontario College of Certified Social Workers and, as a member of a self-regulated profession myself, it seems that things are in place to move quite easily from a voluntary body to a legislated, self-regulating body. I realize Mr White's motion does not state exactly what form this should be, but certainly I can see that it would be quite simple to do that. I personally strongly believe in self-regulated professions. I think there are many advantages—and in the short time that I have, I don't want to dwell on all of them—but the advantages around investigation of abuse has been mentioned and I want to dwell on that.

I would like to mention one aspect around records and confidentiality, and clearly in the social work field this is going to be very important. Social workers are going to be aware of many strict confidences. I realize that there is not an absolute right of confidentiality in my profession and I would not imagine that this will happen in social work, but I think that the way the courts regard confidentiality very strictly, although they only allow absolute confidentiality

in the legal setting, is very important and I think is one of the benefits which will come when legislation takes place.

One other thing that I would just briefly mention is that I see that having a certified group makes it easier for payment agencies. As we move into human services being insured or publicly funded, I think we clearly need a group with recognized standards, as happens in medicine right now and in other professions, so I think that there are a number of reasons to support this as well as the ones which have been mentioned already.

#### 1040

Mr Charles Beer (York North): It is with a great deal of pleasure that I too rise in support of the resolution which has been brought forward by our colleague the member for Durham Centre.

I want to be somewhat personal in my remarks, because as a former Minister of Community and Social Services I have had the opportunity to deal with this particular issue and indeed to meet with a number of the practitioners in the field of social work. I want to share that with members, because I think it is fair to say that when I first became minister I had some concerns and reservations about whether moving towards a social work act was the best way to go. I suspect that was sensed by those in the profession itself.

But having met, over the course of the time that I was minister, with representatives from the social work field, I became convinced that indeed this was the way to go. In particular, I can recall sitting down with representatives from the community colleges and from the social work association to try to come together to set up a way of going forward to develop legislation. As has been mentioned before, we did that in 1990, and I said at the time that if those two groups could come to an understanding. I would then direct that legislation be prepared and would be prepared to take that legislation to cabinet. That process began.

I think what is encouraging is that since that time, we had the debate around the health disciplines legislation, and so we now have before us models, if you like, examples of how we can construct, from the motion that I believe we will pass today, the actual act so that we can have that brought to this Legislature in 1993.

Members will recall that during the debate around a number of the health disciplines—midwifery, psychology and dentistry in particular—there were concerns expressed by people within those fields as to how you would ensure that you were inclusive, how you would ensure that you protected both the public and the public interests as well as protecting the professional, so that the client could be assured of having the best possible service and so that professionals would know they had an organization and a college that would be able to set out the protocols, the regulations, the whole format within which they would function.

We had problems with those health disciplines but we worked them through. I think the fact that the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers was able to sit down with the community college representatives and work out an understanding gives us a clear sign of hope that we can do it with other groups that feel that perhaps somehow they won't be included or won't be able to be part of this new system. I'm persuaded this won't happen and I think we can ensure it doesn't.

The key thing, then, is where do we go from here? I'd like to suggest to the minister and to the government a process, perhaps, that we can get going. First of all, I think we'd want to reconstitute the working group we had, get it together. I also think somebody should speak to the ministry, because I believe that in a couple of drawers there are some draft acts that were being put together. Some very good people in the ministry have been involved with this, and I don't think it will take too long to put together a draft act and review it with the various stakeholders. We may find very soon that that is something that could be brought forward in the spring and where there would be agreement.

It is certainly something that could, as with the Health Disciplines Act, be directed to the standing committee on social development; that committee could carry out some public hearings and report back to the House.

But it does seem to me that this is an idea whose time has come, and while there may have been, as I mentioned before, some of us at different stages who were not as supportive as we are now, over time the argument has carried, and what we see now is that this is something that needs to be moved forward.

Various members have talked about all the different areas that social work encompasses and why it is important to ensure this protection, and I don't want to go back over that. But what we do want to underline is that sense of professionalism that social workers possess, the need to ensure that in this time of tremendous social stress, it is important both for the clients, those who are going to be seeking the assistance of social workers, and for the social workers themselves that they have this body, because one of the important things I think this legislation could give us would be a self-regulating body, a council, that would be able as well to do a great deal of education work with the public, and that that is something that at the present time cannot be done in the way that would be most helpful.

So there are many positive things that flow from this resolution. I would simply urge the government that when we have reached the point where we have that draft act, we want to make sure we can put it into legislation as soon as possible. I know we are going to work with the government to ensure that that happens.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I too rise in support of the resolution from the member for Durham Centre, Mr White. This is a position that our party has expressed an interest in and support of for some time and continues

The whole issue of sexual abuse is a concern in my riding of Dufferin-Peel, as it is around the province. I'm going to read the two introductory provisos in the resolution, because I think it expresses a concern that we all have in this House, and I would encourage all members of the House to support Mr White's resolution: "social workers work with people suffering from serious degrees of vulnerability" and "survivors of sexual abuse, children at risk, persons with disabilities, homeless persons, and assaulted

women who receive professional social work services are vulnerable to further victimization." I think Mr White's resolution moves in a direction to assist those people.

Ms Zanana L. Akande (St Andrew-St Patrick): I rise in support of the resolution. I feel very strongly in support of this particular resolution.

Some time has been taken in hesitation, because there were others who came forward who said that they too should be qualified under this particular piece of legislation. I feel very strongly to point out that there are many professions in which there are ancillary services—there are educators, there are medical professions in which there are ancillary services—yet those professions go forth with support for professional legislation which protects others, without their supportive services, their ancillary services, being included in that. It's extremely important that we recall that and remember this when we look at this legislation.

This is the kind of legislation which identifies the professional qualifications of those people who are working with our most vulnerable people. Therefore it is important that we have a way of ensuring that these people are protected, that those who work with them have the kinds of qualifications which will make them sensitive to their needs, and which will allow us to be certain that the kind of service these people are getting is the kind of service which will lead to their ultimate wellbeing.

It's a kind of sensitive legislation that we have lacked for a very long time; in fact, this particular legislation will bring forward and allow us to support not only the kinds of concerns we have about women and about children but the concerns we have about all people who need such support.

1050

**The Deputy Speaker:** The member for Brampton South, you have 16 seconds.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): In 16 seconds, what can you say? This is legislation that's needed. It will protect people in a significant way who need protection and are not able to protect themselves adequately now.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I am very pleased for now. It would now appear to be about the seventh occasion in my tenure in the Legislature to participate in a discussion, a debate or even an exchange with a government minister on the need for and the support of a regulated social worker act for the province of Ontario.

Much has been said in the debate currently which I won't reiterate. We know we're the last jurisdiction on the continent not to proceed. Imagine: Bill Clinton could have campaigned in the last American election that his great state of Arkansas is ahead of Ontario, and that would be a sad truth. But I don't wish to reiterate.

Much of what I have is my own personal understanding and knowledge of this. I've brought my file that Dan Andreae and I have gone over, over the years; I notice Dan in the House today, and I'm sure he'll be pleased if we can proceed with this legislation and he can get on with the rest of his life. But that's my file: that's how much we've been discussing it; that's how many cases we've recorded of abuse, of vulnerability; how many cases of premiers and

former leaders who've changed their minds; governments who've said one thing and done another.

The truth is, now more than at any other time in this province's history we need this legislation, because we are in a period of restraint and contracting funding commitments to the vulnerable in this province, and the pressures on those people providing professional services has never been greater.

I cite the example of the children's aid societies, where they've lost substantive staff in this province: 175 over the last year. These are front-line workers working with children who are vulnerable and at risk, the victims of sexual abuse. Cutbacks financially from this government, funding shortfalls from this government, and the pressure goes on these professional service providers. Unless they are regulated appropriately they will not have the protection they need in order to complete their professional mission, so they can perform those essential services, those front-line services that are so critical.

I wish to dwell specifically on the issue that the only way children are protected in this province is under our laws, and the only way in which those laws will work is if the children's aid societies and the hundreds and hundreds of social workers in the field who do the investigations, who do the preparations, who assist in entrées to our court system in order to protect and to save the future of those children. Unless we put the appropriate value on their professional services, we are making a statement about the value we put on protecting our children, and that is a terrible double standard for us as a government, and it's a shame that we're the last in North America to consider it.

I have heard all manner of explanation as to why the Liberals suggested they might have this legislation and then backed off from it during their tenure. I've heard all sorts of speculation as to why Bob Rae promised it in opposition. It's easy when you're in opposition to promise everything. The critical issue is, why is he resisting it now that he's the government?

I have heard arguments that bureaucrats in several ministries of this government are paranoid that the notion of professionalizing and codifying the profession of social work in this province will compromise certain pay levels, because bureaucrats who've been sitting behind desks for 28 years have no or little practicum and they cannot and should not be paid at the rate of our field workers, who are doing the essential daily front-line service to vulnerable people in this province.

It's been suggested that the all-powerful unions have indicated that they don't want additional proliferation of "quasi-professional unionized bargaining units." I think that's paranoia and nonsense, and the government and Bob White and the people who make the decisions about these things should be told: "Get your hands off the social workers. They conduct themselves professionally and they can bargain responsibly in this province, and you should learn to trust them."

Many years ago I had the opportunity to help develop a bargaining unit in my school board jurisdiction, the Halton Board of Education, when I was the chair of the collective bargaining committee. We developed a union for our

professional social workers and psychometricians and others and we were very proud of what we developed. We gave them the status they richly deserve for the contribution they make to our educational system.

I cannot help but comment in the brief moment I have left that the member for St Andrew-St Patrick talked about her sense of commitment. I say to that former minister, you had your chance. Coming from a field of education, she should have known how critical front-line social work services are to the kinds of problems facing children in our schools today, and the solutions lie in access to highly qualified professional services.

For about the eighth time in this House in as many years, I ask all members of this House to support the resolution. I fear it is only a resolution and buying time, and I hope we have a bill within the next two years in this House that we can all pass.

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I'm rising with the rest of my colleagues here on this most interesting of mornings, because it appears that Drummond White has indeed struck a nerve with this particular resolution. I anticipate that there will be unanimous support for this resolution when it comes to a vote at noontime today. The record will of course show that.

I listened to the member for Ottawa-Rideau talk about the fact that it was Drummond White who brought this forward rather than the government. Well, I say thank goodness for Drummond White. I first met the member for Durham Centre, Drummond White, during the election campaign prior to September 1990. I was impressed then with his insight, with his evenhandedness, his ability to tackle problems and resolve them analytically, and what we're seeing today is a demonstration of that same capacity and skill.

Not only can the people of Durham Centre and its communities be proud of their representative in this Legislature today, but this government, this Legislature, this assembly, can be proud of this member for having brought forward this resolution.

Far more significant, though, than the fact that there's going to be unanimous support for this resolution is the fact, and the record should show this, that the visitors' galleries are full. That's not a common thing on Thursday mornings when private members' bills and resolutions are being discussed. Indeed, it demonstrates the fact that there is a large constituency in this province that calls upon this government promptly—not later; now—to give effect to the content of Drummond White's resolution. There are undoubtedly a great number of members of the profession who look forward to the ability to regulate themselves.

As well, we'd be remiss if we didn't note that Drummond White's three children, the younger Whites, Devin, Amanda and Lenore, aren't in school today, but probably learning far more here than they would in a classroom. And if you need a note, either your dad will provide one or, if need be, I'll write one for you.

Let me tell you, I'm proud because I come from Welland-Thorold and proud because we have the presence in that community, in the Niagara region, of a significant number of members of the social work profession, who

work not only for agencies, governmental and quasi-governmental, but also—and this is very much a growing trend, thankfully a growing trend, in the social work profession—people who provide private services. We're the beneficiary of such skilled people like Bill Lidkea and his firm operating out of Thorold. I note that his interest in this matter is not recent but, again, long-time, and I've been the beneficiary of the counsel and advice from Bill Lidkea with respect to this particular matter.

#### 1100

I note as well, and the resolution remarks on the fact, that there is social work training at the bachelor, master and doctorate level here in this province. We also have a number of community colleges which provide outstanding training in their social service programs. I am confident that Drummond White, when he prepares and presents this resolution, anticipates that those very same people, graduates from our fine community colleges like the one in Welland, Niagara College, where people like Goldie Hill and Murdock Keith, now retired, along with the whole other plethora of fine talented skilled people, have been training students in the social services program for a number of years now. We are grateful to them.

We also acknowledge the important role of graduates from the social service programs at community colleges like Niagara College in Welland, students and people like Goldie Hill across this province. We're conscious and cognizant of the invaluable contribution they make to this helping profession.

We note that there's going to be unanimous support for this resolution. We ask the government to note that the visitors' galleries are full. We ask the government to note that this government and previous governments have been called upon again and again to give effect to this resolution. I say to you, Mr Speaker, a resounding support for Drummond White's resolution today will undoubtedly impress upon this government the need to act promptly.

Mr White: I should note at the outset my own anxiety in presenting this. I thought there would be all kinds of vitriol pouring forth from the opposition and, of course, I am pleased that that was not the case. The stars in their firmament must be behind me today. In fact the Toronto Star, the Sault Star and the Sudbury Star are all behind me. They all have editorials saying there should be regulation of social work.

**Mr Jackson:** They're behind social workers, Drummond. Don't get too big a head here.

Mr White: That's right. They're behind this resolution, my friend. I want to thank my colleagues for pointing out the importance of this profession and how it empowers and strengthens its clients and deals with those natural resources and builds on them; how they are also dealing with people in the most vulnerable situations and how those protections for our most vulnerable adults and children are so badly needed now, even more than ever.

The issue we have before us is not, are we in support, which I understand we are. We understand that Bob Rae has indicated his support and that many of our ministers have as well. That's not the question. The question is—and

I thank the member for York North particularly for helping to push forward this item. Yes, we're in support. Yes, the government's in support. I know that. This should be an opportune time. It has not happened before with any government. Let us make the venue clear that a social work act could be on our agenda, I hope, this term. The people of Ontario need it, the public need it, the vulnerable adults need it and every other profession needs it too.

The Deputy Speaker: The time for the first ballot item has expired.

CONSUMER AND BUSINESS PRACTICES CODE, 1992

CODE DE 1992 DE LA CONSOMMATION ET DES PRATIQUES DE COMMERCE

Mr Cordiano moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill 98, An Act to provide a Consumer and Business Practices Code for Ontario / Loi prévoyant un Code de la consommation et des pratiques de commerce pour l'Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 96(c)(i), the member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence): I want to say how proud I am to be able to bring forward this piece of legislation standing in my name. It is a combination of efforts on behalf of previous ministers of Consumer and Commercial Relations, Liberal ministers in the previous administration, who were ministers who stood up and said, "We need consumer protection and a new business practices code because this province needs to move forward in modernizing its economy." We understood that. We understood that it was a priority for the economy and for the people of this province, that consumer protection needed to be advanced.

I say that because it is in marked contrast to what we have today. The efforts of this government have largely been towards revenue generation. The efforts of this Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations have been entirely focused on revenue generation. We see that with the advent of casino gambling. We see that with changes in a variety of areas, with fees—the new corporate registration fee has been increased to \$50. We see that right across the board and, as a result, we see an abrogation of responsibility on the part of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations and on the part of her Premier, who directs her in that regard. As a result, this government has failed miserably to advance the cause of consumer protection. In fact they have done precious little.

I want to deal with what's in the bill and briefly touch on some of the main highlights. Much of the consumer legislation that's currently on the books is more than 20 years old. Many of the 20 acts in force are either outdated or inflexible and need to be brought up to date.

In January 1989, when we were the government, the business-consumer consultation group was formed to make recommendations about how best to consolidate and update Ontario's consumer protection legislation. The process included such groups as the Consumers' Association of Canada, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the

Retail Council of Canada, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association as well as the Ontario Chamber of Commerce. Input was also received from various other interest groups and professionals concerned with consumer legislation.

It was in July 1990 that the then minister, Greg Sorbara, my colleague for York Centre, introduced a draft bill which would create this new code for Ontario. We intended to introduce legislation at that time in the fall of 1990.

As I said before, consumer protection is a responsibility of this government and one that it has ignored since its election. I believe that the consumers of this province have waited long enough for consumer protection legislation.

Bill 98 consolidates, simplifies and updates existing legislation and addresses new and growing areas of consumer concern such as telemarketing and the expanding service sector, for example. These have never been comprehensively introduced before. This legislation is a codification of acceptable marketplace practices.

Bill 98 applies to the sale of goods as well as to sale of services. The same standards of fair play will apply to both these areas. The code will cover those businesses and individuals that provide legal, medical, most financial, repair and domestic help services. It will also apply to companies that sell goods and services combined as a package, such as dishwashers and extended-service packages.

The foundation of the code is based on four principles:

The principle of disclosure ensures that marketplace participants receive accurate, understandable and timely information in order to make sound purchasing decisions.

Transactional fairness is another principle of the bill. Transactional fairness means that ethical standards of conduct will prevail throughout the entire buying process, beginning with the consideration of a purchase and continuing through to after-sale service.

Fair value is the third principle. Consumers are entitled to receive what they have been led to expect. They should not be vulnerable to after-purchase surprises.

Finally, the fourth principle is access to remedies or justice. When standards of disclosure, transactional fairness and fair value are not met, consumers and businesses will have better remedies and means of resolving disputes.

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Bill 98 clearly defines the rights and responsibilities of both the buyer and the seller. The bill also addresses the question of what an unfair practice is, which will serve to benefit both business and consumers.

Part I of the bill defines what constitutes an unfair practice, providing general rules and extensive examples of unfair practices. Under section 8, fairness applies whether or not a sale has actually been made. As an example, a company that distributes flyers that state that its prices have been reduced by 50%, when in fact the goods are being sold at regular prices, could be charged under the code.

Part II of the bill deals with consumer warranties. The definition of warranties will also be broadened to include any written or oral statement. The code will also extend the responsibility for honouring certain warranties to manufacturers, importers, distributors and wholesalers.

Bill 98 will clarify and consolidate rules and warranties given by law and also define what an express warranty is. I

see that I'm somewhat running out of time, Mr Speaker, as it winds down, but I just want to summarize the new provisions in this code. The code now applies equally to goods and services. Express warranties, as I've indicated, are now specifically dealt with in legislation. A new warranty is now given by law which requires that spare parts be available for a reasonable time. Suppliers will now be required to clearly notify the consumer about their refund policy. Otherwise, a universal refund policy of 10 days from purchase will automatically apply. New provisions covering repairs over \$50, including a mandatory 90-day warranty, now apply.

Bill 98 also improves existing protections, and here are some examples. Liability is extended to manufacturers, importers and wholesalers for the warranties given by law of fitness for purpose and acceptable quality of the goods or services. The list for unfair practices has been expanded and updated. Consumers will now be protected from unfair business practices and real estate purchases. Existing provisions for door-to-door and remote sales have been significantly enhanced and, in addition, a number of specific provisions have been added to address telemarketing.

As I said, the code concerning consumers and business practices attempts to bring us forward, to modernize transactions that have become highly complicated and in some cases quite controversial in the marketplace. I think this legislation is long overdue and I would say that the government has had ample opportunity to deal with this matter. All of the necessary work has been done.

The previous ministers, as I mentioned, had dealt with this matter, initiated it. My colleague the member for Wilson Heights, the then minister who initiated this process, Monte Kwinter, needs to be commended because he conducted a review to bring us forward and then, following on his good measures and good efforts, finally this bill was brought forward as a draft piece of legislation by the then minister in 1990, Greg Sorbara.

We have a very strong tradition in our party of advocating on behalf of consumers and understanding that the marketplace and the economy have become quite complex and that our economy needs to improve into the modern kinds of aspects which this legislation will certainly bring forward.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I rise in support of this bill which is introduced by the member for Lawrence. It is a bill that does codify much of the common law that exists in this province and in fact this country, with some subsections, as the member for Lawrence has indicated—the telemarketing issue—and of course there are sections that expand the issue of the warranty; there are more definitions that perhaps clarify some of the definitions that have come forward from the common law.

There has been very little time—and I'm not saying this in criticism of the member for Lawrence—to properly consult with the various business and consumer groups specifically on this bill, notwithstanding the fact that it has come from a discussion paper—and I'm not too sure whether it was the member for Wilson Heights or the member for York Centre who originally, when the Liberals were in government, brought forward this issue—but this

specific bill I certainly haven't had proper time to properly discuss with the business and consumer groups. But generally speaking, I certainly support the principle and I'm certain that there is nothing that could be fine-tuned in committee hearings.

I have some concerns, of course, with respect to such issues as the limitation period. The three years that are mentioned in the bill may be sufficient. It may be long enough, it may not be long enough, and I'd like to hear more input from the groups on that subject. The issue of costs, the cost of the greater action that's going to be taken by the ministry: I don't know what bureaucracy that is going to result in. I'd like to hear more about that. I will say that there may be more action as far as the courts are concerned. There may be better ways of processing these complaints other than through the civil courts.

So I do support the bill. I believe that giving consumers protection when they buy goods or services is an important element in stimulating economic activity. Consumers need to have confidence that they are being treated honestly and fairly when they enter the marketplace. Whether they are contracting to get their carpets cleaned or are buying a house, consumers have a right to a fair deal, and I'm sure that's what the intent of the member for Lawrence was when he introduced this bill.

The member for Lawrence's private member's bill will certainly go a long way to addressing the needs of consumers and businesses in this province, and as he has indicated, it is quite similar to the draft consultation paper that was released by, I believe, the member for York Centre. I don't mean to insult you; it could have been York Centre or Wilson Heights. I know you both had an active part in it when the member for York Centre was the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

The previous consultation paper, I'm aware, had received wide support from consumer groups such as the consumers' association and the business community, represented by the Ontario Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

As the member for Lawrence has suggested, it is certainly inconceivable that the members of the NDP government have refused to proceed with this bill or introduce a similar form of bill. It shows the lack of commitment of this government to consumer protection, and I say that as a member of the opposition and as a critic to the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations. This government has failed to act on an already drafted piece of legislation. This legislation was already drafted, and certainly it could require some changes, but at the very least this government has had two years to bring this back and for some reason it has chosen not to, particularly when it has received wide support from business and consumer groups in the past.

Bill 98 reflects an important revision and improvement of existing consumer protection and business practice laws. One of the important elements of this proposed code is that it would put all the rules in one place in a readable format. I think consumers and business people need more of that. We need to have more codification.

It also modernizes those statutes to take into account changes in the marketplace such as telemarketing and the sale of services. Consumer activity is changing continually, and I do believe the member for Lawrence in his bill is trying to keep up with that process.

#### 1120

People purchasing goods are already protected from false claims about the goods from high-pressure sales tactics. For the first time, the acquisition of personal or professional services would also be covered. Vendors would not be able to make false claims about their services, as well as the purchase of real estate.

The statutory warranty that applies to goods would now be extended to services. As I indicated, this policy already exists in the common law, and as I indicated, hopefully would be refined in the committee process.

There are three other areas in which the consumer and business practices code makes much-needed improvements: that is, in the warranty area, the unfair business practices area and the repairing section. With respect to warranties, this bill provides for the extension of statutory warranties to cover services. The bill provides for the extension of warranties so that they cover not only the seller of the goods but also the manufacturer, the importer and the wholesaler. This would extend the already widespread acceptance of manufacturers of responsibility for the quality of their goods, and again this is an attempt to codify the common law.

Finally, this bill puts forward a definition of warranty which would be expanded to cover oral or written assurances about a product or service—for example, a promise that a particular good or service would meet specific needs.

Secondly, the bill deals with the subject of unfair business practices. The bill deals with unscrupulous business practices by the few who smear the entire business community, and those are out there. Every year the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations is forced to investigative people who take advantage of children, senior citizens or the developmentally handicapped. This bill would extend the protection that already exists.

The bill would also clearly restate what unfair business practices are. The principles of fair business practices contained in this bill are also contained in most professional ethics codes, such as the principle of full disclosure and the prohibition of false claims.

The subject of repairs, finally, the third area: Faulty estimates can be a financial nightmare for consumers. The member for Lawrence's bill would require that estimates would be required to be provided. There would be written estimates on request which the final cost would not exceed by more than 10%. A reasonable estimate of the time required to complete the repair would also be provided. There would be a 90-day warranty on parts and services.

One can certainly wonder why this bill has languished in the hands of the NDP government for the last two years. It was already prepared; why not bring it forward? Yes, it could be refined, but at the very least, why not bring it forward instead of some of the crazy policies that are coming out of that ministry such as gambling casinos and the \$50 fees and the strange lack of procedure with respect to elevators?

This is the party that trumpeted the need for greater consumer protection when it was in opposition, yet it has sat on this draft legislation and done absolutely nothing. In fact, if the New Democratic Party were a business trying to sell the people of the province on its promises it would be in violation of this very piece of legislation. When you think of what the bill is trying to do, this government is in violation of this very bill. It has engaged in unconscionable business practices from the very beginning by promising things which it won't deliver. Yes, I'm making political comments, but when you think of your promises and what this bill is trying to do, if people in the business community did what you're doing they would be fined and probably taken to court.

Perhaps the reason the government has refused to act on this draft legislation is because it represents a fine model of business-consumer cooperation. After the fiasco of Bill 40, cooperation with the business community seems out of style with this government. The kind of process that produced this bill is the kind of government the people of this province deserve. It shows that special interest groups can work together without confrontation.

I think when you look at many of the provisions in this bill, the member for Lawrence has attempted—and I realize it's too bad he doesn't have more time to elaborate on many of the sections. Part I talks about unfair business practices, and most of them exist. They're simple statements but they're excellent to be codified so that consumers and business know exactly what is required when you get into commercial relations.

Just as an example, "It is an unfair practice to do or say anything, or fail to do or say anything, if, as a result, a consumer might reasonably be deceived or misled." That is happening out there. I think that it is admirable that this bill is trying to deal with these problems. I'm referring to section 3 under part I: "It is an unfair practice to make a false claim." Of course, this already exists, but, again, to codify it and to make these clear and to expand in the new, ever-changing commercial activity that we have in this province.

"It is an unfair practice for a person to take advantage of the consumer if the person knows or ought to know that the consumer is not in a position to protect his or her own interests...

"It is an unfair practice to claim that the person who is to supply goods or services has a particular affiliation, sponsorship, approval or status or connection, if that is not so." So, in other words, there is much deception that is going out into the commercial activity of this province, and I think that it is excellent that this bill is dealing with these issues.

The right of action, section 10, is one area that I do have some hesitancy with, and that is the limitation period of three years. I don't know. Three years may be enough; it may not be long enough. On this and several other issues, I would hope that there would be an opportunity for the member for Lawrence—in fact, all members of this House—to consult with the various interest groups on this

issue and other issues. But I think that, generally speaking, one should not vote against the bill simply because you pick out a particular section that could be refined at committee or at a later date. An amendment could be made that could perhaps satisfy the interest groups or concerns of members of this House.

There is an excellent section, section 22, that talks about, "In the case of an agreement for the supply of services by description, the supplier shall be deemed to warrant that the services will correspond with the description." There is so much strange activity that goes out in the commercial world that there are many, as I have indicated—the seniors and the children and handicapped people—who need protection. There are many people who are astute and are able to deal with these issues, but I think this bill tries to assist many who do not have that ability.

There is a section, part VI, which talks about the enforcement powers of the ministry. Again, I hesitate to speak against that section; I would like to hear more about that from the member for Lawrence. I doubt if he has time, in the time allowed this morning, to do that, but if not the member for Lawrence, then some of the consumer groups. We are in a difficult recessionary time. I don't know what added bureaucrats that will mean to administer this type of section, because, clearly, it will be necessary to retain more people to deal with that. But it may well be that the member for Wilson Heights or others who had some time to review this policy when they were in government could clarify those issues for me.

In conclusion, I would urge this House to give second reading to Bill 98, which is An Act to provide a Consumer and Business Practices Code for Ontario. It is a welcome initiative that will enable consumers to enter the market-place with greater confidence and businesses to have a clear set of rules that apply to themselves and their competitors.

I believe that the result of this code can only be beneficial to the people of the province of Ontario, and I congratulate the member for Lawrence for bringing it forward at this particular time.

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I think it's most appropriate that, as we get closer to the holiday season and many people are out purchasing gifts for the holiday season, we talk about consumer protection issues.

I want to congratulate the member for Lawrence for bringing the issue to the forefront once again in terms of the need for updating consumer protection legislation. I think everyone agrees there is a need to do that. Certainly, we know that in any piece of consumer legislation, it needs to cover some of the things that are covered here: the timely delivery of goods, delivery of goods ordered by mail, telephone high-pressure sales tactics, negative option plans, refund-exchange policies, written estimates for repairs and warranty problems. As I mentioned, many of these issues are addressed in this bill.

#### 1130

It is my sense, though, that when this bill was released in terms of a draft proposal, originally in 1990, there were some concerns raised by both consumer groups and business groups about how practical some of the things were and whether it would create more difficulties. I think there are still those concerns, and I hope that more consultation will go on and that the minister herself will be bringing forward something that may be a bit more comprehensive.

In terms of this bill, I would think that some business people who may be watching this morning would be concerned. All governments get criticized for more regulation, more rules that businesses have to follow. But I hope that most business people would see that a strong consumer protection code is in their best interests as well.

Certainly, from my sense, I know that in my riding the vast majority of the businesses have good business people. They've worked hard to build up their businesses. They rely on a good reputation of providing good service and fair consumer practices.

Unfortunately, there are some unscrupulous people out there who do try to take advantage of consumers, some who move from place to place and set up business. I think all of us as MPPs get people into our office with concerns that we wish we could solve, but these people are maybe working on the edge of the current legislation and it's a little tough to help them.

I also want to point out to those business people that if you look at a couple things, this also helps. Michael Porter, in his report on competitiveness for the economy, talks about setting high standards, talks about energy efficiency, talks about those other things. I think he would agree high consumer protection standards, in terms of what is produced, are also a way of continuing to keep your businesses competitive, not only here but for those types of practices carried out for producing for exports as well, and so there are strong benefits to this as well.

I think it's also important to note one issue, the refund policy. It was interesting: I had the pleasure of attending the business achievement awards in the town of Ingersoll in my riding a couple of months ago in late October. The guest speaker for that evening was Linda Lundstrom. As many of you may know, Linda Lundstrom is a Canadian with an international reputation in designing clothes, particularly jackets. She makes good use, for a lot of her inspiration, from growing up in northern Ontario, near native communities, and displays a lot of their talents.

It was quite interesting talking about refund policies, because she mentioned that when they first started up the company, they had a very complicated refund policy, that it would only occur here, that you could only bring it back after seven days or whatever. She said that they were finding it very complex. So what they decided to do was they changed the refund policy and basically changed it to, "If you want to bring it back, you can bring it back," a very open refund policy. She has found in her business that she hasn't been taken advantage of, that in fact her customers appreciate that it's much easier to bring things back, and she's been able to secure her business in terms of repeat customers.

I think it's clear to say that while obviously consumers are the ones who need to be protected, an enhanced consumer protection code is in the best interests of not only consumers; it's in the best interests of business and the economy overall, and really does protect those very

hardworking and dedicated men and women in this province who believe in strong standards, believe in strong ethics and believe in providing the best product and services to their customers.

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I am delighted to rise in my place and support Bill 98. Bill 98 had its genesis in the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations while I served as the minister, and the reason for it was quite simple: Of the over 80 acts that came under the responsibility of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, which covered the whole spectrum of everything from horse racing to liquor control acts to stuffed furniture and stuffed articles to being the Registrar General of Ontario to looking after amusement devices, all of those things, I would say that then and probably now, the one issue that created more input and more complaint from the general public was the whole area of consumer protection.

The consumer protection legislation that is now on the books of the province of Ontario is an amalgam of many different bits and pieces that have been developed over the years in response to particular problems.

The one governing principle that usually governs the marketplace as far as consumers is known as caveat emptor, let the buyer beware, and what that means is that except where there is a specific warranty, the buyer is at risk as to the quality of the product he buys. That may be fine, but it doesn't really address the many problems that are out there, and as the marketplace becomes more complex the problem gets accentuated.

I'd just like to talk about a couple of the things that really created the need for this particular kind of legislation. Members will probably know that the one area where we did get some legislation was auto repairs, because the auto repair business was by far the number one area of consumer complaint.

Members might know or like to know that there is a process where we have what we call a "ghost car program." The Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations has cars that it takes to the government garage, makes sure that they are absolutely perfectly tuned, and then takes these cars to selected car repair places and tells them that it's having trouble with these cars and would they please examine them.

Of course, if you get a responsible and legitimate repair office, he will look at the car, test it and say: "Sir, there is nothing wrong with your car. I can't find anything." On the other hand, indications have shown that in some cases there have been very extensive repair bills, with a whole range of imagined problems with that car, where whole parts of the engine have been replaced and major repairs initiated. Of course, the results are that these people are charged with unfair business practices, the idea being that once word got out throughout the industry that this program was in place, those unscrupulous dealers and those unscrupulous repair people would get the message and would certainly try to act in a responsible way.

There were other areas that created some problems: health clubs, for example, where people paid fees for services and prepaid two- and three-year memberships, only

to find that in some cases the health club didn't even open, let alone survive, and in other cases they stayed open for a very brief period of time and then they folded, with the loss to these purchasers of service that couldn't get redress. That created a problem.

Another problem was in the travel industry. Travel packagers were selling tours and showing brochures of hotels that looked as if they were on the beach and looked as if they had great facilities. When people got to their destination they were quite dismayed to find that the actual place had no relationship whatsoever to what the brochure showed, and what was supposed to be the highlight of their year as far as their holiday was concerned turned into a travel disaster. That, of course, created many problems in the ministry.

The last example that I'd like to talk about is of course the one that created a lot of problems, and that's people in the dance studio business who got elderly people who had problems in sort of socializing. They looked at this as a solution and bought lifetime memberships for not hundreds, but thousands of dollars, and found themselves obligated when they could never, ever dance that long, or live that long.

These were problems that had to be addressed, and of course, it brought to the one line, whenever you see a lifetime offer, you don't know whether it's your lifetime or the lifetime of the person who is offering it, and in many cases, that could be a very short life, because these people go out of business.

#### 1140

The purpose of the legislation was to try to codify all the different consumer protection pieces that were out there and come out with a code. The previous speaker kept referring to this as a consumer code and I just want to correct that. It is a consumer and business code. It is meant not only to serve the consumer, but to serve businesses. Businesses, if they are working in an environment where they know what is expected and know what the ground rules are, can function. Most businessmen are legitimate businessmen out there trying to perform the services they advertise and trying to be good, corporate citizens.

The idea behind this legislation is to make sure that all the participants in the particular commercial endeavour know what the ground rules are. This particular code, which was introduced by my successor, was a result of consultation with the consumers' groups, the chambers of commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and others who had an interest in getting an environment in which the consumer can be protected, the businesses can be protected, and a good situation would prevail for everybody.

It was with some surprise that a draft bill that was tabled in July 1990—and now we are into December 1992—has not seen the light of day, or had any kind of publicity or any kind of indication from the government that it would be bringing it forward. There's no reason to believe—this bill might have some flaws, and during the committee hearings it could be amended, could be refined to suit the particular situation that we have today, but we've seen nothing. I want to commend the member for Lawrence for bringing forward Bill 98 because I think it's

important to the consumers of Ontario and it's also important to the businessmen who are servicing those consumers.

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): First of all, I wish everyone Merry Christmas.

It's nice to see that the member for Lawrence has brought this bill forward and especially in today's market-place. It is changing, Ontario is changing, and we do need better consumer protection laws. They haven't really kept pace with what's been going on.

The development of new stronger consumer protection legislation continues to be a top priority with the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. New consumer legislation has been in the development stage, as the member said, since the Liberals were in power. Really, what's so good about Bill 98 is that it was pretty good legislation. One thing is, it wasn't quite good enough. Since the time the Liberals started working on their bill, the ministry has been reviewing a lot of the submissions that took place at that time, and there were some stakeholders who had concerns with Bill 98.

Again, while the original draft provided a pretty good overall framework, there are several areas that Bill 98 just doesn't address. For example, it doesn't cover the area of home improvements. Home improvements are a major source of consumer complaints, but they had not been included in that draft. There's also the concern that Bill 98 falls short because it concentrates on creating new offences and not providing new remedies for consumers. Remedies that are currently available to consumers who suffer losses arising out of consumer transactions are extremely limited.

The ministry is exploring different ways to help consumers to resolve their own disputes. We're also concerned about Bill 98 having a number of provisions that just don't work in the business world, especially in areas of mail order and telemarketing, which has already been discussed.

Also, the bill doesn't recognize that there are many consumers with special needs for information that's easy to understand. In this regard, as with all legislation being passed by this ministry, we're looking at simple-language legislation.

We appreciate the amount of work that the Liberals put into this. Again I have to say it's nice that the member for Lawrence brought this forward at this time. I know from speaking with the minister that she's said we intend to build on the framework; we're not going to throw away what was already done. It was not perfect, and it wasn't right for what the New Democrats were saying in terms of what's needed for Ontario consumer protection. What is the minister doing; what is the minister going to do? Let me say right here that she has conveyed to me that she hopes all members of this Legislature will support the new consumer fair marketplace code that hopefully will be brought in in the spring of the new session.

Mr Tilson: What's wrong with this one?

Mr Fletcher: What's wrong with this one? It's just not there, it's not quite good enough. If you'd listened to what I was saying before, we explained some areas. I know that your position is to oppose because you're opposition; something you're used to, I know.

The problem is that this piece of legislation just doesn't go far enough in a changing marketplace. That's what's wrong with this. I'm not saying it's all bad; I think it was good. But we have to make sure it has been kept up to date with what's been going on in the marketplace in Ontario, and it just hasn't.

So we thank the previous government for the work it did, we thank you very much. As I said before, we hope the opposition will be able to support the new legislation that comes through in the spring.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I'll be very brief. I want to begin by congratulating my colleague the member for Lawrence for introducing this legislation.

My colleague Mr Kwinter summarized a little of the history of the draft consumer code I had the privilege of presenting in June 1990, just after the recess of the 34th Parliament, for consideration. I want to tell you, Mr Speaker, and the members of this House that an incredible amount of work had gone into that draft consumer and business code by officials in the ministry, not only while I was there but while Mr Kwinter was there, and other ministers. Beyond that, there was consultation by virtually every single group that has an interest in fair and honest codes for the protection of consumers in the marketplace.

In short, the bill was ready for presentation to Parliament when the New Democratic Party took office in September 1990, and I cannot for the life of me imagine why the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, who is not even in the House today to listen to this debate, has not simply put whatever socialist revisions she wants on the five and six works that have been done on a new consumer code.

The only thing I can surmise is that the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations has given over all of her time to worrying about casinos and where they will be and how they will operate. I think she is shirking her responsibilities. She has a code ready and waiting, all the work has been done; she simply needs to bring forward that bill in Parliament, and after two and a half years she not only has not presented a bill but she hasn't even reported to Parliament on the status and the progress of revising the code that was prepared so that Ontario can have a new and modern consumer and business code to more effectively regulate the marketplace.

I think it is regrettable in the extreme that, all that work having been done, the minister would not even have the grace and goodwill to present us with an update and, ultimately, a consumer code. But where there is a vacuum, other members move to fill the vacuum, and my colleague the member for Lawrence has done just that with a bill that I think will begin to revise and reform the consumer laws in this province. I hope the members of this Parliament can give second reading and expeditious consideration to this bill.

1150

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): Much has been said about the previous bill, and indeed the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations has taken both the draft legislation and the concerns raised in the original and further consultations with business and is preparing new legislation scheduled for release in the spring, called the fair marketplace code. That code will build on the strengths that are in the bill before us and take into account some very serious further modifications.

I would like in these few moments to make small business the focus of my remarks, both in praise of the work done so far and pointing towards the work still ahead, since small business people will feel the effects of a code of business practices most directly. Considering the role of the 300,000 small business as employers of 33% of the work force, particularly women, seniors and youth, we must make sure that we have their interests at the forefront of our minds when we pass legislation affecting them.

A long-overdue change contained in this bill is to include protection against unfair practices in supplies and services provided by this government and its agencies. This change will reinforce the government's commitment to accountability by making us play by the same rules of the marketplace as every other company. Our contracts with our own private partners will be open to mutual scrutiny and enforceability. Similarly, the government and its agencies will be responsible for providing warranties guaranteeing the fitness for purchase and the acceptable quality of all goods and services they produce in competition with any other vendor. It makes no sense to exempt the government from its own codes. This bill proposes to change that exemption, and I think that this is an important plank to build on with the new fair marketplace act.

As much as I agree with the principle of this bill and with the specific provisions in it, I think there are some gaps in this bill from the point of view of small business, and I would want to ensure that the new fair marketplace act will address the concerns of small business in a comprehensive manner. One of my major concerns is that this bill tries to remedy problems in the marketplace by creating new offences. It is important for the government to prosecute serious violations of fair business practice, but we must take care that we do not create technical and bureaucratic infractions in our attempt to guarantee fairness. In some cases, the better alternative to creating new rules and punishments is to give businesses and consumers the tools to work out their disputes without the government having to step in.

In conclusion, I want to state that this is a piece of legislation that can be very good for small business, and I'm delighted to see the initiatives that paved the way for the fair marketplace legislation that is expected this spring. I know Mr Cordiano will have substantial contributions to that debate, and I look forward to our continuing work to ensure adequacy of consumer protection for all.

As a member elected in 1987, I can recall bringing forward—and many of my colleagues—consumer protection issues in opposition, and at the time the response from the ministry was always, "Don't worry, we've got legislation coming through; therefore, just hold off and you'll see the legislation." But they didn't bring the legislation. They brought it forward just before an election. They had another three years in their mandate; they went to the people for a new mandate after two years, very politically inept in

their decision to do so. The reality of the matter is that there was important legislation they could have brought forward, that they didn't bring forward, and now they're saying, "Why isn't this legislation on the books?" The Liberals had the opportunity of an extra three years to bring in any legislation they wanted—they had the numbers—and they refused. In an opportunistic manner, they went to the people seeking a new mandate, and the people said: "No, we will not accept that. You are out, and we're going to put somebody in who will indeed bring forward legislation."

Having said all that, I do not believe there should be a roadblock to Mr Cordiano's initiative on the basis of a proposed piece of legislation that has not yet been tabled by the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Affairs. The reason I am going to support Mr Cordiano's motion is precisely the experience I had in opposition, that we talked about consumer protection and we were promised, "Don't worry; it will come," and the government, three years in its mandate, didn't deliver on the goods. The Liberals let consumers down. The Liberals let consumer protection down. The Liberals didn't deliver the goods, I am hoping that my government will deliver the goods, but in anticipation of that I support Mr Cordiano's initiative.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): That's quite an enthusiastic performance for any of us to follow.

Mrs Ellen MacKinnon (Lambton): You're never at a loss for words, Sean.

Mr Conway: The member for Lambton says I'm never at a loss for words. Let me just say to her that I appreciate the enthusiasm of my friends opposite for what did or did not happen between 1985 and 1990. There's no question that a lot happened and some things didn't happen; some of what happened shouldn't have happened, and some of what didn't happen should have happened. But I would have thought that in the course of two-and-a-half years we would have seen from this government some effort to advance the cause of consumer protection.

The members for Wilson Heights and York Centre have rightly observed that this proposal was essentially introduced and ready to be advanced in the summer of 1990. It is true, as the member for Cambridge has observed, that a new government might wish to add some refinements. But we haven't seen any of these to date—

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): They're too busy with scandals.

Mr Conway: Well, no, I don't know that they're too busy with scandal, but they are too busy with something that I would never have expected to have been on the agenda of a New Democratic-CCF Party in government in Ontario. We all know that that which has been obsessing the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations is how to get on with its new policy, its new enthusiasm, for gambling.

I'm like Pierre Berton. I read Berton. I don't think Berton is any stranger to the NDP, and he is like I am, he's speechless, he's incredulous at the thought that the NDP is about to turn our old Ontario into casino Ontario.

Mr Bradley: Mel Swart's with him.

Mr Conway: My friend from St Catharines says that Mel Swart is with him, and he sure is. To hear that pillar of the NDP, that former spokesperson for the NDP on consumer affairs, denounce the Rae government for the godless gambling fixation that it has developed is really quite something to behold.

I can appreciate how the department of consumer affairs has had little or no time to advance bills like the one Mr Cordiano has brought to our attention today, because all of her time is being spent dealing with delegations from Windsor and Sault Ste Marie and elsewhere, where apparently the rage today is how we get into the gambling business.

I just observe the contradiction from what the NDP said here in those years of opposition when consumer protection, of such a kind as is contained in Bill 98, was its top priority, and now after two years and three months we've heard nary a word and seen very little.

Mr Sutherland: We're going to use our full mandate.

Mr Conway: Well, I don't doubt the Rae government will use its full mandate. You will take this mandate and do with it what R.B. Bennett did in 1935 and what Richard Bennett Hatfield did with his mandate in New Brunswick a few years ago. This will be, I say to my friend the member for Oxford—I think my friend for Oxford knows what of I speak. I don't doubt that this mandate will be the longest five years that this province has seen outside of wartime.

I think we should certainly get on with Bill 98. If there are improvements, let the government bring forward those improvements, but let's get on with it in the name of consumer protection.

The Deputy Speaker: Mr Cordiano, you have two minutes.

Mr Cordiano: I, in my remaining two minutes, just want to thank all the members who have spoken on behalf of Bill 98, and would like to hope that all members of the House would support this bill. It's long overdue. The initiative that I think needs to be brought forward indeed can be brought forward if all members of this assembly support this initiative, and from the indications thus far it would seem so.

I would urge members on the government benches to support this initiative. I understand that there are flaws with this bill; I don't think that there are any major flaws, but I do believe that we can improve this piece of legislation and in fact we should support initiatives to approve it.

As I say, the minister is not here today to speak or comment on this, but the fair market act which she is supposedly going to bring forward, I think she can use this initiative, bring it to committee to look at what needs to be done to improve it. Let's move forward with it.

But of course, this Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations and her Premier, and indeed her Treasurer, are so lustful for dollars—in fact, this minister and this Premier, I'm tempted to say this, they are more preoccupied, in fact this Premier is more preoccupied with—

Mr Farnan: Don't lose them. You're throwing it away. You're losing votes by the second.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Cambridge, you had your turn.

Mr Cordiano: If I might finish my speech here and conclude my remarks by saying this Premier is more preoccupied with cash cows than looking after some sacred cows which he so put forward on the altar as having been sacred cows. But it's cash cows that they're after: casino gambling, increases in fees of all kinds to consumers and businesses, and I think that they are reprehensible and this minister hasn't been following her mandate.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The time provided for private members' public business has expired.

#### SOCIAL WORKERS

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): We will deal first with ballot item number 37, standing in the name of Mr White. If any members are opposed to a vote on this ballot item, will they please rise.

Mr White has moved private member's resolution number 36. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

# CONSUMER AND BUSINESS PRACTICES CODE, 1992 CODE DE 1992 DE LA CONSOMMATION ET DES PRATIQUES DE COMMERCE

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): We will now deal with ballot item number 38, standing in the name of Mr Cordiano. If any members are opposed to a vote on this ballot item, will they please rise.

Mr Cordiano has moved second reading of Bill 98, An Act to provide a Consumer and Business Practices Code for Ontario. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the nays have it.

Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1204 to 1209.

The Deputy Speaker: Would the members please take their seats.

Mr Cordiano has moved second reading of Bill 98, An Act to provide a Consumer and Business Practices Code for Ontario.

All those in favour of the motion will please rise and remain standing until your name is called.

#### Aves

Arnott, Beer, Bradley, Callahan, Caplan, Chiarelli, Conway, Cordiano, Cunningham, Drainville, Farnan, Fletcher, Harris, Jordan, Kwinter, Mancini, Marchese, McClelland, McLean, Miclash, Murdoch (Grey), Offer, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Rizzo, Sola, Sorbara, Sterling, Tilson, Ward (Brantford), Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

#### Nays

Akande, Bisson, Buchanan, Carter, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Frankford, Haeck, Hansen, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Malkowski, MacKinnon, Martin, Mills, Murdock

(Sudbury), O'Connor, Sutherland, Waters, Wessenger, White, Winninger.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The ayes are 33, the nays are 24. I declare the motion carried.

Pursuant to standing order 96(k), the bill is referred to the committee of the whole House.

Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence): Referred to the committee of justice.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Shall this bill be referred to the standing committee on justice?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the majority seems to be in favour. Therefore the bill shall be referred to the standing committee on justice.

All those in favour of the bill going to the justice committee will please rise.

All those opposed will please rise.

Take your seats, please. A majority being not in favour, this bill is referred to the committee of the whole House.

**Interjection:** What was the count? **The Deputy Speaker:** It was 27 to 30.

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I think it's important to notice that all of the Liberals and Conservatives in this Legislature voted to send this bill out to the justice committee so the public would have an opportunity to put forward their views on it, and all the NDP voted against this, even though some of the NDP voted in favour of the bill. Disgraceful.

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): A point of order: The member was not in the House for the entire debate and wants to make comments. It's nonsense.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. This private business has now been completed, and this House will adjourn until 1:30 of the clock this afternoon.

The House recessed at 1216.

#### AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

#### **MEMBERS' STATEMENTS**

#### SEA LAMPREYS

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I rise today to bring to the attention of this House an important issue to anglers, charter fishing boat operators, commercial fisherman and all of those in this province interested in maintaining Ontario's natural ecosystems.

As members know, the opening of the St Lawrence Seaway introduced sea lamprey into the natural ecosystems of our Great Lakes. Sea lamprey devastated fish stocks in the 1950s and 1960s. Only now are we seeing a rebuilding of those stocks to pre-lamprey levels. This creature has the ability to again devastate our natural ecosystems if diligent lamprey control measures are not continued and implemented.

The Americans, under international agreement, split the cost of this control with the Canadian federal government. The Americans have increased their allocation this year by 18%, contingent upon a similar increase by the government of Canada. The federal fisheries minister, John Crosbie, has asked Ontario's Ministry of Natural Resources to contribute \$250,000 in addition to the federal government's contribution. The Great Lakes need this important program. We need the minister to respond to Mr Crosbie's request. We need Mr Crosbie to respond to the Americans.

We need in Ontario a strategy for the control of purple loosestrife, which isn't happening. We've seen a cutback of zebra mussel work by 50%. It's time now to move quickly to control the lamprey, this unwanted intruder in our waters.

#### CONGRATULATORY AND HOLIDAY MESSAGES

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I had the pleasure of attending the 151st inaugural meeting of Simcoe county council in Midhurst on Tuesday as Tiny township reeve Ross Hastings was elected warden of the county of Simcoe for a one-year term.

As a former warden myself, I know that Ross and his first lady, Pat, will have an extremely busy schedule ahead of them during their term of office as they work on behalf of the people of Simcoe county.

I would also like to extend my personal thanks to Oro township reeve Bob Drury, grandson of the former Premier, who demonstrated his belief in the democratic process by tossing his hat in the ring. While his candidacy for warden proved to be unsuccessful, I believe Mr Drury deserves our thanks for making the effort to seek the position of warden of Simcoe county, at which next year I know he will be successful.

I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to our police officers who are staffing the RIDE program across Ontario, because it has become a sad fact of life that warm feelings associated with this festive season often result in too much drinking and tragedy on our roads and highways.

I urge everyone not to drink and drive, and don't ride with anyone who does.

I continue to watch my office expenses closely, and because I am a true example of a Scotsman, I sent out very few Christmas cards again this year. My wife, Marjorie, and I sincerely wish that blessings, peace, prosperity and contentment be yours this festive season and throughout the coming year.

Merry Christmas, Mr Speaker, through you to every member of this Legislature.

#### CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to inform the House of a unique incentive to keep residents of the Niagara Peninsula shopping locally instead of in the US: free turkeys.

This Saturday morning the Niagara North Federation of Agriculture is giving away more than 20 birds at a store somewhere in Lincoln, Niagara-on-the-Lake, St Catharines, West Lincoln or Grimsby. The store's exact location will be kept secret until Saturday or maybe the night before. The turkeys, each weighing seven kilograms, will be distributed at a store known for its support of local produce. The big Christmas birds will be given out, as long as supplies last, to the people who buy at least \$25 worth of groceries.

I'm sure grocery stores in the Niagara region will be filled with shoppers this Saturday morning, and that's what the idea's all about: keeping Canadian dollars ringing through Canadian registers.

A similar giveaway was organized in August by the Niagara South Federation of Agriculture. I take this opportunity to congratulate these two fine agricultural groups, the Niagara north and south federations of agriculture, for continuing to find ways of combating cross-border shopping.

There are still people out there who think it's cheaper to buy groceries across the border. Well, they're wrong. If they take into account the exchange rates and the expense of getting to and from the American stores and what their time is worth, it's easier on the pocketbook to shop at home.

Let's not forget the unsurpassed quality of Canadian produce, meat and dairy products. To steal a slogan from the recent Shop Ontario campaign, "It pays to look both ways before you cross the border."

I'd like to take this opportunity to wish everyone a very merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous new year.

#### LANDFILL

Mr Charles Beer (York North): An article in yesterday's Richmond Hill newspaper underlines the continuing controversy and scepticism with which York region residents are viewing the entire Interim Waste Authority megadump site selection. The headline reads, "Bet on Vaughan for Megadump."

Statements by the Minister of Natural Resources regarding the extension of the Rouge River Valley Park north and by the chairman of the Interim Waste Authority about the transportation problems facing the Georgina site seem to indicate that the noose is tightening around the only remaining site, that of Vaughan.

No wonder 39 environmental groups from across Ontario have called upon this government to stop its current site search. They, like virtually everyone else in this province except for the minister and her government, know that her so-called review process is deeply and irreparably flawed.

No wonder the level of paranoia is high in the region. We're talking about people's lives, about their futures. They're worried and, yes, they're frightened. But, Minister, they're fighting and will continue to fight. Last night, over 1,500 people gathered in Maple. They will not rest, we will not rest, until this madness of the minister's site search is dumped. This government has made a mockery of the supposedly democratic site selection process. Minister, you still have time to put an end to it. Will you do it now?

#### **PUBLIC SAFETY**

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): Today I will be introducing a private member's bill entitled Registration of Pedophiles Act, 1992. The bill requires persons convicted of a sexual offence involving a child under the age of 14 to register with the police within whose jurisdiction the person lives. The public will have access to information in the register and will therefore know if convicted paedophiles are living in their neighbourhood. The police will have the power to disseminate the information in the register and can notify neighbours or schools in extreme cases.

The public have the right to be informed when a convicted paedophile is living within their boundaries. The only way the public can take precautionary measures for protection of their children is if they have the needed knowledge.

Serious sex offenders pose a significant threat to a community. This is an issue of rights, and I believe that the rights of children to a safe environment outweigh the rights of paedophiles to privacy. Society owes this to our children.

The only way to allow for adequate public warnings is by giving police the authorization to go door to door warning families and children that this is an individual to avoid.

As legislators, we have a responsibility and an obligation to provide public safety. This would be a regulatory statute that reflects the legitimate need of police and communities to know what's going on. The public deserve no less.

#### JOBS ONTARIO TRAINING FUND

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): I bring to the attention of the House news of two local initiatives in my riding involving jobs and taxes.

First, I want fellow members to know that the Jobs Ontario Training fund is realizing success in bringing together business, labour, equity groups, educators, trainers and the municipality of Peterborough to get long-term unemployed people in our community trained and back to work.

Don Pitt, executive director of the Peterborough Employment Planning Youth Career Centre and the local broker for the Jobs Ontario Training fund, says, "The program has been well received by local employers who recognize the need to train workers in the skills that will make their business competitive."

I'm pleased that the Jobs Ontario Training fund is working in my riding and anticipate many constituents, especially young people, will benefit from this training strategy.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): Second, I'd like to tell members about a good and fair alternative to market value assessment which would not drive employers from the city core.

Peterborough city council has endorsed for study a new concept in property tax assessment known as the two-tier property tax system. Proponents say it is a fair and equitable system which has the advantages of preserving jobs and encouraging economic activity while discouraging land speculation. Peterborough council has requested that this Legislature study the potential benefits of the two-tier system for those reasons. Merry Christmas, everybody.

1340

#### **AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY**

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My colleague the member for Essex South and I note that the ominous news that General Motors may be laying off 1,200 employees for 18 months at its Windsor transmission plant has added to the gloom that has fallen over St Catharines and the apprehension that is in the minds of GM workers in Oshawa and London, as the predicted elimination of jobs and the closing of GM plants in Ontario become a reality.

Our communities will not, however, accept the removal of thousands of jobs and the dismantling of our plants without standing up for those who had devoted so much of their lives to General Motors operations and those who had jobs supplying and servicing GM facilities.

While there is some encouragement in the retooling of the GM transmission plant in Windsor that it will serve that operation for some time to come, the length of time employees will be without work and the belief that the permanent workforce will diminish considerably is extremely important to all of us.

It points to the need for the Premier to meet with the very top leaders of General Motors in Detroit to present the case for the retention of its operations in Ontario and the desirability of placing new investment in our province.

This points once again to the need of the Ontario government to establish a specific auto industry department within MITT to service the future of this important industrial sector. GM employees in St Catharines, Windsor, Oshawa and London deserve no less.

#### MULTICULTURALISM

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): As we look around today on International Human Rights Day, we see human rights violations in many corners of the globe: the deplorable rise of neo-naziism in Europe, the brutal ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and increasing violence in South Africa, where the move away from apartheid is incomplete.

Canadians are horrified by these events, but we are not immune to human rights problems. Recently I met with Dr Ubale, Ontario's first race relations commissioner. In his book, Politics of Exclusion, Multiculturalism or Ghettoism, Dr Ubale writes that despite a strong current of goodwill towards minorities in Canada, discrimination is still part of many Canadians' daily lives.

The exclusion of minorities is also due to the ghettoization of ethnic groups. According to Dr Ubale, this is encouraged by the divisive way our multiculturalism policies are applied. One result is the promotion of the idea of hyphenated Canadians, an idea which keeps Canadians divided. Dr Ubale also warns that minorities are increasingly divided from each other. The recent violence in North York is disturbing evidence of his warning.

We should reject a multiculturalism which creates separate cultural islands. Instead we need one which weaves the strands of diverse cultures into a colourful Canadian fabric. Dr Ubale's message is that if Canadians rise to the task, we can show the world how peoples of different backgrounds can live together in a dynamic, prosperous community which respects the rights of all its citizens.

#### PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Mr Tony Rizzo (Oakwood): I rise in this House today to address once again the issue of property taxes. Two days ago our government sent back to Metro Toronto council its proposed interim property tax assessment reform because, if implemented, it would have caused more inequities than it would have solved.

Yesterday the Property Tax Working Group of the Fair Tax Commission, established by this government over a year ago, released its report that further corroborated the sound motivation of the government decision. Metro residents, though, will still be waiting for a tax reform that must be fair to all property owners.

The Fair Tax Commission quite clearly stated, "Ontario dependence on the property tax as a source of revenue for education and social service programs should be reduced." This principle must be one of the cornerstones of any future reform.

Inertia has never been an acceptable alternative to responsible government, and certainly inertia has never been a characteristic of progressive governments, and this must be a misnomer for this government.

Mr Speaker, I take this opportunity to wish you and all the members of the House and my constituents and all the people of Ontario my most sincere and heartfelt wishes for a happy and safe holiday.

#### LEGISLATIVE PAGES

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I draw to members' attention that for the last few weeks we have been extremely well served by a dedicated group of very wonderful young people. This is their last day serving us as pages, and I invite you to join me in thanking them for the service they have provided to all of us here at the assembly for the last few weeks.

#### STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY AND RESPONSES

#### COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTRES

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): As members know, over the past two decades community information centres have become well known and respected for providing vital services to communities across Ontario. Last year alone, the centres responded to more than one million calls.

The centres are grass-roots organizations that mirror their individual communities. They respond to community needs for timely, accurate and relevant information on government and non-government programs and services that enable people to make important life choices. The users are often people who have never faced unemployment before, or need housing, child care or social service support.

Easily accessible to anyone, community information centres have an amazing amount of information at their fingertips. Many are linked through an automated information system, Online Ontario.

This government recognizes that community information centres play a vital role in the social and economic wellbeing of Ontario. We believe that all Ontario residents, and particularly marginalized groups, must have access to information that can help them understand and deal with the socioeconomic and technological challenges of our society.

Unfortunately, while the recession has increased demand, many centres are finding it more and more difficult to provide services due to uncertainty or shortages of funding. Some centres have had to close their doors, while others have been unable to provide a fast, efficient link to essential services when they are really needed.

Today, I am announcing that the government is committing \$1.1 million a year to the funding of community information centres. This is a long-term commitment that I know will clear the uncertainty surrounding provincial funding as a result of constraints by previous governments.

This will bring centres into Online Ontario. As a result, more people will be able to find the information they need and communities that are underserviced will receive improved access to information.

By supporting the centres, we will help reduce costly duplication of information services and work towards an efficient and cost-effective information system. Our support also helps ensure the job security of people employed by the centres.

The Ministry of Culture and Communications will take the lead on developing new funding criteria for community information centres to ensure that people in Ontario get the help they need. By bringing stability to the vital work these centres do, we are contributing immeasurably to the quality of life of all Ontarians.

The staff of the ministry have worked for over a year with me on this issue, in conjunction with the treasury board and Management Board. Some are here today and I want to add my personal thank you to that staff.

#### RACE RELATIONS

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): I'm very pleased today to announce, as the minister responsible—jointly with the Attorney General—for responding to the Stephen Lewis report on race relations, that this government is launching two initiatives directly related to the report's recommendations.

As the minister responsible for human rights in Ontario, I'm especially pleased I can make this announcement on International Human Rights Day.

As Mr Lewis pointed out in his report to the Premier, people who have been trained or educated outside Ontario are often barred from working at their chosen occupations because their qualifications are not recognized in this province. Accordingly, the government is launching an initiative to address the systemic barriers that have led to this problem.

#### 1350

The Ministry of Citizenship will be the lead ministry in this initiative, but this is very much a cooperative effort, a corporate strategy among the relevant ministries to address the barriers that prevent access. As Lewis recognized in his report, there are special issues related to physicians and they are not covered in this particular initiative.

The ministries will work with the licensing and certification bodies to ensure that they incorporate access principles into their policies and practices. We understand that many foreign-trained individuals will have equality of opportunity to seek licensure and certification to return to their original professions. We will assess the effectiveness of this approach and the progress made after a two-year period.

It is crucial that we recognize this issue as more than one of social justice. When professionals and tradespersons trained or educated outside of Ontario do not face such barriers, they will be able to contribute to Ontario society and the economy to their fullest potential.

We recognize the rights of licence and certification bodies to govern themselves and set standards for their professions and trades, and we want to enlist these organizations as our partners as we conduct the necessary reforms. We are already seeing some encouraging initiatives from vocational bodies working with us on demonstration projects.

I'm pleased to announce that as part of our strategy we will be spending \$2 million over a two-year period to create 10 to 15 demonstration projects a year. As well, I would like to inform the House that I will be assisted in the implementation of our strategy by a community advisory group.

What happened last May in downtown Toronto was no accident. It was a desperate call for our attention from a group that has been consistently discriminated against and excluded. Hateful incidents such as the desecration of synagogues, and more recently the vandalism at the Toronto Native Canadian Centre, further remind us of how much alive and well racism is and how fragile and precious our protection of human rights really is.

I'm also very pleased to announce on behalf of the Premier that this government will be forming a Cabinet Round Table on Anti-Racism. This will consist of a group of ministers, the Premier's parliamentary assistant with responsibility for youth employment programs and the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, together with a consultative group of representatives from aboriginal and racial minority communities and regions.

The new round table on anti-racism will focus on several tasks: first, to build partnerships between government and racial minority communities for joint dialogue, problem-solving and advice to the cabinet; second, to provide an ongoing feedback and monitoring process for government initiatives of interest to racial minority communities; third, to make recommendations to cabinet regarding the effect of implementation of anti-racism initiatives.

The round table will convene four times a year in locations across the province. In order to ensure access and participation by a diversity of groups and regional interests, the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat will work with round table members to arrange presentations from local and regional community groups.

We have a long way to go before we can claim that this province has achieved full equality, but with these new initiatives, we are taking significant steps towards enhancing access and equity for everyone in this province.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Statements by ministers? Responses, the official opposition, the member for Etobicoke-Humber.

#### **COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTRES**

Mr D. James Henderson (Etobicoke-Humber): Nobody is going to quibble with this announcement of \$1.1 million to community information centres. It's obviously a good idea. But Madam Minister, I want to ask, through you, Mr Speaker, why was it left so long? Why did the minister make an announcement several months ago that she was going to be pulling the funding for these community information centres, then begin to look around to find whether some funding could be made available? Why did the minister make so many excellent people squirm in the course of making up her mind about this?

The minister announces \$1.1 million in increased funding as a long-term commitment. How long? Is that a permanent increase to base funding? The minister announces that more CICs can hope for equitable access to this funding, but that's a statement of hope. It doesn't promise them anything. The minister says that centres will be brought into the automated information system, Online Ontario. But the centres are already in that information system. How many more will be brought in? Will they all be

brought in, or will there be some proportion or some fraction?

This announcement leaves many questions unanswered. How many community information centres in Ontario will benefit from this? We don't know. Will all of them receive some assistance with their funding needs? We don't know. Will they all have access to the automated information system, Online Ontario? We don't know. The minister concludes her statement by saying that she is contributing immeasurably to the quality of life of all Ontarians. Perhaps it's immeasurable because it really doesn't amount to very much.

#### RACE RELATIONS

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): Madam Minister, your response is not a response. I'm extremely disappointed about that. The Lewis report had specific recommendations. It had specific deadlines. You have missed them all. I thought that today you would come, after waiting so long, and would have had those responses and those recommendations implemented. I see nothing here. Madam Minister, I think you and your government should stop playing games with the people of Ontario.

You and your government promised to eradicate racism in 10 years. What we had in the streets within two years were riots. The Premier promised implementation of the access to professions and trade. What you have done today is announce a demonstration project. It took you two years, and the job was already done by the previous government with those recommendations. It took you two years to recommend a demonstration project. You and the government have done nothing in the announcement. Announcements are just excuses for action.

Today is International Human Rights Day. I thought that your government or you, yourself, would come out with some sort of announcement, something that would bring highlight what a very important day this is. Your government has demonstrated wearing a lot of ribbons around the place; there are brown ribbons and yellow ribbons and green ribbons. Today, all we're asking is, what are these ribbons about? What are the programs you've put in place about human rights? None.

There's no action on the promised reform by the Human Rights Commission. The inquiry chaired by Mary Cornish was established with so much fanfare. However, since the report was published and submitted to the Minister of Citizenship—you, Madam Minister—the government has failed to act on the recommendations. They have been very silent on this issue.

Earlier this year, you, Madam Minister, assured the Legislature that the backlog at the Human Rights Commission would be cleared up by this December. It is December now, but the backlog still remains and the people of this province are not confident that allegations of discrimination can be dealt with expeditiously by the commission. The government has failed to live up to its commitment to give the Human Rights Commission the resources necessary to effectively fight systemic discrimination and other human rights violations in this province.

Madam Minister, I think basically you're a good person. I think your government has failed miserably on these matters. I am shocked today by the fact of knowing that we have done nothing. You sent us a joint announcement by the Attorney General and yourself. Justice has failed the people of this province. I thought really that you'd have gotten together and made your case at the cabinet table. If you are making your case at the cabinet table and it's not heard, it is worse than I thought, then.

Maybe you are making your case and all these people are deaf to all of this and have closed their ears to all of this. I'm surprised that your Premier advocates all these human rights and nothing is done for International Human Rights Day. It's a failure.

1400

#### COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTRES

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I'm happy that the Minister of Culture and Communications made a statement today because it gives me an opportunity to rise and wish all three of my ministers, Ms Ziemba and Ms Gigantes as well, the best wishes of the season.

I would simply like to say to the minister on her announcement about the community information centres that I'm glad she has finally read our letters. Certainly, I have colleagues in my caucus who have, along with myself, written you a number of letters. I know you've just shown me some of the replies you have now brought in the House with you. I know for a fact that the member for Simcoe West, Mr Jim Wilson, has written eight letters to you about the community information centres in his riding.

In fact, Jim Wilson uses the community information centres in Alliston and Collingwood for his constituency office appointments in order to communicate, on behalf of all the government agencies, with his constituents. Also, Mr Allan McLean, the member for Simcoe East, has a community information centre in Orillia, so he's very grateful that you've made this announcement. On behalf of those in the region of Peel for whom I've been writing to you, I appreciate the announcement as well.

The only comment I would like to make is that you mention you want to help reduce costly duplication of information services among government ministries, so would you please speak to the Minister of Health and encourage her to perhaps use your community information centres instead of setting up these 40-odd multiservice organizations she has announced as part of Bill 101 in the long-term care redirection. I think it would be great if the Minister of Health could use these existing centres, which do a superb job with excellent staff, and we don't need to set up another tier of multiservice organizations, as she has announced.

In closing, Madam Minister, I can't help but say to you, now that we know that both the Art Gallery of Ontario and Prince Charles are going to be available in the new year, we hope you will be able to revisit the friendship you established with him at the time you dropped your slipper and he so graciously picked it up. He's obviously been distracted ever since that event, and I hope you'll be able to renew that relationship with him. Happy Christmas.

#### **RACE RELATIONS**

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): The two issues from the minister responsible for human rights on access to professions and trades are a noble goal, a noble gesture, but also very worrisome. You have to beware of a government that says it's going to try to work with the organizations as partners. When you look at what happened with the police regulations, where there was no consultation and we ended up seeing such a massive breakdown in relations between the government and the police forces, this could happen if the government doesn't truly consult and meet with the trade associations to work out a way for integration of those who come from other countries and want to integrate more fully into professions and trades in Canada. I challenge the minister to maintain that trust. Don't break it the way you've done it in other parts of your government.

On the issue of the round table on anti-racism, which comes out as well from the Lewis report, I would like to remind the government that this is another one of those tired and old recommendations to come from this government. May I remind everybody who wants to listen in this noisy House that the cabinet committee on race relations was first chaired by the Attorney General under the premiership of William Davis, and this committee was responsible for the first policy statement on race relations produced by any government in Canada. It was released by the Premier on June 14, 1983.

Since then we have seen the Liberals in power and now you, and at last we're going around again to having a cabinet committee, a round table on race relations. I support this, indeed I do, but don't come into this House and pretend you've got something new. We were doing this well over 10 years ago and at last you're getting back to the way it should be.

#### **VISITOR**

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Before proceeding, I invite all members to welcome to our chamber this afternoon, seated in the Speaker's gallery, Ms Kathleen Morenski, the vice-consul of the United States of America. Welcome to our assembly.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES BILL

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I have been informed recently that the member for Middlesex is telling her constituents that she has collected a petition, which she has placed before the Premier, of 28 NDP members who oppose Bill 75, the London-Middlesex Act, 1992. This document has not been made public.

As the government House leader is calling this bill for third reading today, I feel it is imperative that the Speaker ensure that every NDP member who signed the petition be here to vote against the legislation in the House this afternoon. Twenty-eight NDP members voting against the legislation would be enough to vote the legislation down.

Mr Speaker, the NDP's attempt to tell the public that they oppose the legislation, while forcing the bill through the House, makes a mockery of this Legislature, and I ask you to review this issue and report back to the House before the bill proceeds to third reading.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for Brant-Haldimand, I appreciate his alleged point of order. I trust that the member does not want the Speaker to direct people as to how they should vote. I remind the member, of course, that we traditionally have a saying here that "Every vote is a free vote."

## MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS DÉCLARATIONS MINISTÉRIELLES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I rise on a point of order under sections 32(a), (c), (d) and (e). Mr Speaker, those sections relate to ministerial statements. Over the last 10 years—and I have the Hansards here—before the House completed its work at this session, the Minister of Community and Social Services or the Treasurer would rise in this House and tell us and, more particularly, tell social assistance recipients what the increase in the rate would be for January 1.

That has been done in each of the previous 10 years. Today would appear to be the last day of the session, and it has not happened. I would therefore request unanimous consent to allow the Minister of Community and Social Services or the Treasurer to rise and to tell us—but more importantly, to tell those who are on social assistance—what the increase in their rates will be. This is shocking and appalling. This is the first time in 10 years.

Je me lève aujourd'hui pour poser une question importante de Règlement que je mets sous les articles 31, 32, 32(a), (b), (d) et (e). J'ai dans la main les déclarations faites en Chambre depuis 1982 par les ministres des Services sociaux et communautaires ou des trésoriers qui ont annoncé le taux d'augmentation des monnaies payées aux gens qui reçoivent de l'aide sociale.

Je demande qu'on donne l'unanimité soit au ministre des services sociaux ou au trésorier de faire dans cette Chambre, aujourd'hui, la déclaration qui va donner ces nouvelles.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for York North brought a matter to my attention. The member asked for unanimous consent that the Treasurer or the Minister of Community and Social Services make a statement. Is there unanimous consent for the Treasurer to make a statement? No.

1410

#### LEGISLATIVE STAFF

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: As you are aware, the social development committee sat last year—last week and this week; it just felt like a year—on the market value hearings on Bill 94. When the hearings were abruptly terminated this Tuesday, something was not said on the record that should have been said, and that is the tremendous contribution of the Legislative Assembly staff during those committee hearings.

I think most members are aware that the committee sat day and night, nine days straight, including Saturday and Sunday: 60 hours of hearings.

I can tell you that our clerk, Doug Arnott, and his assistant, Rosemarie Singh, who did all the scheduling, did an absolutely tremendous job. They had to schedule over 200 witnesses on very short notice. We actually had witnesses come and say, "We got a call from your clerk on Friday night to appear Saturday."

I just want to acknowledge what they have done and the tremendous contribution of our clerk, Hansard, the research staff and all the recording staff. They really made our job much easier.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Indeed, while not strictly a point of order, the member's point is well taken. I, of course, and members as well, are very proud of the staff who serve this House with diligence and with dedication. Her remarks are deeply appreciated.

#### **ORAL QUESTIONS**

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): We approach the end of this session and the beginning of a Christmas break that I know we're all looking forward to. But the reality is, this will not be a particularly merry Christmas for many people in this province, certainly not for the 553,000 without work in this province; not for the 1.2 million Ontarians on social assistance; not in Hastings county, for example, where there has been a record increase in the number of welfare cases this year, from 3,100 in January to 4,300 by September; not for the 1,100 General Motors workers in St Catharines and Windsor who've just found out they will lose their jobs; not for workers at the 104 plants in Ontario that have closed so far this year.

Given that 1992 was an abject disaster for Ontario's workers, can the Premier tell these people whether 1993 will be any better?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think one of the things we've all learned is that there's very little point in losing sight of the fact that when all is said and done, often more is said than done.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Rae: I don't think it's going to provide any particular comfort in 1992 for me to make some blanket statement with respect to 1993, except to say this: The signs with respect to the developments in the economy to the south of us—which is our most important trading partner; 30% of our gross domestic product depends on that trade—are more positive than they have been for the last two and a half years. That's a fact.

The other fact is that the government and the private sector and, I think it even fair to say, others, are very much committed to producing the conditions which will create more jobs in 1993 than was the case in 1992 and in which we will continue to see more openness and activity in the economy.

It's also fair to say—and the honourable member knows this—that some of our major companies and institutions are still facing quite significant change. That's a fact, too, that there's no point in underestimating.

The Speaker: Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: But it's also important to stress that there are many things being done and many more things that can be done. It's crucial for us to work together in 1993 to see that there's as much job creation as is humanly possible and that all sectors of our society—the private sector, the cooperative sector and the public sector—are working hard to see that jobs are created as quickly as is humanly possible, and that's what we're committed to doing.

Mrs McLeod: It's notable that on this last day of this last session of the year the Premier has said something with which I can agree. He is absolutely right that this government's economic record over 1992 is one in which much more has been said than has been done.

That's exactly why, day after day throughout this session, we have kept trying to drive home to this Premier, who said economic renewal would be his number one priority, the realities of the economic disaster his policies have brought about.

At the beginning of 1992 the unemployment rate for this province stood at 9.7%. In Ontario, 488,000 people were without jobs in January. By the beginning of December the unemployment rate was 10.9%, 1.2 percentage points higher than January. By December, 553,000 people were unemployed. There were 65,000 more people on the jobless lines at the end of the year than at the beginning. In Ottawa, welfare rolls were up almost 2,200. In London, there were 1,600 more welfare cases by September.

Clearly, Premier, whatever you thought you were doing with economic policy, whatever you said you were going to do, did not work. Ontario was worse off at the end of 1992 than it was at the beginning.

You know that Ontario has borne the brunt of this recession. You can blame Ottawa, you can blame the worldwide recession, but we all know the greatest share of the blame for Ontario's economic performance lies with your government.

Premier, why won't you admit that the fundamental reason for the record unemployment in this province is your government's failed policies? Why will you not understand what you are doing to make things worse and what you could be doing to make things better?

Hon Mr Rae: Only because I think that to engage in the kind of cheap rhetoric which the honourable member seems to want to indulge in as Leader of the Opposition—that's fine. I don't think any of us is particularly surprised at that—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Rae: I don't see anything particularly surprising in what her statements are. Of course she's going to maintain that every single increase in the level of unemployment

in the province is due exclusively to the policies of this government.

I only want to say to the honourable member, I assume then that the fact that the unemployment rate in the last month went down in the province of Ontario is also to be ascribed to the successes of this government, because if that's the level of analysis and that's the kind of analysis we're going to have from the Liberal Party of Ontario, then I say to the honourable member, we honestly believe, and we have every reason to believe in terms of what we see happening in the rest of North America, in the rest of the world, in Canada, that unemployment can start to come down in Ontario, as it should do in the rest of the country.

But I want to say to the honourable member that we are not about to stand around and make idle promises. We are investing more as a government than any other government in the history of the province of Ontario. On the capital side, we are putting more money into the economy. We're putting more money into training. We're putting nearly \$1 billion into training, more than any government in the history of the province of Ontario.

**The Speaker:** Will the Premier conclude his response, please.

**Hon Mr Rae:** We have announced already a number of very creative partnerships with the private sector which have saved jobs and produced new jobs.

So I say to the honourable member, that is what we are going to continue to do, in the face of the most major downsizing that has been seen—

The Speaker: Will the Premier please conclude his response.

Hon Mr Rae: —in the case of many industries in their history. If she would say, for example, that the fact that General Motors is lopping off tens of thousands of jobs across North America—

The Speaker: Order.

Mrs McLeod: Quite clearly, as you have just recognized, Mr Speaker, the real rhetoric in this House is the constant reiteration by this Premier of all the good things his government is supposedly doing to help the economy, when all of us know that it is those same policies he talks about that have scared off investment in this province and when all of us know that this government has been completely paralysed by scandals that have happened this year, from Shelley Martel to John Piper.

Premier, the major piece—I would dare say the only piece—of legislation your government has passed this fall is Bill 40, which even its supporters admit will not create any new jobs in this province. Your training and adjustment board legislation has business and labour already fighting with each other. The worker ownership is certainly not stimulating new economic development. The Jobs Ontario Training program, which was supposed to train 10,000 people, had trained only 675 by mid-November. Your revenues are collapsing, they will fall even more in 1993, and the Treasurer promises only higher taxes to make up the difference.

I ask you, Premier, is this the best economic renewal package your government has to offer the unemployed in

Ontario and those who are on welfare? Are you going to stick to your failed policies, or are you going to come forward with a new economic plan that may give people some hope in 1993?

Hon Mr Rae: I appreciate the question and I say to the honourable member that her statement, for example that the Labour Relations Act is the only piece of legislation passed in the last year, is nonsense. She knows it full well. It's the kind of comment that simply can't be left to stand.

#### 1420

It's certainly one of a number of things we've done, and it's something which, when placed in the context of all else that is taking place in the economy and the other kinds of investments that we're making, we're convinced is going to help to lead to a more positive recovery for the whole province, one that will certainly ensure that all the people will be able to benefit from the kind of recovery that needs to take place in the 1990s, just as it did in the 1980s. As opposed to the recovery that took place in the 1980s, we want to see that this is a recovery that benefits everyone and not just a few people in terms of the impacts it has.

We will be responding—and the Treasurer and the government are going to be working obviously on the estimates and the budget for 1993—to that in a very positive, constructive way with emphasis on training, with emphasis on job creation, with emphasis on partnership in the private sector. That's precisely the direction we're taking.

#### RESIGNATION OF AGENT GENERAL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I will turn to the Premier on another set of issues which we believe have caused the paralysis of this government, to everyone's loss.

Premier, you have absolutely refused to answer even the most basic questions about Carl Masters because you claim it would be a violation of confidentiality laws to do so. You won't even discuss what the investigation cost the public of Ontario. But in this morning's press, the minister responsible for women's issues stated that the furore over the Masters issue "tells us very clearly that people aren't prepared to tolerate this sort of thing." Premier, the minister's words can lead us to only one conclusion—that is, that her words are a clear statement of Carl Masters's guilt in being charged with sexual harassment.

Obviously, Premier, the issue of confidentiality is now irrelevant. I would ask, in light of your minister's comments, and in fairness to all the people who've been affected by this, will you not now break the silence and tell all those who are affected by this matter what deserves to be known?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I have nothing to add to the answers that I gave yesterday to the honourable member.

Mrs McLeod: Premier, despite all of your rhetoric and I do say in sadness that it is proven to be rhetoric about integrity and public confidence, the truth of the matter is that your government consistently works to silence everyone who opposes you or who embarrasses you.

You tried to neutralize all the business opposition to the labour law reforms. You changed the rules governing this House to cut short debate on any issue. A private citizen who vocally opposed your government was smeared by one of your ministers, and she remains in your cabinet. You suppress the Grandview report, despite the ruling of the freedom of information commissioner that its release would not hamper investigations. You placed a gag order on Al Holt and the Hydro board members, even though the commissioner had ruled that our questions were acceptable. Your communications adviser, John Piper, tried to smear a woman who opposed your government and made allegations about one of your ministers. And now you refuse to answer even the most basic questions surrounding the Masters investigation.

Premier, will you not admit that silencing anyone who disagrees with you or who embarrasses you has become the overriding principle of your government? Will you not try to undo the damage that has already been done, order the release of the report on Grandview, take the gag order off the Hydro board, order an inquiry into the John Piper affair and break the silence on Carl Masters?

Hon Mr Rae: Since I don't and can't accept—and I don't think any reasonable person would accept—either the characterization of any of the issues that has been given by the honourable member or indeed by the steps that have been taken by this government, I can't answer the rest of the question in the affirmative either.

Mrs McLeod: Premier, over the course of this last session we have simply seen more and more evidence that your government has truly failed to understand the nature of its responsibility to the people of this province. I can tell you that people are increasingly reluctant to engage in debate with your government for fear that they will be smeared like Judi Harris was. People like Judi Harris, or the women who accused Carl Masters of sexual harassment, are increasingly reluctant to come forward with their complaints for fear that this cloak of silence will be dropped on them, because your government can't handle being embarrassed.

Premier, right now the OPP is investigating at least two other scandals in which your government has been embroiled. I ask you today, before this session ends, before we leave this Legislature, will you assure the people of Ontario that the results of these investigations, the John Piper investigation and the Bell Cairn investigation, will be made public? Will you now undertake not to suppress the findings of these investigations, or do you intend to drop the cloak of silence over these reports too?

Hon Mr Rae: First of all, if there is any reluctance on the part of any citizen in the province to debate this government, I must confess I haven't noticed that reluctance in terms of my experiences over the last while. It certainly hasn't been my experience, and I think that's a good thing. I think there's a very lively spirit of debate and discussion that's going on, both in this assembly and outside with respect to issues.

With respect to the OPP investigation, I have no comment to make on the investigation and wouldn't want to make any comment on it.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Next question, the leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): There's not a discussion going on. There are some questions, and a complete stonewall on behalf of the government.

The Speaker: To whom is your question directed?

Mr Harris: My question then, the first one, would flow to the Premier.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): "Through you."

Mr Harris: Through you, of course, Mr Speaker, in the spirit of complete cooperation close to Christmas.

Premier, by cutting a deal with Carl Masters to remain silent on his resignation, by stonewalling, you are clearly sending out a signal that your government is not willing to stand up for women who are victims. The women in the Ontario public service know that. Judi Harris knows that. The other survivors of Grandview know that. Bonnie Seguin knows that. Victims of Bell Cairn know that. Will you finally break the silence, as section 21(2)(a) of the freedom of information act allows you to do, and tell us today why Carl Masters resigned?

Hon Mr Rae: No. As I said earlier in answer to the Leader of the Opposition, I have nothing to add to the answers I've already given the honourable member.

Mr Harris: Premier, the minister responsible for women's issues said yesterday that indignation over this issue is "not a negative thing." Your minister responsible for issues affecting women in this province doesn't seem to understand that the indignation surrounding this issue is not just about sexual harassment. That is a given. In this case, it is indignation directed at you, the Premier, your government, for stonewalling. The people are disgusted at a Premier who doesn't have the conviction to answer questions about this very serious issue. That's what they're indignant about: a Premier who is hiding behind legislation to save his political behind, a Premier who is using legislation designed to allow matters of public interest to come forward to save his own political backside.

Will you do us all a favour today, particularly all women working in the province of Ontario, and break this silence today?

Hon Mr Rae: I can only say to the honourable member that the steps that we've taken overall as a government I think are very clear, and I would say, with respect to the particular questions he's been asking me, that I don't feel I can answer in any way other than what I already have done.

Mr Harris: The rhetoric is very clear. The steps you are taking are what is causing the problem. The inaction is what is causing the problem. The stonewalling is what is causing the problem.

Premier, section 21(2)(a) of the freedom of information act allows information to be disclosed when "the disclosure is desirable for the purpose of subjecting the activities of the government of Ontario and its agencies to public scrutiny."

As far as the freedom of information act goes, you owe it to every woman in this province to disclose the details of Mr Masters's resignation.

Do you not think, Premier, that when sexual harassment in the offices of the Ontario government is involved, this is exactly why that phrase was put into the freedom of information act? Would you not agree as well, Premier, that it would be irresponsible for any official of your government, including you, to voluntarily sign an agreement to refuse to discuss this issue when a public revelation of it will assist the prevention of further sexual harassment of women in the province of Ontario? Do you not understand those two realities?

Hon Mr Rae: I think I'm very much aware of a lot of realities and I would say to the honourable member that we obviously have to take into account the whole of the act as well as the overall obligations we have with respect to the rights of individuals, and that's the basis upon which we've made our decision.

1430

#### SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have another question as well to the Premier. I know, much to the regret of the Premier and the NDP cabinet and government, this is likely the last day of the House until next March. I know how anxious you are to be here through January and February and March and have the scrutiny of what you're doing.

There is an issue, Premier, that I feel very strongly about that your government has done nothing about for over two years, namely, nutrition programs in our schools. You and I are both fathers. You know as well as I do that if our children are hungry for whatever reason, they don't concentrate well and they don't learn well, and you and your government and your ministers have stalled over two years now, certainly far long enough.

Mr Premier, given I think what you would understand, my obvious frustration with your government inaction on this, will you now, today, after wasting 1991 and wasting 1992 and instead of wasting 1993, personally set aside partisan politics and will you now give your support and your endorsement to me to go out and set up for 1993 a volunteer-based, no-cost-to-the-government nutrition program in the schools of this province?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): The member will know that I have taken a keen interest in this, and both the Minister of Education and the Minister of Community and Social Services are now working at this. There are a number of programs which are already in place in a number of school boards. There are a number of boards which are already undertaking programs and a number of schools which are already undertaking programs. Both ministers have been asked by me and by cabinet to see what more the provincial government can do in a way that will be most effective, that will not be too bureaucratic, that will not create a huge number of rules and regulations and that will in fact address this issue. That's the approach we've been taking.

Mr Harris: No, you've really been taking a stonewall "put it off for two and a half years" approach. Premier, school boards, teachers, nutritionists, corporate sponsors are all ready, they're all willing and they're all able to participate at no cost to the taxpayer. We have examples in Burlington set up by the member for Burlington South. We have other examples around the province where it's happening in spite of you and in spite of the fact that many of them are saying, "We're waiting for the government." They believed you when you said you were committed to the program. They've been waiting, many of them, for a chance to participate for over two years now.

Premier, we can make this happen in 1993 in virtually every school in this province. You know I can't just walk into school board offices or into schools without authorization from you. I need a formal mandate to get this moving. I tried to give it to you. I asked you to join with me for the last two and a half years.

Given your government's obvious indifference to hungry children in the schools, I'm asking you today to give me that authorization, to give me that authority and I, on behalf of you, on behalf of the 130 members of the Legislature, on behalf of the government will volunteer my time, will volunteer everything that needs to be involved at no cost to the taxpayer. Will you give me that authorization? I'll get it up and running for you next year. Will you do that, Premier?

Hon Mr Rae: The honourable member doesn't need my permission to be a volunteer. He has always got my permission to be a volunteer, and I want him to know that. There appears to be a contradiction in what the member is suggesting, because what he's saying is that he wants to have a voluntary program which is based in the community and which doesn't have a lot of bureaucracy attached to it but he wants us to do it.

I would say to the honourable member that what we're looking at is how we as a government can respond with school boards, but I want to tell the honourable member a lot of school boards are already responding, a lot of schools are already responding, a lot of neighbourhoods and communities are already responding.

I would say to the honourable member that there is a contradiction at the very heart of his approach. What he really wants to do is attack this government for not having a province-wide program, and all I want to say to the member is, we are looking at how that can be done without duplicating or creating a bureaucracy at the centre which will end up costing a lot of money and not delivering the kind of program I'm sure both the honourable member and I would like to see.

Mr Harris: With respect, Premier, you haven't listened to the 12 questions I've now asked you on this over two and a half years. I asked you not to set up a bureaucracy. I asked you not to involve taxpayers' dollars. I asked you not to involve civil servants. I asked you personally to make a commitment as the Premier of the province to endorse and go out, outside of government, no cost to the taxpayer, to set up a program.

We don't need more bureaucracy. We don't need more rhetoric. Your government has not been a solution; you've been a problem. You've identified today, as I have, that there are already some programs in place in spite of your government, in spite of the fact many are saying, "We're waiting to see what the government's going to do." These programs don't cost taxpayers' money. They don't require a huge bureaucracy.

Premier, you obviously haven't understood the message over the last two and a half years. All you need do is authorize me, on behalf of you, on behalf of the government of Ontario, in a non-partisan way; give me that authority and I will go out and for September 1993 have a program across the province: voluntary, no cost, no more effort on your part. I'll invite you in September to whichever school you want to go to, if you like, for the formal launch of the program.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the leader place his question, please.

Mr Harris: That's all you need do. Will you give that authorization, that authority, that power today, if you like, to speak on behalf of the government of Ontario and put in place a no-cost, fully volunteer program across the province of Ontario?

**Hon Mr Rae:** The honourable member doesn't need my authority to empower himself.

Mr Harris: Yes, I do.

Hon Mr Rae: No, he doesn't. Mr Harris: I'm sorry, but I do.

Hon Mr Rae: No, you don't. You don't need my permission to run a voluntary program. What is this, Monty Python, the argument show? No, you don't. I say to the honourable member, you empower yourself. You're a volunteer. Go and do it. Multiply. Partnership. We're doing all those things and all that's happening.

**Mr Harris:** You're stonewalling and preventing others from doing it.

Hon Mr Rae: I'm preventing no one from doing anything on this. I am not. I wouldn't prevent the honourable member encouraging such a program for a second. That's absolutely preposterous. We are encouraging others to go forward. In terms of what we can do as a government, our experience is that usually when people want the government to do something, it involves a question of our resources and how we share those resources and how we expend those resources, and I would say to the honourable member that's obviously something we are now looking at.

#### ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): The Minister of Agriculture and Food will be aware that this has been one of the worst years, certainly in my recollection. A fellow more senior in the agricultural community might recall worse years, but farmers have had a tremendously difficult time salvaging very much of their corn and soybean crop. The crop insurance adjusters have been telling farmers to wait and wait and try and salvage as much of the crop as

possible, but he will know that in order to do that, the farmers are going to incur extremely high costs, in fact much more elevated costs of that salvage operation for more expense in drying and using extra equipment to harvest.

I ask the Minister of Agriculture if he will consider assisting farmers who are intent on salvaging their crops, actually aiding the crop insurance commission in its payouts by assisting it in covering at least some of the additional costs associated with salvaging the poor crops that are out there.

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): Yes, the member is quite right. The corn crop is currently in a disaster state of affairs. We are examining some of the options the member suggests as to whether or not we can assist with the drying cost using the crop insurance plan. It requires a fairly liberal, if I might say, interpretation of the act. I understand that the agents and the adjusters met yesterday to discuss this option. My staff are looking into the various regulations to see whether or not we can do it under existing regulations, and if we can do it and provide some assistance, we're certainly willing to take a look at it and do the best we can.

#### 1440

**Mr Elston:** The minister will know he has also promised a \$30-million agricultural investment strategy program to the farmers. He promised that last spring and he knows most of it is not available.

While I'm pleased he's examining other options, I would like to figure out whether the minister would not agree that his inability to get his own farm assistance programs working is really causing severe dislocation in the farming community this fall.

If he is unable to find flexibility in the regulations, will the minister advocate to the crop insurance people that farmers—if he's not going to be paying costs of salvage be able to plow down their crops straightaway and not have to wait until next spring or even later for cash flow to come through to them, so they may be able to receive some cash crop assistance payments before Christmas?

Hon Mr Buchanan: A couple of points: One is we're looking at providing, basically, what would amount to interim crop insurance payments, so we'll allow some of the crop insurance cheques to go out now before there's an assessment done on the amount of damage.

The other thing I would mention—because I know there's a cash flow crisis in the farm community and that, I think, is what the member is trying to address—is that next week we've called a meeting with bankers and financial lending institutions along with farm leaders, and especially the corn producers, to come into my office and we're going to sit down and discuss the problems and see if we can't have a little flexibility from the financial institutions as well, because they're the ones who currently hold the debt of the farmers. We're going to try to work with the farmers and the lending institutions to see if we can't be flexible all the way around on this issue.

#### LOTTERY TICKETS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My question is to the Premier about the Ontario Lottery Corp's new sports betting game called Pro Line. This is the brochure that's in the stores. This is a lottery your government brought in over the objections of professional and amateur sports organizations and others, quite frankly, who saw it as a way to legitimize a form of gambling long associated with organized crime.

I've learned today, Premier, that your government has lifted another page from the mob in connection with this game and it involves the intimidation of retailers who carry this booklet, available for \$2—if there's a page here I'd be happy to send the booklet over—put out, distributed and printed by enterprising Ontarians to help those who wish to play the game in making their picks.

Mr Premier, apparently retailers who carry this booklet called the Original Pro-Picks were visited over the last few days, and I ask if you could explain why agents of the Ontario Lottery Corp visited them, threatened those retailers who were selling this perfectly legal document with disconnection of their terminals, with removal from their being allowed to participate in the government's lottery if they continued to sell this tip sheet. Quite frankly, Premier, I assume the reason is that this tip sheet has a 70% success rate and you're not making enough money on the lottery if they actually have access to this.

Can you explain why these intimidation tactics were used on the retailers selling this \$2 tip sheet as well as your lottery game?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I'm delighted to be able not to answer the question in the sense that the allegations the member has made today are news. As he will appreciate, sometimes questions are news to me. I just checked with the acting minister and they're news to him as well.

If you have any details of these allegations with names or indeed with examples of places where this has taken place, then I would be more than pleased, obviously, to pass that information along to the minister and to try to get some kind of an answer from him. I'm sure he does have some documentation, but I'd like to have a chance to look at that.

Mr Harris: Premier, I do have some information which I'm happy to share with you. You will acknowledge that this new sports lottery is not so much a game of chance as it is a game of knowledge, a game of skill, a game of knowing which players on which team are likely to win on that particular day.

I think you will agree with me that for the Ontario Lottery Corp to threaten punishment to retailers selling a perfectly legal, legitimate source of information to help them have the skill to play the game, is really to reach for the tactics of the mob when these types of games were provided by the underworld.

Premier, I will provide you with the information and I would ask you then, upon verification of the information, to do a couple of things too.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Harris: Will you immediately put an end to what can only be described as strong-arm tactics by the Ontario Lottery Corp and will you insist that the Ontario Lottery Corp apologize to those retailers who were threatened, and inform those retailers that it is perfectly legal for them to purchase this pamphlet that will assist them to have the skills to play the game that you want them to play? Will you undertake to do that, Premier.

Hon Mr Rae: I appreciate all the questions I'm being asked on a full range of issues today by the leader of the third party. I'd love to be in their question period meetings.

I'd just like to say to the honourable leader of the opposition that before I take any action, I'm sure the minister will want to satisfy himself as to the factual basis of the questions which are being put to us today.

#### LIQUOR STORES

Mr Brad Ward (Brantford): My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Minister, you'll recall that some time ago I asked a question about the aspect of privatizing the LCBOs and you confirmed it is not on our agenda. It may be on the agenda of the Liberals and the Conservatives, but it's not on ours. I can tell you that response was well-received by the LCBO workers in my community of Brantford.

You're also aware that my community has been impacted by the layoffs that the LCBO implemented—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Ward: —over the last few months, and since then there have been two retirements, so obviously things have changed as far as the operations are concerned of my local LCBO.

Minister, could you inform the House if there are going to be ongoing reviews of LCBO operations, not only in Brantford but across Ontario?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): It's with pleasure that I respond to my colleague from Brantford, once again. Yes, I'd like to say there are ongoing reviews of the LCBO operations and there will continue to be. In fact, ongoing reviews of the board's operations have recently produced some positive results. For example, tendering for banking and freight services has resulted in savings of about \$3.5 million per year, and more of this has to be done of course.

But as the member knows, the LCBO has experienced a decline in revenue due to the recession and also due to increasing competition, so actions such as ongoing reviews are very important if the LCBO is to remain a major revenue source for the government.

Mr Ward: Thank you for that answer, Madam Minister. To follow up, I'd like to make you aware that I've had some meetings with local employees of the LCBO, as well as representatives from the trade union that represents them. Minister, they feel that they are not part of the process of this review of the operations, that they are not included in any discussions or there's a real lack of communication between management and the employees.

1450

Minister, we know that the management style of the Liberals and the Tories may be not to include employees in any difficult decisions concerning agencies of this government, but we know New Democrats don't operate that way. We encourage employees to be included in the process and that the lines of communication remain open and a two-way street be established.

Minister, can you assure this House that you will actively examine ways in which the Ontario liquor board's employees union shall in the future have the opportunity to be involved in the LCBO's decision-making process, which affects them directly?

Hon Ms Churley: Yes, I'd like to assure the House that I am endeavouring to develop a process whereby a more cooperative and respectful and effective working relationship between the LCBO management and the workers is developed. It needs to be established. I think this is important at all times, but especially in a time of recession, a time of restructuring, that's absolutely necessary. It becomes especially important. I think everybody is committed to trying to establish that kind of relationship that needs to be completed fairly quickly.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): My question is to the Premier. This is a follow-up on the lead question of the leader of our party. I understand that this morning you did your press wrapup on the accomplishments of your government. But I wonder, Premier, if you are really aware of the heartbreak, the hardship and the human despair that exist throughout many parts of this province.

Each day in my office, and I would imagine in the offices of the other MPPs in this Legislature, we are having people visit us who have lost their jobs, who have lost their homes, who have no food for their table and who will have no winter clothing for their children. Premier, as we leave this Legislature today, what am I and others to tell these people to help restore their human dignity?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think that's a good question. Because I've known the honourable member in the 10 or 11 years that I've been in this House with him, I would say to him very directly and very personally that I too have a constituency and I too go to my constituency office and I too talk to people not only there but across the province. I hope that even in the office I have, one never loses sight of what is going on and of the human impact and of the very real difficulties people are facing as a result of the recession in this province.

I would say to the honourable member that together with the private sector and together with every level of government and every group that's out there, we are responding. We are doing what we can in terms of the job situation and we are trying to work with others to see that it improves. I know very well that the opposition will say it's all my fault or that it's all the fault of this government. I understand that. It's their job. That's the honourable member's job, or at least that's how it's interpreted in our modern political system.

I would say to him we are trying to respond. We are trying to break through some of the red tape. We are trying to get more capital projects under way. We're trying to respond in communities across the province. We're trying to make sure we get through a period with a short-term program in terms of what's happening, and as well with a long-term approach that emphasizes training, that emphasizes education and that emphasizes a long-term partnership that we have to create in order to turn things around.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the Premier complete his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: That's what we're trying to do. The honourable member knows that's what we're trying to do even in his own constituency, and that's what we're going to continue to do. But I can assure the honourable member that I don't take the question lightly and I don't take the problem lightly. I think we all recognize how difficult it is.

Mr O'Neil: I can try to appreciate what you're saying, but of course these problems are out there now and something has to be done immediately. We can't wait as you refer it to the next budget. Let me give you an example. I'm going to send over to you some recent statistics released by the Ontario Municipal Social Services Association.

According to this report, and this is just one example as to what exists throughout the province, Hastings county, where many jobs have been lost, has had the single highest increase in the number of welfare cases for the period from January to September 1992. That number is an increase of 32.78%. Your Minister of Agriculture and Food realized this; that's part of his riding. This has meant that the case workers are currently carrying double the recommended number of cases.

We've talked to some of your ministers about this: the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and other ministers. We have to do something right away, not only in my area but in other areas of the province. Premier, I guess what I'm asking you is, what form of economic stimulus of a higher magnitude can you promise us that will be of assistance in these troubled times?

Hon Mr Rae: I'm interested in the letter the member has received, because I'd like to read it out. I've just got it here and I'll read out the full letter.

"Thank you for your requesting information from our department concerning the social assistance statistics for the Quinte area." It then encloses the report which releases the numbers which are there. The member didn't quote this but it then goes on to say:

"We're pleased to have been successful in operating the Jobs Ontario Training fund brokerage in our area and have created 50 new jobs between August 1992 to the present with 83 more positions in the process of being negotiated."

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): Fifty jobs? How about the 550 losing their jobs every day?

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

**Hon Mr Rae:** Perhaps the honourable member for Oriole will control herself for a moment.

"We are informed by Jobs Ontario staff in Toronto that our Jobs Ontario Training fund project has been among one of the most successful ones in all of Ontario." He didn't read that out. I don't know why he didn't read that out.

It then goes on to say, and I want to emphasize this as well, "However, with a case load of our size, one can clearly see that some form of economic stimulus of a higher magnitude will be required if we're to return to our normal case load of approximately 1,600."

It then talks about the case load and says, "Recently, changes to UIC legislation"—and I'm sure the members of the Conservative Party will be interested in hearing this—"will almost certainly maintain or drive up our case loads to new record levels."

We're struggling against the Tory government, which is increasing the levels. We have a practical program which this worker, in her question to you, says is working, and she says more needs to be done. We agree more needs to be done. We'd like the federal government to do more. We're going to be trying to do more within the means that we have.

The Speaker: Could the Premier conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: I want the honourable member to know that he will be the first one to stand up and denounce the size of whatever deficit is in place because of the borrowing that we have to undertake because our revenues are so weak. I hope we will have his support on the budget, and even before the budget if we were to announce further stimulus measures. I hope we have that support.

Mr O'Neil: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: Mr Premier, yes, I sent that whole letter over so you'd be acquainted with it, but if you were on your toes and you knew what was going on from your other ministers and members of the government, you would know that they've created 50 jobs but we've lost over 1,000 jobs within the last month.

The Speaker: Order, the member for Quinte.

#### NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): My question is for the Minister of Housing. I'm sure the minister has read the article by Paul Palango in Eye magazine today which raises many troubling facts about the Woodgreen community housing project on Pape Avenue.

Some residents of this neighbourhood have also shown me their research. They found out that investment firms flipped properties for large profits by buying them after the project's conception, then selling them to Woodgreen nine months later, once Woodgreen had received approval from the provincial government to buy them. The principal of one of these investment companies is also president of a real estate firm. A realtor from the same firm acted for Woodgreen by offering to buy another property and sought a 5% commission.

It seems that Woodgreen is padding the pockets of this investor realtor. Woodgreen Settlement Corp, the trust arm of Woodgreen, bought a property for \$300,000 and sold it on the same day to Woodgreen community housing for \$247,500. The trust fund absorbed the loss of \$52,500 because Woodgreen was over budget for the project.

There are many other disturbing transactions in Woodgreen's non-profit housing project on Pape Avenue. They should be investigated before the project is allowed to proceed. OMB will resume hearings about the project on January 25, 1993. Will you investigate the matters I refer to you and report back to me before then?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): I have not had the benefit of reading Eye magazine today, but I will certainly take care to read it, and I would be glad to provide the member with whatever information she may need to make an assessment of the validity of the project. I want to point out to her that this project is one which was approved before this government came to office. I'd be quite glad to give her whatever follow-up is available through the ministry.

Mrs Marland: This minister has been the Minister of Housing for long enough that she should know what's going on in her non-profit housing project. The auditor seems to know.

As the minister knows, my party requested, through the freedom of information act, financial data on the non-profit housing program. We just received information on more than 500 projects which have been approved for construction in the past 14 months. This information has turned up incredible facts.

#### 1500

We have former ministry and city employees acting as consultants who expedite non-profit projects for large fees. One consultant guided 37 projects in Metro Toronto alone through the system in the past year. We also have examples of non-profit corporations buying properties for three times what they were recently purchased for. The list goes on and on and on, and as the auditor confirmed, the program is out of hand. There are many people feeding at the trough, making a profit at the expense of Ontario's taxpayers and people who need affordable housing.

Speaking of apparent conflicts of interest, a staffer in the minister's office is married to a key member of the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario, which receives provincial subsidy dollars and loans.

My question is, will the minister hold a public inquiry into the non-profit housing program? Will she conduct a thorough review of this program, remove those players who are in conflict of interest and lay charges where necessary?

Hon Ms Gigantes: This is indeed a florid attack on the non-profit housing program. I'd like the member to remember that the information which she requested under the freedom of information act, and received, is quite different in nature from that reviewed by the auditor, and they are different time periods.

She is also aware, of course, that we have undertaken a total review of our non-profit housing program as we head

into the development of the 20,000 units which are part of this year's budget over the next three years.

I would also like to make it very clear that the member of my office who has a marital relationship with a man who works in the co-op housing field has had her situation and any element of possibility of conflict of interest checked very thoroughly, and has declared any potential interest. There is none. That's a very unfair and ungrounded kind of thing for her to be saying.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for Scarborough East.

Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East): I have a question for the Minister of Transportation, and it relates to long-term care.

Interjections.

Mrs Marland: Why don't you really listen to what's going on? Listen to the auditor if you don't listen to me. It's very clear what's going on.

The Speaker: Order. Will the member for Mississauga South please come to order.

**Hon Ms Gigantes:** You become accountable for what you are saying.

Mrs Marland: You are accountable.

The Speaker: I am asking the member for Mississauga South to please come to order. If the member continues to be a source of disorder, she will have to be named.

The member for Scarborough East.

#### LONG-TERM CARE

Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East): My question is to the Minister of Transportation.

Minister, in discussions of long-term care reform the aspect of transportation has often been raised. My rural colleagues have made me aware of the difficulties that people in their ridings have getting access to health and social services, even in apparently well-serviced areas like Scarborough East. I'm thinking of what I'm told by the users and staff of Pine Tree Senior Centre, for instance. They tell me that the availability of transportation to such things as medical services and day programs can make all the difference in maintaining people in the community.

Can the minister indicate how his ministry will be participating in long-term care reform?

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): The question is filled with validity indeed; to my knowledge, the first issue-related question today. It deals with the less fortunate, with the people who need the transportation services the most.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): Hungry schoolchildren are not very important to you. I understand that.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

**Hon Mr Pouliot:** We intend to play an important part in the discussions—

Mr Harris: Hungry children are not important to you.

The Speaker: The leader of the third party, please come to order.

Hon Mr Pouliot: —for we realize fully that transportation is vital as an essential service to the disabled and the elderly. Simply put, sir, we must get the service to them or them to the service.

We will have some encouraging news in the next year because we shall be working in cooperation, fully so, with the Ministry of Community and Social Services, the Ministry of Health, and also the Ministry of Citizenship, and our focus is specialized transit, accessible to all, affordable to all, truly the democratic class through the service of transportation.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Mr Charles Beer (York North): My question is to the Premier. Last night in this city, at the St Lawrence Centre, there was a special screening of a film that was prepared by the National Film Board and the CBC called Voices from the Shadows. The film dealt with those who are on social assistance across this country, and it was both an appalling film and also one that was completely captivating because the words came entirely from the mouths of those who were receiving social assistance across this country.

I have in my hand the Hansards going back to 1982, and in every year a minister of the crown, whether for social services or the Treasurer, rose in his or her place and set out what the increase in social assistance rates would be for the next year.

I'm going to make one quote, not from a New Democrat, not from a Liberal, but from a former Conservative Minister of Community and Social Services, and I'm going to provide you with that quote because it comes from the peak of the last recession in 1983. This is what Frank Drea said as he announced an increase of 5% for social assistance recipients. He said this: "I believe as a government we have a responsibility to provide as much help as possible to those in our society who, through no fault of their own, need our support."

What I want to know, but most importantly what those who are receiving social assistance want to know—the disabled, the children, the single parents—is, how is it that this government, in this year and at this time, has nothing to say, nothing to say by way of help and assistance for those who are on social assistance? How answer you, Premier?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I would say to the honourable member, first of all, that I know that when the minister has an announcement to make of any kind, of course she will make it. She has the responsibility to do that.

I would say to the honourable member that if you look at what this government has done, in terms of the Back on Track program, which was right off the rails when we took office—your administration, you were the former minister, you know that—if you look at the pattern of increases which have taken place in which there have been increases that are ahead of inflation and remain ahead of inflation, of course we would like to do more, and any government

would like to be able to do more, but I think everyone recognizes some of the realities and the constraints that we face as a government. He can quote other examples and he can quote other governments.

If you look at the record overall, if you look at the record over the past two years in terms of the increases that have been put in place by this government, in contrast with the situation we found in 1990 when we took office, you will find that the rate increases that have been brought in by this government mean that our rate increases, plus the Back on Track program—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: —the \$215 million we invested in addition to the money that was already in the program in terms of entitlements, it's not something—can you say, "More should be done"? Yes. But to suggest somehow, as the member would seem to imply, that this government is doing less than others is quite false, quite untrue, quite inaccurate, quite unfair to the minister and to the government. But then again, on this day I would expect nothing but rhetoric from the other side, and that's what we've had. 1510

Mr Beer: If the Premier wants to talk about rhetoric, he has certainly just provided it. If ever there's been a government that has talked a lot but done little or nothing, it is this one.

If you go back again and you look at this, you will see that every government, Conservative, Liberal, around that cabinet table, in that caucus, laboured every year to say: "Is this something that we should be doing? Is this something that we ought to do?" But at the end of the day, the decision was based simply on this: that you can't wage war on the recession on the backs of those least able to help themselves.

So, Premier, everything you say about what you think you've been doing, those words you would bring to us, you would bring to the Conservatives and always say it was never enough, but no matter what was happening, we always made sure there was an increase in the rates to those least able to help themselves.

So answer the question, Premier. Why are you refusing? Your government is the first government in a decade that is refusing to provide direct assistance to those who are on social assistance. We need to know why, and will you not change that? Speak to the Treasurer, who can speak to the person three rows back to go ahead and provide that assistance.

Premier, your previous answer makes no sense. What are you going to do, and will you act now?

Hon Mr Rae: I would say to the honourable member, and I'll say very directly to him—and he's somebody whom again I think I know very directly—his statement in the House, his question, the statement that he put in his question that said we've refused to provide direct assistance is complete nonsense. It's completely contrary to the truth, and the honourable member knows that.

He also knows full well where the Back on Track program was put by the former Treasurer when he was the

Minister of Community and Social Services. He knows full well what happened. He knows full well the positions that his government took. He knows full well what the status of the Thomson report was when we took office. It was so far back on the shelf you needed to spend hours finding it. It wasn't even there at all.

That's not true. We've advanced the program. We have put in \$215 million in addition to the increases in entitlements.

Interjections.

**The Speaker:** Order. The time for oral questions has expired.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): They never thought you'd betray them.

**The Speaker:** The member for Mississauga West, please come to order.

The member for Eglinton.

#### ATTENDANCE OF MINISTERS

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I have handed to you a copy of the routine proceedings sheet from the Liberal caucus. We were notified by the government House leader's office early this afternoon that there would be only two ministers absent from the House today: Bud Wildman and Shelley Wark-Martyn. I had the first member's question, for Marion Boyd, on the list. Because the government House leader had said that she would be here, I waited patiently for her to arrive in the House. We had a matter of urgent public importance.

The Premier had said, regarding the Carlton Masters affair, that he could not comment because of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. We had yesterday the Minister of Community and Social Services, the minister for women's issues, very clearly indicating in the newspaper that she believed Mr Masters was guilty.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member take her seat.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, I think we have—

The Speaker: No. Would the member for Eglinton take her seat. I ask the member to take her seat. I understand—

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker—

The Speaker: Would the member please take her seat.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Let her finish her point of order.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): How do you know what she's going to say before she finishes?

The Speaker: Order. The member will know that, whatever arrangements are made with respect to question period, notice of who may or may not be here is not something to which the Chair is ever privy, nor should the Chair be privy to that information. Indeed—

Mr Stockwell: How do you know that was her point of order?

**The Speaker:** I ask the member for Etobicoke West to come to order and stay in order.

If a minister is not present in the chamber, there is no way I can compel that minister's attendance. The member

then has an option of either not asking the question or directing the question to some other individual, often to the Premier, if the Premier is present, or to the Deputy Premier, who may respond or take it as notice. I regret that I'm unable to be of assistance to the member in this regard.

The member for Brampton North.

#### CORONERS' COUNCIL

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Brampton South, Mr Speaker.

I have a point of privilege. I've heard a lot of them in this House over the years and I truly believe this is one. I hope you will listen for a bit, so I can explain it to you. A young man, 19 years of age, in my riding bled to death at York University as a result of having run into a glass that was not shatterproof. I told the Speaker about it yesterday.

The parents sought to have an inquest under the Coroners Act. They have pursued all avenues, including an appeal to the minister. The minister denied their request and there is one further right of appeal or consideration under the act, which is provided for by subsection 6(1) through subsection 6(3) of the Coroners Act, which provides for an appeal to a Coroners' Council.

This Coroners' Council is made up of a justice of the Ontario Court (General Division) and no more than four other members. I know from speaking with the Solicitor General that only one of those appointments has been made and they are the Premier's appointments by order in council. Only one has been made.

My point of privilege is this, Mr Speaker: The appointment that has been made is Mr Justice Then of the Ontario Court (General Division). I am not in a position, as a member of the provincial Legislature, and it would be most inappropriate for me to contact a person who is a member of the judiciary. The net result is that there is no way I can find out whether he intends to convene a hearing for these people to take their final appeal to.

I'm suggesting to you, Mr Speaker, that my rights and my privileges as a member of this Legislature to properly deal with and advise the people in my constituency on this most tragic event have been denied me, because the Premier has failed to make the appropriate appointments to establish that board and thereby deprived a citizen of the province of Ontario of the final right to determine whether or not an inquest can be held.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I appreciate the member's concern, and no doubt his concern is shared by many in the chamber. But I must disappoint him that he does not have a point of privilege. Any appointments which are to be made by the Premier are the prerogative of the Premier and of course do not involve the assembly, do not involve the Speaker and do not affect your privileges as a member. But I appreciate the matter being brought to my attention.

I now recognize the member for Leeds-Grenville.

Mr Callahan: Mr Speaker, I indicated that because of this injustice of the court my rights were—

The Speaker: To the member for Brampton South, I dealt with this. He does not have a point of privilege. I recognize the member for Leeds-Grenville.

#### JOHN PIPER

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I have a point of privilege about which we had an informal discussion last evening, you may recall, and I provided you with a detailed letter in your office earlier today related in some respects to the resignation of Mr John Piper, the special communications adviser to the Premier.

Mr Speaker, as I indicated to you last evening, I remain very concerned about Mr Piper's visit to the Legislature and his office on Sunday, November 22. Through conversations with you and the Sergeant at Arms, I understand that neither you or the Sergeant at Arms would have taken action to seal Mr Piper's office or to prevent Mr Piper's entrance to the Legislative Building unless you were contacted by Mr Piper's superiors. It's also my understanding from speaking with you that neither of these requests were made of your office or the office of the Sergeant at Arms. You've also advised me that it was the Premier's office that sealed Mr Piper's office on Monday, November 23.

#### 1520

Mr Speaker, I find it most disturbing, in light of the advice of your office and the Sergeant at Arms, that neither of you were requested by the Premier's office to seal Mr Piper's office or bar him from entering the Legislative Building. There are a number of questions that must be answered in regard to this affair and, with respect, I would suggest that you, as the chief presiding officer of the Legislative Assembly and the person responsible for operations within the legislative precinct, should conduct an immediate investigation to determine the following:

Why your office or the office of the Sergeant at Arms were not contacted by the Premier's office to bar Mr Piper from entering the Legislative Building, especially in light of Mr Piper being the subject of a police investigation.

Why your office or the office of the Sergeant at Arms were not contacted by the Premier's office to have Mr Piper's office sealed.

Why the principal secretary of the Premier was allowed to accompany Mr Piper to his office late into the night on Sunday, November 22, without advising your office or that of the Sergeant at Arms.

Mr Speaker, there's an additional element to this matter which I believe may require your investigation and assistance. As you may be aware, the Cabinet Office has a duplexing system in its computer network. This system ensures that all computer files of Cabinet Office staff are recorded on a backup computer, which I understand is under the control of the information technology systems and services office located on the fourth floor of the Whitney Block. I appreciate that the legislative precinct is limited to the first three floors of the Whitney Block. However, given the nature of this entire matter, I feel it is appropriate that I direct my concerns to you.

It's my understanding that the backup computer system also records any facsimile transmissions received by Cabinet Office staff when the fax information is accessed on staff computers. I believe this information should be made available to the police as part of their investigation into Mr Piper. I realize there will be information completely unrelated to Mr Piper which the police do not need to review; it is only the information on the backup computer system that was recorded from Mr Piper's computer that the police should be permitted access to.

Given that Mr Piper's office and his computer were within the confines of the legislative precinct, it would appear that you would have the power to order that this information be secured and made available to the police, and I would appreciate hearing your views in this regard.

The actions of Mr Piper have seriously undermined the reputation of and the public's respect for the Premier's office. Whether Mr Piper was acting alone in his actions must be determined, but it's incumbent on the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to assure the citizens of Ontario whether this was an isolated incident or a pattern of activity that reaches further.

The integrity of the Premier's office and the government of Ontario cannot be intact if the current investigation into Mr Piper does not address all concerns pertaining to what Mr Piper did, why he did it and whether his actions were approved by anyone else in the government. Mr Speaker, I look forward to your response to the many concerns I've outlined. Should you require any clarification, please contact me.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Leeds-Grenville will appreciate that he has raised a number of questions, and I will be pleased to respond to him as quickly as possible with the details which he seeks and provide him with the explanations which he is searching for. I appreciate the manner in which he has raised the matter and brought it to my attention.

#### WRITTEN QUESTIONS

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Might I bring it to the attention of the House that a question regarding the cut of old-growth forest in the province was placed on the order paper on April 7 and has yet to be answered. I'm bringing this to the attention of the Minister of Natural Resources and the House. Might I register my dissatisfaction with the time that it has taken to answer this question.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I appreciate the point of order which the member for Kenora has brought to my attention. Indeed he is correct. There is an obligation to respond within a specified period of time, and the Minister of Natural Resources is in the chamber and wishes to address this point of order.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources): Mr Speaker, I can assure you that I am fully aware of the orders of the House, and if my friend's question has not been answered in a timely fashion, I apologize for that and we will ensure that the answer will be forwarded to him as soon as possible.

The Speaker: Point of order responded to. Time for motions, Petitions.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a motion.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): You can't have motions.

The Speaker: No, no, petitions. Motions are for the government House leader.

#### **PETITIONS**

#### PLANT CLOSURE

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I have a petition to do with the General Motors circumstances in St Catharines. It reads as follows:

"General Motors' announcement to close the foundry operations in St Catharines, with the resultant loss of 2,300 jobs, adds to the growing devastation of the vital manufacturing sector in the Canadian economy.

"The spinoff effects will result in four to six lost jobs in other sectors for every job lost in auto. The foundry closure also puts the remainder of General Motors' St Catharines operations in serious jeopardy, which has a total combined employee population of 9,000 hourly and salaried workers.

"I strongly urge the Ontario government to intervene in all possible manners to stop the erosion of jobs and the economic base of our province, and in particular the Niagara region."

I sign my signature to this in agreement with this petition.

#### LANDFILL

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): This is the first time ever that this petition has been read in the House. You're going to hear it so many times you might even get sick of it. Anyway:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas on October 24, 1991, the NDP government introduced Bill 143, the Waste Management Act, and tried to force the Legislature to pass the bill before Christmas 1991 without public consultation or notification to affected municipalities and residents, and without naming the candidate landfill sites; and

"Whereas the NDP were forced into five weeks of public hearings and listened to over 200 presenters, all recommending amendments to Bill 143; and

"Whereas the NDP refused to listen or pass any opposition amendments to Bill 143 which would protect and secure individual and municipal rights to full environmental assessment hearings on waste alternatives such as rail haul; and

"Whereas the NDP used their majority to pass Bill 143 on April 23, 1992, with the full support and endorsement of Jim Wiseman, MPP Durham West, Larry O'Connor, MPP Durham York, and Gordon Mills, MPP Durham East; and

"Whereas the NDP named 57 candidate landfill sites on June 4, 1992; and

"Whereas Ruth Grier and the Premier refused to meet with groups opposing the dumps and refused to consider the alternatives, like rail haul, contrary to Mrs Grier's support of rail haul in January 1991; and "Whereas Mrs Grier refused to meet with the residents and mayor of Kirkland Lake to review the Adams mine proposal and proceeded to ban rail haul without considering the impact on the northern economy; and

"Whereas the NDP government created the Interim Waste Authority to find a solution to GTA waste and operate independently from the Ministry of the Environment, but at the same time the IWA must adhere to Mrs Grier's ideology and her ban of waste alternatives such as rail haul and incineration; and

"Whereas the IWA and NDP government refused to conduct an environmental assessment on the alternatives and remain firm on subjecting communities in the regions of York, Durham and Peel to a process that ignores their fundamental rights to a review of alternatives and employs a system of criteria ranking that defies logic and leads to the selection of dump sites on environmentally sensitive areas, prime agricultural land and sites located near urban areas;

"We, the undersigned, want Bill 143 revoked and replaced with a bill that would allow a full environmental assessment on all waste management options."

It's signed by members of my caucus and affixed with my signature.

#### MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

**Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton):** "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in Parliament assembled:

"We, the undersigned, deplore the passing of Bill 75 into law. We ask that the arbitrator's report be set aside because:

- "(1) It does not reflect the expressed wishes of the majority who participated in the arbitration hearings;
- "(2) It is not in the best interests of the area and its residents;
- "(3) It awards too extensive a territory to the city of London;
- "(4) It will jeopardize the viability of the county of Middlesex; and
- "(5) It will allow for the progressive development of prime agricultural land."

It's my honour to affix my signature hereunto.

1530

#### SOCIAL SERVICES

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I have a petition signed by 1,296 residents of Ottawa-Carleton. They are parents, union members, boards of directors, clients receiving services, executive directors of agencies, the Ontario Association for Community Living, members of the Ontario Work and Rehabilitation Council and members of the Employment Coalition of Ottawa-Carleton. Their petition reads as follows:

"The document Reforming Sheltered Workshops: Managing the Constraint and Beyond, is devoid of any plan of action.

"We therefore, the undersigned, are gravely concerned and petition that we re-establish present funding to sheltered workshops with the impetus placed on establishing community options; "that we flow new moneys as they become available into agencies to further develop community options;

"that the NDP government conduct the proposed analysis and complete this process prior to any further decisions on service direction; and finally;

"that this NDP government ensure that a full range of services remains available."

I have affixed my signature.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

**Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey):** I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly:

"We, the undersigned, hereby register our opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposed amendment to the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"We believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for quality of life, religious freedom and for family time. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families.

"The amendment included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter (51 per year) from the definition of 'legal holiday' and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

#### CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas today, December 10, is International Human Rights Day as proclaimed by the United Nations; and

"Whereas it is a fundamental and constitutionally protected right in Canada to be able to choose and belong to one's religion of choice without discrimination or bias; and

"Whereas ministers of the Church of Scientology have been recognized and licensed to solemnize marriages in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Nova Scotia: and

"Whereas in Ontario over 50 members of the religious community, representing such diverse faith groups as the Christian, Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh communities have written to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations in support of the licensing of Scientology ministers; and

"Whereas the former Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations had approved the licensing of Scientology ministers; and

"Whereas a representative of the minister stated publicly in January of this year that Scientology ministers meet all the criteria of the Marriage Act of Ontario;

"We, the undersigned, hereby petition the Legislative Assembly and the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, in the spirit of International Human Rights Day, to end this delay and license the ministers of the Church of Scientology to solemnize marriages in the province of Ontario."

There are 89 names, and mine will make it 90.

#### **EDUCATION FINANCING**

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have a large number of petitions signed by parents whose children go to the Blessed Sacrament school on Bedford Park in Eglinton

riding. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the British North America Act of 1867 recognizes the right of Catholic students to a Catholic education, and in keeping with this, the province of Ontario supports two educational systems from kindergarten to grade 12/OCA; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board educates more than 104,000 students across Metropolitan Toronto, and whereas these students represent 30% of the total number of students in this area, yet has access to just 20% of the total residential assessment and 9.5% of the pooled corporate assessment; and

"Whereas the Metropolitan Separate School Board is able to spend \$1,678 less on each of its elementary school students and \$2,502 less on each of its secondary school students than our public school counterpart;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to act now and restructure the way in which municipal and provincial tax dollars are apportioned, so that Ontario's two principal education systems are funded not only fully but with equity and equality."

I have signed this petition.

#### ONTARIO STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have a petition signed by 587 students, 49%, I might add, of the student population of Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario's newest university. The petition reads as follows:

"To the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Due to your government's decision to adopt a stance of grant genocide through OSAP, effectively denying access to post-secondary education in Ontario to many potential students, we must inform you that we cannot tolerate this policy which contradicts existing NDP policy that prompted many to elect you to office, and you will not receive our votes in the next election."

#### LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I've got a petition here representing the concerns of residents from Sutton and Keswick:

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural, residential and recreation land, these areas would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of number 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would disrupt the vibrant agricultural communities. Farm families in the areas have continued to invest large sums of money in their farms, and these communities will be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority's putting in a megadump; and

"Whereas most of the people in Georgina depend on groundwater for their drinking water supply and a dump would threaten their clean supply of water; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe is the ice-fishing capital of the world; and

"Whereas Lake Simcoe's health provides a strong draw of tourists to fish year-round; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump would destroy the local economies;

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land and turn it into Metro's and York's megadump;

"We petition the Legislative Assembly to renew its efforts to seek alternatives like waste processing, to landfill and implement progressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I sign my name to this petition.

#### STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): This petition is to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them;

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rule changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

I affix my signature in agreement.

#### **TOBACCO TAXES**

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): I have a petition signed by some 3,000 taxpayers of Ontario. It reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the present high level of taxes on tobacco products are excessive and contrary to the interests of Ontario's two million smokers; and "Whereas high tobacco taxes are contributing to retail theft and to our province's cross-border shopping crisis; and

"Whereas the punitive taxes and resulting lost sales are contributing to inflation as well as costing jobs in Ontario; and

"Whereas high cigarette taxes are regressive and unfair to low- and modest-income citizens;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That Ontario's tobacco taxes should not be increased in 1992 and further that these taxes should be repealed and a new lower and fairer tax be introduced."

I agree with this petition and I have signed it. 1540

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): After Mr Bradley was up there, I didn't think I'd have a chance to read out my petition.

I have a petition from the Pelham Centre United Church, all the members in the church, to the members of the provincial Parliament of Ontario:

<sup>6</sup>I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposal to establish and license a permanent gambling enterprise in the Niagara Peninsula. I believe in the need of keeping this area as a place where family and holiday time will be enriched with quality of life. Such gambling establishments will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and in the Niagara region in particular. I believe that licensed gambling will cause increased hardship on many families and will be an invitation for more criminal activity.

"By my signature here attached, I ask you not to license gambling anywhere in the Niagara Peninsula."

I've gladly affixed my signature to this petition.

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: In view of the fact that today appears to be the last day the House is going to be sitting and there'll be no opportunities to present petitions for approximately three months, I would like to request unanimous consent that five additional minutes be allocated on the clock for the presentation of petitions.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is there unanimous consent? There is not unanimous consent. Therefore, we will proceed with the next item, which is motions.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: This is the last day of this session. I got on an austerity kick. I felt that I'd save the taxpayers and not send out Christmas cards, so I'll wish all of you and all of my constituents a Merry Christmas.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: If there are five minutes to complete the petitions, five minutes is fine.

The Deputy Speaker: Unanimous consent? Agreed.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I have a petition from a number of people in the Niagara region. It reads as follows:

"A petition to the members of the provincial Parliament of Ontario re the proposal to licence a permanent gambling establishment in the Niagara Peninsula:

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to the proposal to establish and license a permanent gambling enterprise in the Niagara Peninsula. I believe in the need of keeping this area as a place where family and holiday time will be enriched with quality of life. Such gaming establishments will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and in the Niagara region in particular. I believe that licensed gambling will cause increased hardship on many families and will be an invitation for more criminal activity.

"By my signature here attached, I ask you not to license gambling anywhere in the Niagara Peninsula."

I'm going to sign this because I agree with this.

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems, and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

This is signed by approximately 2,700 people from Ontario.

#### LANDFILL

Mr Noel Duignan (Halton North): I have a petition signed by many people from Georgetown, Acton and Fergus, some of them within my riding. It's addressed to the Premier of the province and to the Legislative Assembly:

"We, the undersigned, support the immediate passage of Mr Noel Duignan's amendment to the Environmental Protection Act. We understand that the change in legislation will prevent any person from operating, establishing, altering, enlarging or extending a waste management system or a waste disposal site in the Niagara Escarpment plan area unless the director has issued a certificate of approval or provisional certificate of approval before the subsection comes into force.

"We urge this bill be made government policy and be passed and proclaimed without delay."

I have affixed my signature to this.

#### DRIVERS' LICENCES

**Mr David Turnbull (York Mills):** I have a petition. It reads:

"Motor vehicle accidents continue to be the leading cause of preventable death in Canada. Statistics indicate that all novice drivers are overrepresented in these accidents. It is a proven fact that graduated licensing saves lives by allowing new drivers to gain essential driving experience under controlled conditions.

"This is not merely a traffic safety problem but a public health concern. In the interests of saving lives, preventing injuries and reducing costs, support graduated licensing for new drivers."

This is signed by many hundreds of people and I too have affixed my signature to it.

#### **GAMBLING**

Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton): With great thanks to the member for Windsor-Riverside:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has traditionally had a commitment to family life and quality of life for all the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas families are made more emotionally and economically vulnerable by the operation of various gaming and gambling ventures; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party government has had a historical concern for the poor in society, who are particularly at risk each time the practice of gambling is expanded; and

"Whereas the New Democratic Party in the past has vociferously opposed the raising of moneys of the state through gambling; and

"Whereas the citizens of Ontario have not been consulted regarding the introduction of legalized gambling casinos;

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government immediately cease all moves to establish gambling casinos by regulation and that appropriate legislation be introduced into the assembly, along with a process which includes significant opportunities for public consultation and full public hearings as means of allowing the citizens of Ontario to express themselves on this new and questionable initiative."

I'm very happy to affix my signature hereunto.

#### **BRUCE GENERATING STATION**

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I have a petition in hand which asks that the Legislative Assembly accept this petition and requests that Premier Rae respond to the intervenors from Bruce county who would wish to see, at least, him give a fair assessment of the prospects for the future of the Bruce nuclear power development.

#### RETAIL STORE HOURS

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): I have a petition to the members of the provincial Parliament. It reads as follows:

"I, the undersigned, hereby register my opposition in the strongest of terms to Bill 38, which will eliminate Sunday from the definition of legal holiday in the Retail Business Holidays Act.

"I believe in the need of keeping Sunday as a holiday for family time, quality of life and religious freedom. The elimination of such a day will be detrimental to the fabric of society in Ontario and cause increased hardship on many families. "The amendments included in Bill 38, dated June 3, 1992, to delete all Sundays except Easter (51 per year) from the definition of a legal holiday and reclassify them as working days should be defeated."

I'm filing this.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Introduction of bills.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I beg leave to introduce a bill entitled An Act to amend the Provincial Offences Act and that it be read for the first time.

The Deputy Speaker: These are not the proper forms. Until we fix this matter, I'll recognize the member for York Mills.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

#### REGISTRATION OF PEDOPHILES ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR L'INSCRIPTION DES PÉDOPHILES

On motion by Mr Turnbull, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 114, An Act to provide for the Registration of Persons who have committed Sexual Offences Against Children / Loi prévoyant l'inscription des personnes qui ont commis des infractions d'ordre sexuel contre les enfants.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): The proposed act will require persons convicted of a sexual offence involving a child under the age of 14 to make a report to the police. The failure to make a report will be an offence punishable by fine or imprisonment. The act will provide for the register of sexual offenders to be kept by the police. The public will have access to information in the register and the police will have the power to disseminate the information in the register. It is similar to an act which was passed in Washington state in 1990.

#### REVISED STATUTES CONFIRMATION AND CORRECTIONS ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 CONFIRMANT ET CORRIGEANT LES LOIS REFONDUES

On motion by Mr Hampton, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 115, An Act to confirm and correct the Statutes of Ontario as revised by the Statute Revision Commissioners / Loi confirmant et corrigeant les Lois de l'Ontario refondues par les commissaires à la refonte des lois.

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I've introduced for first reading the Revised Statutes Confirmation and Corrections Act, 1992. The purpose of this bill is to correct errors in the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1990, and to confirm the statutes, as amended, as the official law of Ontario. The Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1990, which were proclaimed in force on December 31, 1991, are a major landmark in Ontario. However, there were a few errors made and this bill will correct those errors in the revised statutes as printed.

FAMILY SUPPORT PLAN
AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI
SUR LE RÉGIME DES OBLIGATIONS
ALIMENTAIRES ENVERS LA FAMILLE

On motion by Mr Harnick, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 116, An Act to amend the Family Support Plan Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur le Régime des obligations alimentaires envers la famille.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): This bill amends the Family Support Plan Act to prevent the director from enforcing support deduction orders if the parties to the support order consent to the non-enforcement. Any party will be able to withdraw his or her consent by notifying the director

At this particular time, people who were involved in support and custody orders enforcement are not getting their payments, and when they do come, they're in the wrong amounts. You can't even dial the 1-800 number and get anybody to answer. This will effectively take 25% of all those people presently enrolled in SCOE out of the system so that the bureaucracy has a chance to work.

[Report continues in volume B]

#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffière adjointe et Greffière des comités: Deborah Deller Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre responsable de la Stratégie de prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementale
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/
Cambridge	Former Miles	NID	Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative, adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	adjoint partementante du ministre de l'Eddeadon
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire
			du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	as minor and Property with the property of the
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Minister of Education/ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Oufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Durham-York	O'Connor, Larry	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole Dianne	L	adjoint partementane de la ministre de la Sant
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	ND	
Elgin	North, Peter	ND ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics

Constituency	Name of member	Party	<b>Other responsibilities</b>
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	du buieda de la region da grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology,
			acting Minister of Tourism and Recreation/
			ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs par intérim
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	A
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire
			du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	intergouvernementales Minister of Government Services/
1 Tontenac-Addington	Wilson, How L non Fred	ND	ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial
			Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Correctional Services/ministre des Services correctionnels
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, Minister of Energy/
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills
Hammion West-Ouest	Anen, How E non Richard	ND	Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre
			de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/
			ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre
			des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes
			âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food/
			adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	et de l'Alimentation opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/
Kingston et Les Îles	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	112	adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General; deputy government
			whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/
			adjoint parlementaire du Solliciteur général, whip adjoint
			du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	de la justice
Lake Mpigon/Lac-Mpigon	Found, How L non Gines	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	francophones Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/
244.40.004	112000 Editate Conf. March	112	Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	60 101 p11100
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires
			économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for
			women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires,
			ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/
			whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	<b>Other responsibilities</b>
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones Progressive Conservative deputy House leader/
Middlesex	Mathyssen, Irene	ND	chef parlementaire adjoint du Parti progressiste-conservateur parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga North/-Nord Mississauga South/-Sud	Offer, Steven Marland, Margaret	L PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses opposition chief whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	ci de la recimologie
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General/Solliciteur général
Ottawa Centre/-Centre Ottawa East/-Est	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn Grandmaître, Bernard C.	ND L	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward-	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Lennox-Hastings-Sud Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	et du filmisue de l'Economie
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ SDG. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	opposition deputy House leader/chef parlementaire de l'opposition
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St. George-St. David	Vacant		
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Energy; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	J I
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	J
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	opposition deputy waspitting adjoint do 1 opposition
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/
Sincoe Lasy-Est	Wickean, Anan K.	rc	Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes
C: 171 1/0	7771 71	DC	gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	11 CT 1 CT 1
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/
			ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	* **
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman,
Westernah Nesth / Nest	Abel Deceld	M	Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	Minister of Manipins Affrica Chair of the Management Board
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet and government House leader/ministre des Affaires municipales, président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, et leader parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/
Wildsor-Salidwich	Dadamo, George	ND	adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chair of the Management Board of Cabinet/adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	9-8-1-1-1-1-1-1
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	Progressive Conservative whip/whip du Parti progressiste- conservateur
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil exécutif, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels

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Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman,

Paul Wessenger, David Winninger Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

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David Ramsay

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Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola

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Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman

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Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve

Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch,

Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

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Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson,

Larry O'Connor, David Tilson Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

#### Regulations and private bills/ Règlements et projets de loi privés

Chair/Président: Drummond White

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon

Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan, Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola,

Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

#### Resources development/Développement des ressources

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Bob Huget

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Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdock, Steven Offer,

David Turnbull, Daniel Waters, Len Wood Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

#### Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer

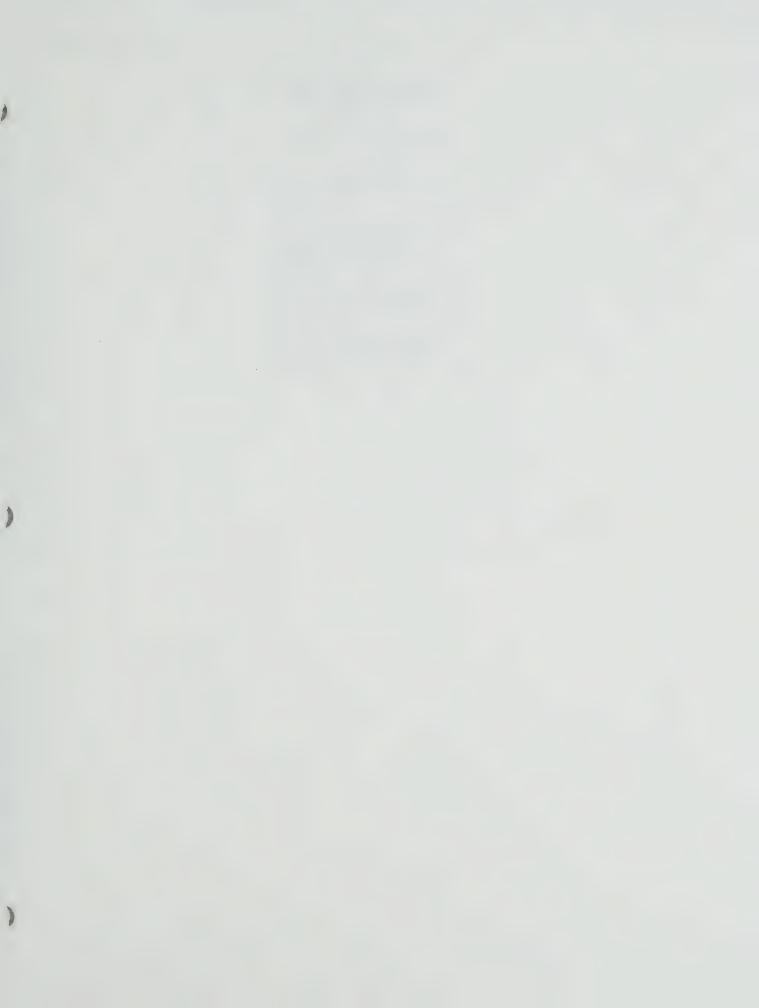
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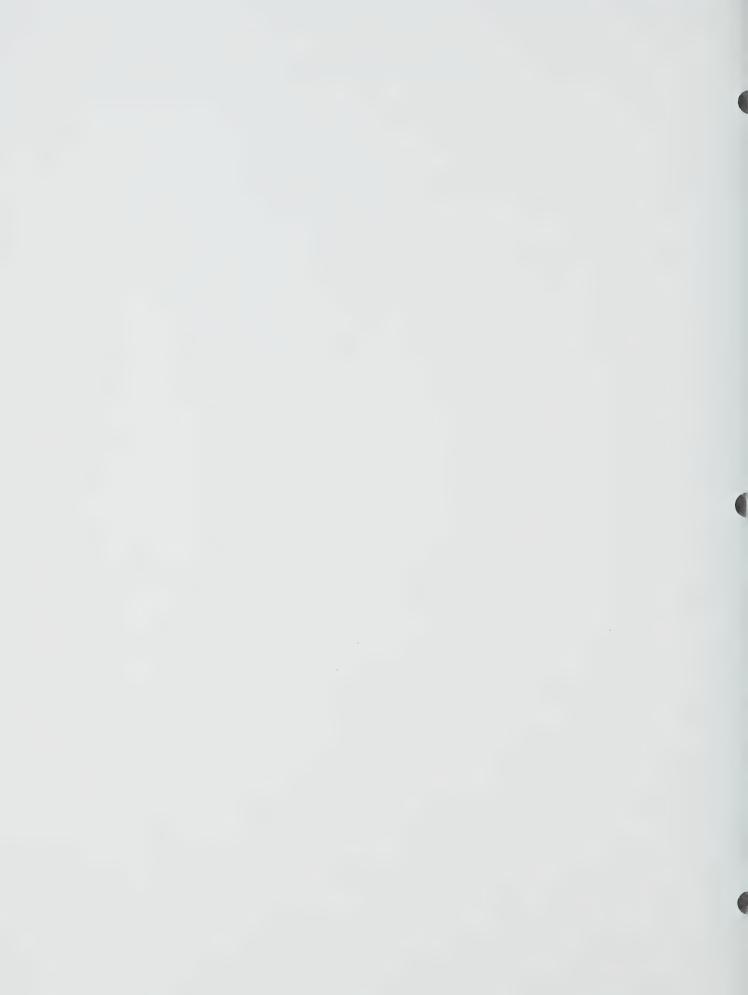
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Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott







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No. 94B

Nº 94B

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# Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

# Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 10 December 1992

# Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35<sup>e</sup> législature

# Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 10 décembre 1992



Speaker Honourable David Warner

Clerk Claude L. DesRosiers Président L'honorable David Warner

Greffier Claude L. DesRosiers



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#### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

#### Thursday 10 December 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY

INCOME TAX AND ONTARIO PENSIONERS
PROPERTY TAX ASSISTANCE
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI CONCERNE L'IMPÔT SUR LE
REVENU ET L'ALLÉGEMENT DE L'IMPÔT
FONCIER DES RETRAITÉS DE L'ONTARIO

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur le revenu, prévoyant des crédits d'impôt sur le revenu pour les personnes âgées et visant à éliminer progressivement les subventions prévues par la Loi sur l'allégement de l'impôt foncier des retraités de l'Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): There will be a deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 31. Call in the members. This will be a five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1554 to 1559.

The Deputy Speaker: Will the members please take their seats. The member for Downsview, we're waiting for you.

Ms Wark-Martyn has moved second reading of Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act.

All those in favour of the motion will please rise.

#### Ayes

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Drainville, Duignan, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Lankin, Laughren, MacKinnon, Mackenzie, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathyssen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winninger, Wood, Ziemba.

**The Deputy Speaker:** All those opposed to the motion will please rise.

#### Nays

Arnott, Beer, Bradley, Callahan, Caplan, Conway, Cousens, Cunningham, Eddy, Elston, Eves, Grandmaître, Harnick, Henderson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, Marland, McLean, Miclash, Murdoch (Grey), O'Neil (Quinte), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Runciman, Sola,

Sorbara, Sterling, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Villeneuve, Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

**The Deputy Speaker:** The ayes are 64, the nays are 34. I declare the motion carried.

Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker, I believe there's unanimous consent to do third reading and record the vote as the same as the vote that was just taken.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Agreed? We will now vote therefore on the third reading of the bill. Ms Wark-Martyn has moved third reading of Bill 31. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

On the same vote? On the same vote. I declare the motion carried.

Be it resolved that the bill be entitled as in the motion.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: We were here earlier to have question period. I'm now asking unanimous consent for the Minister of Community and Social Services, who could have been here earlier and has now joined us, to make a statement about the intent of her statement in the press of today.

The Deputy Speaker: Is there unanimous consent? No.

KITCHENER-WATERLOO HOSPITAL ACT, 1992

Mr Cooper moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr21, An Act respecting Kitchener-Waterloo Hospital.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Can we wait for a few minutes until we have a bit more order in the House? Those who want to leave, please do so now.

#### P.J. CONSTRUCTION LIMITED ACT, 1992

Mr Elston, in the absence of Mr Cordiano, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr35. An Act to revive P.J. Construction Limited.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### ONTARIO BUILDING OFFICIALS ASSOCIATION ACT, 1992

Mr Martin moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr40, An Act respecting the Ontario Building Officials Association.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

TORONTO ATMOSPHERIC FUND ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr45, An Act to incorporate the Toronto Atmospheric Fund and the Toronto Atmospheric Fund Foundation.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### TOWN OF LINCOLN ACT, 1992

Mr Hansen moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr58, An Act respecting the Town of Lincoln.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### CITY OF TORONTO (NATURAL GAS PURCHASE PROGRAM) ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr61, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading. 1610

#### MODERN OPTICAL LTD. ACT, 1992

Mr Cousens moved second reading of the following bill: Bill Pr63, An Act to revive Modern Optical Ltd.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

INSTITUTE FOR CHRISTIAN STUDIES ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr64, An Act respecting the Institute for Christian Studies.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### CITY OF LONDON ACT, 1992

Mrs Cunningham moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr65, An Act respecting the City of London.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### RAINBOW HALFWAY HOUSE ACT, 1992

Mr White moved second reading of the following bill: Bill Pr68, An Act to revive Rainbow Halfway House.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### WOMEN IN CRISIS (NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY) ACT, 1992

Mr Elston, on behalf of Ms Fawcett, moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr71, An Act to revive Women in Crisis (Northumberland County).

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### CITY OF YORK ACT, 1992

Mr Rizzo moved second reading of the following bill: Bill Pr73, An Act respecting the City of York.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### CANADIAN MILLERS' MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY ACT, 1992

Ms Witmer moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr75, An Act respecting The Canadian Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### CITY OF TORONTO ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr78, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### DUCLOS POINT PROPERTY OWNERS INC. ACT, 1992

Mr O'Connor moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr79, an Act to revive Duclos Point Property Owners Inc.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

#### APOSTOLIC CATHOLIC ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST ACT, 1992

Mrs Marland moved second reading of the following bill:

Bill Pr83, An Act to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

The bill was also given third reading.

TOBACCO TAX AND LIQUOR CONTROL STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT (RETURNING RESIDENTS), 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA TAXE SUR LE TABAC ET LES ALCOOLS (RÉSIDENTS DE RETOUR)

Mr Wiseman, on behalf of Ms Wark-Martyn, moved third reading of Bill 85, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario / Loi modifiant la Loi de la taxe sur le tabac et la Loi sur les alcools de façon à prévoir le paiement de la taxe et des marges bénéficiares par les résidents de retour en Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Do you have any comments? Do you wish to debate?

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): This bill has been introduced in order to help curb cross-border shopping and it's my pleasure to have been able to act on behalf of the Minister of Revenue in this endeavour.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any comments or questions? Further debate?

Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

1620

#### LONDON-MIDDLESEX ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR LONDON ET MIDDLESEX

Mr Cooke moved third reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexations to the City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex / Loi concernant les annexions faites à la cité de London et à certaines municipalités du comté de Middlesex.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Minister.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): I don't have any additional comments. I made a lengthy speech on behalf of the government at second reading and I commend the bill to the Legislature.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments?

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): With so many controversies surrounding this bill, I find it very difficult to understand how it is the minister hasn't got any other comments to make to the great citizens of the county of Middlesex. I'm quite shocked and surprised, appalled even, but in any event I would ask him to reply as to why he feels it is unnecessary to explain his totally unexplainable and unacceptable actions in this regard.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further questions or any further comments? Minister, you have two minutes to reply.

Hon Mr Cooke: I'd refer the member to my second reading speech, which was a lengthy speech that went through the rationale and the need for this action. I've visited London on many occasions with regard to this matter and explained why we are moving in this direction to the people in London as well. There is a time when politicians have

spoken enough and we just need to get on with it, and I think the time on this bill is now.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East): I'm not surprised that the minister doesn't want to address Bill 75. He's had a great week. He's failed on market value assessment; now he's failing the people of London-Middlesex. He's batting 1.000.

A lot of things have been said about this government, that it can't organize a two-car funeral, but let me tell you that it has added a third car. The first car this week was the MVA car, the second car is the London-Middlesex car, and naturally you need a lead car, the clowns, and that's the Minister of Municipal Affairs this afternoon.

The minister has said on many occasions that governments have spent enough time on Bill 75 after 11 years of negotiations, that we should go through with this expanded expropriation; I call it expropriation.

I think the people of London-Middlesex will remember this day for as long as they live. Personally, I think they're being betrayed by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Imagine tripling the size of the city of London.

Back in 1988, the people, the city of London, Middlesex and the surrounding communities, were quite satisfied to accept between 22,000 and 25,000 additional acres. But this is a major annexation, maybe one of the largest this province has seen, 64,000 acres of land, and prime agricultural land. Most of this is prime agricultural land.

Why are we doing this? For the sake of growth.

I find it very difficult to believe that the minister would fall for this kind of approach when his own people are saying, "We should stop the sprawling effect of our communities." In fact, I have a copy of a very interesting comment from John Sewell, introducing some tough recommendations to control urban sprawl:

"John Sewell told delegates that cities wanting to expand should be intensifying rather than expanding boundaries and bulldozing farm land.

"'City densities have fallen incredibly in the last 40 years,' said Sewell, who used the city of London as an example of a city that should be intensifying rather than expanding."

Listen to this, Mr Speaker:

"The city of London is preparing to annex 64,000 acres, including prime farm land, which would increase London to 80% of the size of Toronto.

"London had a population of 10,000 per square mile in the 1950s," and Mr Sewell continues, "'If cities are going to expand, they have to expand in a way that has a medium density in areas that are contiguous to the city.'" John Sewell said it; I didn't.

Why is the minister going against the John Sewell report, the John Sewell commission? He was appointed by this government to prevent this type of sprawl, yet the minister is not saying too much about the Sewell report because he knows very well that our municipalities are fast expanding and the costs of these services are very, very expensive.

Let me tell you what AMO had to say about the type of rush of the ministry and the Minister of Municipal Affairs, or what kind of a dirty job they were trying to do on the London-Middlesex people. This is dated May 1992, Municipal World, a magazine that's recognized throughout our 834 municipalities in the province of Ontario:

"From democracy, to autocracy, to hypocrisy

"Disrespect for elected municipal office

"Is democratic provincial government still a reality in Ontario? Or is the word 'democratic' now only to be used as convenient self-serving rhetoric to assist in disguising autocratic intentions?

"Government by the people; that form of government in which sovereign power resides in the people and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them.

"Proposals made by the greater London area arbitrator would see recently elected members of council in the town of Westminster, and members of the public utilities commissions in both the town of Westminster and the city of London, arbitrarily...removed from office on January 1, 1993," after serving only one year of a three-year mandate, and "the town would be represented until the next municipal election by one person selected by the arbitrator," not the people of London-Middlesex.

"The endorsement of this travesty by the Honourable David Cooke, Minister of Municipal Affairs, exhibits an arrogant disregard for democracy and the equality of rights of Canadians. If unchallenged, these proposals leave all municipal elected offices in this province vulnerable."

The minister appointed a sole arbitrator when the municipal boundaries act failed to resolve a very serious question, but the mandate of Mr Brant, the sole arbitrator, had some very specific or determined points to show. He was given total authority, "Bring me back recommendations, no matter what they are, and I will implement them." So after five months of review, the minister accepted every one of Mr John Brant's recommendations. But the minister had to explain his action to the rest of our municipalities in the province of Ontario, and what he decided in July of this year was to send a letter of apology to every mayor, every councillor, in the province of Ontario. It says:

"It is absolutely clear that the arbitrator's solution for the London/Middlesex area could not be duplicated anywhere else in the province. The geography and the demography of the London/Middlesex area are unique, and the circumstances do not resemble any other area across the province."

#### 1630

Well, I'd like to remind the minister that every municipality in this province is unique, and I want to remind the minister that the people of London-Middlesex are very unique people as well. They need to make their own decision, and this was not provided to them. I realize that the sole arbitrator, Mr Brant, did hold some public meetings, but I can tell you that I've received over 500 letters from people or groups against this type of unneeded annexation.

My colleague the member for Brant-Haldimand back in June spoke for 90 minutes on this issue, went through

the bill with a fine-toothed comb and exposed the bill for what it is. I don't think this minister is realizing the impact that it will have on London-Middlesex. This is a precedent. It's never happened in this province before, and I think this decision today will have a mark on the rest of our municipalities in the province of Ontario.

I continue with the letter of apology from the minister: "I would like to give you my personal assurance that no other area in this province will experience the scope and size of the annexation that was necessary in London." Well, I think the mayors and councillors of our municipalities have lost confidence in the minister for making this type of decision without really attempting or maybe intervening in the process to find a real solution.

I realize that the compensation package will be given to the municipalities affected, and I think it's on page 31 of the bill, if I'm not mistaken—page 29, section 48: "The city of London shall pay the county of Middlesex, as compensation for a reduction in the county's assessment base, assistance grants totalling \$3,600,000 paid as follows," and it goes on and on until 1997.

Well, I call this expropriation. That's what it is. When you expropriate people, you compensate them, and the minister didn't have the foresight or the good judgement to call it expropriation. He still calls it annexation.

The county will lose 35% of its tax base, but at the same time—I want to go back to the reason why this larger annexation is taking place: It was to provide the city of London with more developable land. I repeat myself: A good percentage, maybe 35% or 40% of the annexed land, is farm land, and he's put a buffer around the total annexation to prevent further annexation.

Well, I think it's a coverup for the simple reason that these farm lands will disappear in the next 10 years. It's true that in the bill the ministry provides for some kind of protection for the next 10 years, but dealing and wheeling is going on right now in London-Middlesex. We are losing farm land every day and this minister will not intervene, and yet this government believes in protecting farm land. They wanted to amend the Planning Act to protect our farmers, and yet today, by introducing third reading of this terrible bill, he will kill most of the good farm land in the London-Middlesex area.

Another thing I'd like to remind you of is that while we were discussing second reading of this bill—we were in committee going through this bill clause-by-clause—his transition team was putting in place his new London-Middlesex. How can a committee listen to the concerns of our citizens in London-Middlesex and at the same time be implementing, through his transition team, the very same proposals that we see in the bill?

This annexation will go down in the annals of this province for a good number of years. The minister reminds us every day and every minister reminds us every day that they have to create partnerships. "We have to work together." I have an article from a magazine published by Municipal Affairs that's called Up Front, and here's what the minister has to say:

'During the past two years, I have tried to approach my tasks keeping three things in mind: The role and authority of locally elected governments must always be recognized and respected. The provincial government has a responsibility to help ensure that municipalities have the tools they need to plan their futures. And, perhaps most important, if governments at all levels are going to overcome the economic and social challenges facing us in the '90s, we must work together as partners.

"I believe we have made a good start during the past two years in establishing a relationship of trust and respect." Well, I want to tell you that close to 700 letters on my desk are not very respectful of the decision of the minister. "As the provincial government continues with its ambitious"—imagine—"reform-minded agenda, I look forward to hearing from you."

The very same people who wrote to me wrote to the minister and never got full satisfaction. Even people appearing before the committee told us time after time that this minister, this ministry, has not listened to the people of London-Middlesex, and Mr Brant never reflected the ideals and the approach that the people of London-Middlesex wanted their future city to look like.

Again, I think abolishing a duly elected commission like the PUC and appointing members, not electing members, will reflect on the future decisions of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. I think our mayors and our councillors throughout the province of Ontario are keeping an eye on this House this afternoon. They want to see what the ministry and what the minister are doing and will do again; will repeat the same procedure. If the minister doesn't approve of the Municipal Boundary Negotiations Act, then he should amend it and amend it in the House and not name a sole arbitrator to do a hatchet job like Mr Brant did.

I think the environmentalists of this province are keeping an eye on this annexation. I think John Sewell is keeping an eye on this annexation, but he won't have too much to say, for the simple reason that all of this annexation will be in place by January 1. It reminds me of the MVA debates that we've had in this House when we reminded that very same minister: "You do have a Fair Tax Commission in place. Why don't you listen to them before we go through with Bill 94?" Finally, he saw the light at the very last minute and pulled the bill.

I'm asking the minister today to pull Bill 75 and revisit the bill with people in the London-Middlesex area so that we can reach a compromise that will be favourable not only to his ministry but to the people of London-Middlesex.

1640

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions? Are there any comments? There being none, are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I'm pleased to rise today and be part of this debate with regard to the annexation of London-Middlesex, Bill 75.

I've noticed through some of the debates that have been held and the meetings that were held here at Queen's Park in committee, the amount of amendments that were dealt with within that committee. During the two days of hearings, with the minister and the four MPPs representing the affected areas, they heard 63 presentations on the legislation and there were many people who came before the committee to deal with it.

Earlier today, somebody indicated—I believe it was the member for Middlesex—there are 28 members in her party who are opposed to this legislation. It will be interesting today when we vote on this legislation to see out of the amount of members who are here, the amount of members who are going to take part in that voting procedure.

When the hearings were held, there were many people who came before that committee. One of them was Roger George, who is president of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture. Some other people were with him who made presentations to the committee. Their point of view was from the agricultural point of course. Most agriculture-oriented people are interested in retaining good farm land.

They indicated that the size of the annexation was not justified. That was what we heard of most. When we look at the 64,000 acres, predominantly class 1 and class 2 agricultural lands, it gives cause for concern.

When I read some of the Hansards on some of the presentations that were made—I refer to Dr Andrew Sancton. He's a resident of the city of London. He's employed by the University of Western Ontario where he teaches in the political science department and his specialty is local government. He was accompanied to that meeting by a councillor. He wanted some time to be able to put his points of view on the record.

He said, "You have, I believe, my written brief that was sent before you decided on the extra day of hearings.... I want to make three major points and two minor ones. The first is the lack of research that has been done on this large annexation. The second is the lack of support for the large annexation. The third has to do with joint servicing agreements. These are all issues which have been talked about considerably," but never really addressed, Mr Speaker.

We look at the annexations that have taken place in many areas without previous planning. The minister now indicates, "We will give you so much time to put your plans after the annexation is done." But what planning was done and what research was done to indicate where the boundary lines should be or where the most appropriate place would be to draw the lines and thereby leave those small municipalities with at least a viable municipality to continue, which they have not done, which they have totally, in a lot of cases, taken away.

The first major point he wanted to talk about was:

"I believe we are in this mess, and I think it is a mess, because the previous Minister of Municipal Affairs, Mr Sweeney, decided that London's 1988 proposals were not sufficiently comprehensive. I searched in vain for evidence or research that supports this position. There were no public hearings prior to this conclusion being arrived at and no comprehensive research was commissioned."

That's telling us the start of some of the problems.

"That particular study says—and I'm only quoting this because we're trying to find some real research that's been done here and it's hard to find it—'The best option for Westminster's sewage is a new large treatment plant south of Lambeth that would discharge the sewage directly into

the Thames River or into Lake Erie.' But it says, 'We can't look at this because it would cost too much, it's not a serious proposal,' and no further study was done."

What study has been done to indicate where the sewage is going to go and all the problems and expenditures that are foreseen with regard to the builtup areas? I observed within the document with regard to the real estate agent that had made presentation on behalf of some 1,400-plus people in the real estate industry that she was looking at.

But anyhow he goes on and he talks with regard to:

"The report goes on to say: 'A preferred option is the collection and pumping of virtually all town raw sewage into the city of London for treatment by their facility. Although this option may not be politically feasible, it is technically, financially and environmentally sound. If some form of negotiation and agreement are to result, this option should be investigated further.'

"I might be wrong, of course, but I see Minister Sweeney's intervention as an attempt to make this option politically feasible, but without allowing for joint servicing agreements. Of course, I want to talk more about the joint servicing...."

Servicing is one of the major issues in annexations. I've seen a lot of annexations that have taken place and I look back at the Barrie-Vespra-Innisfil one, whereby there was \$27 million given to Innisfil township. The city of Barrie got major concessions with regard to the amount of infrastructure that it was going to have to put in to service the lands that needed service. But the interesting part of it all is, most municipalities that are annexing abutting property have land within them that is on septic systems already, and here they are saying, "We've got to have all this area for proper planning."

You know, Mr Speaker, most rural municipalities are not opposed to being annexed. They're not opposed if it's right, if it's proper and if it's appropriate, but if it's within the reason of that municipality that wants that land to use it.

The other day I drove through Barrie and I looked at the areas where the line was drawn where that annexation took place. Today the city is built to that line. I understand what's happening there. Now they need more land. Now is the time then to proceed and, if they need more, to extend it. But that was done, I think, at that time right. But the large land grab that London is asking for, in my opinion, is not right.

All official plans and zoning bylaws have to be approved by the minister, so it doesn't matter whether it's within the rural municipality or whether it's within the city. The controls can be put on regardless. So the reason to annex 64,000 acres more than what the city, more than what the county wanted to agree to is far beyond anybody's belief of why they would want that large acreage.

It draws me to the other annexations that I have seen that have taken place in the county of Simcoe now. They call it restructuring, where the municipalities have agreed, but there are some that have not because of the boundaries. I urge the minister and his staff to make sure that those municipalities can sit down together and come up with a regional solution to it. By doing that, you do it through planning and you do it through your zoning.

They don't need to be five miles or three miles outside of the town of Midland in the township of Tiny because they say they want to control the land. You control the land through zoning and official plans and it all has to be approved by the minister anyway. So when we look at the London-Middlesex annexation and that 64,000 acres, it's beyond anybody's comprehension of why this would be allowed to happen.

Not only that, the other part that I want to discuss briefly is the fact that one individual was appointed as an arbitrator to bring in a report; one individual. What is now going to happen with the Sewell report and the Sewell recommendations that are going to be coming in? There's a lot more to this annexation than meets the eye.

I read somewhere that there were several amendments that were brought in. There were over 20. The ministry incorporated over 20 amendments to be reviewed and approved by committee during the clause-by-clause hearings—20 amendments. Was that because of the committee hearings that those changes were made? They wanted the city of London to adopt an official plan by January 1, 1995, two years from now. This bill also gives the minister power to no end through regulation and that's something that we have discussed in this Legislature on many occasions: the amount of power through regulations that, after bills are passed, the government has.

1650

It gives the minister the powers to identify an urban service, to define what costs of the city of London will be related to that urban service, to designate upon what area or rateable property, including business assessment, the related costs shall be raised, and to require the city to levy a special rate on that area or rateable property, including business assessment. These are giving the minister all of those powers.

I look further to the remarks within the committee by Dr Andrew Sancton, who, as I mentioned earlier, was at the University of Western Ontario. He teaches political science and his specialty is in local government. He was the one who was saying, "Why so much land?" We all realize that London has to grow. We're not opposed to that. I don't know of anybody who is. But it's the process that's gone on and it's the amount of land that's being taken that makes one want to participate in a debate like this. He said: "No one, and I repeat, no one I know of wants an annexation this large. As a political scientist, this is an absolutely fascinating process. We seem to be lurching towards a conclusion that no interest wants and so—it was a question that was asked before by Mr Grandmaître—one has to wonder."

He says: "If in fact the two alternatives are what's in Bill 75 and no annexation, I will tell you that I support the city's position. I've many friends in Westminster and they probably hate to hear me say that, but that's my position. London needs more land for growth." He supports that position, which we all do. "But it is absolutely ludicrous to say that there are only two alternatives. There is a vast range of alternatives in between, including the city's original 1988 proposal, which, I repeat, has now got the support of the county and the town of Westminster as well."

There were also some issues raised with regard to the airport. Where the airport is already serviced by the city, why do they want to put it within the city boundaries? It's already being serviced. Was there a need for that? Is it because of the person who was there as an arbitrator thought that was appropriate?

Dealing with Bill 75 is going to be part of a bill that's going to be introduced with regard to the county restructuring in the township of Tiny. To see what's happened here, I hope that the annexation and the restructuring taking place in the county of Simcoe will be handled in a different manner. It is being handled in a different matter to a certain extent, because it was the county that adopted the report. Although not all municipalities agreed to it, it was the county that adopted it. The minister had indicated very strongly and he says, "The province accepts the final reform package." He's relying on the county council's decision. But this London was totally different. It was one individual who made the decision of where it should be changed.

I said to the minister's parliamentary assistant with regard to the county restructuring, if there's some agreement that can take place between the township of Tiny and the town of Midland, I would hope that they would be able to proceed in a manner that would satisfy those municipalities. I want to say here, the bottom line is, with the London annexation there is nobody that I know of who is opposed. We know they need it, but the fact of the matter is—and my colleague the member for London North is supporting it; I understand that—it's the process and the way it was done that I'm concerned about, and I want that changed for the next process that we're involved in. The amount that's being taken is totally unacceptable because, as I have said, the minister has the final say whether he wants to zone it in regard to planning or with regard to official plans.

Those people in rural Middlesex don't want this annexation to take place. They would say, as any reasonable people would say, "If it's right and appropriate, we will agree to it," because they're reasonable people in rural Ontario, the ones whom I know. They will accept a lot smaller proposal, which they indicated that they would before in the agreement with the city of London.

So I think if reason would prevail, this boundary line would be an awful lot smaller and it would be to the satisfaction of everyone. I know the member for Middlesex has spoken on this in the Legislature, and I read her comments. She indicates there are some 28 of her colleagues who are also opposed to it.

The old saying is, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." But if it's broken, you should fix it, and I believe that's what should take place here.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Are there any questions or comments? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): It's with profound regret that I rise to speak to the third and final reading of Bill 75, the London-Middlesex Act. During the election campaign of the summer of 1990 I stated that a limited annexation was the best solution. I reiterated that position in correspondence

and conversation with the minister through the late fall of 1990 and, indeed, through all of 1991.

I must say that in the last two and half years I've heard a great deal about the history, the obstacles, the possibilities, the salient points regarding the resolution of the London-Middlesex boundary dispute. At the end of the day I am still absolutely convinced that the only sensible, fair and workable solution is a limited annexation with coservicing.

Two proposals have emerged in the last few weeks and the minister has rejected both on the grounds that there will be problems regarding implementation, that the work to enact Bill 75 has gone too far, that a great deal of money has already been spent, that people in the area will not accept the changed and reduced annexation. The fallacy of this position is that it ignores the many and serious problems that Bill 75 creates, ignores that it is never too late to change a bad decision, that a mistake does not cease to be a mistake just because it's an expensive mistake, and that the majority in London and Middlesex—and it is the majority have stated that there must be a limited annexation. Even now, after months of pain, months of argument, months of anxiety, that majority would welcome a reduced annexation as an act of courage that came from honest listening and sincere re-evaluation by a government searching for a fair solution.

In 1988 the city of London put together an annexation package that it believed fair, workable and affordable. The Liberal government of the day rejected that package and did so because the Liberals said it wasn't comprehensive enough. The city of London and the county of Middlesex were told to go back to the table and find a solution that contained a larger annexation. The reasoning was that unserviced industrial-commercial development on the fringe of the city must be serviced and would best be serviced by the city of London.

The reaction of the council of Westminster was a clear refusal to give up its significant tax base. The town of Westminster depends on it to maintain the village of Lambeth and rural communities. In point of fact, the assessment of the town of Westminster is about 20% of the county of Middlesex's tax base, but the 1988 proposal was, and has again, been rejected because London was to provide servicing to the industrial and commercial development in Westminster.

The argument was that it would make sense for land serviced by London to be in London. This is a significant part of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs' rationale for annexing Westminster out of existence, because without its tax base, Westminster has conceded it could not remain as a viable municipality.

#### 1700

The irony of all of this is that London will not be able to service this area of Westminster. The reality is that because of the watershed and topography of the area in the southwest part of London, London would need to build a new sewage treatment plant in the southeast of the city. The city can't afford this, and it can't afford it for a number of reasons.

First, the cost of this annexation is going to put a great deal of stress on city coffers. Full costs have not clearly been determined, even now. The city will need two satellite police stations, and more personnel on both the police and fire departments; \$34.5 million for compensation to the county; \$1 million in perpetuity for suburban roads; there will be increased road maintenance and snow removal costs; sewage service must be provided to South Winds and Canterbury Estates; the wages of city and PUC employees will need to be harmonized, and displaced Middlesex staff have to be employed by the city of London; London must finance the cost of a new official plan; the London Board of Education will need an additional secondary school, and London will have to provide for expanded library service. The list is very long, and the lion's share will be borne by London taxpayers.

I rather suspect that the members of London council, who joyously embrace Bill 75, will view things quite differently when faced with the fiscal realities of this excessive annexation. The chickens may well come home to roost in the city of London, in more ways than one.

London cannot afford this southeast sewage treatment plant. In addition to that, the topography in the southwest corner of the city dictates that only limited sewage treatment is possible. It cannot extend beyond the needs of South Winds village.

Bill 75 has also dictated that no future development can occur unless it is on urban services. That's the laudable part of this legislation. We must protect our environment better than we have in both Middlesex and London.

That brings me to a rather curious part of the MMA argument for annexation. There is the repeated contention that Westminster must be annexed to London to prevent undesirable development. This was stated in remarks made on November 19, 1992, to the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, and I'd like to read them into the record.

"The position of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs in so far as joint servicing is concerned is that we feel it's not good long-term planning for two reasons: One, we feel that the people should have a vote for the government that provides their critical and basic services and, two, we feel that it encourages continued fringe development, which, regardless of the user-pay for hard services, does result in increased use of the host city's soft services by users who aren't paying for them."

Since the geography of the southwest prevents further development, then why annex it? It can't be developed; Westminster cannot participate in further fringe development. Second, the people who live in areas surrounding London are not users feeding on the host municipality. The people in and around the city work, shop and seek recreation in the city of London; we contribute substantially to the economic vitality of the current city.

Those are some of the reasons that London put forward a proposal for a limited annexation, with coservicing, in 1988. The city knew it could not afford a massive annexation and the servicing costs in the midst of the boom of the mid- and late-1980s. It surely can't afford it now in the recession of the 1990s.

The passage of Bill 75 signals a loss of a unique opportunity, a chance to lift municipal boundary decisions out of

the archaic mindset that dictates that pipes, rather than communities of interest, determine municipal boundaries.

We had a golden opportunity to forge a new vision for Ontario's communities. We had a chance to encourage them to flourish in a cooperative, cost-effective way that would have respected the differing aspirations of rural and urban residents. Westminster could have continued as a distinct community and been an effective partner in the economic renewal of the London-Middlesex area.

The payoff would have been that London would have had more than ample room for planned growth. The county of Middlesex would have retained a significant tax base, compensation costs would have been far less, cooperative planning would have delivered services in a cost-effective manner and, most important, the people of the area would not have faced the serious dislocations that are about to become a legislated reality.

Those dislocations include the shift of a rural population into an urban centre, displaced Middlesex municipal employees, disruptions to students and staff of the Middlesex County Board of Education, increased urban pressures on rural communities and a profound sense in the rural community of disenfranchisement.

I'd like to briefly touch on some of those dislocations. The London and the Middlesex county boards of education are still negotiating the options available to resolve the problems created by changing boundaries. Three options are available: one, to retain current board boundaries; two, to establish new school boundaries; or, three, to effect total amalgamation of the two school boards.

The first option creates problems connected to the rights and expectations of newly annexed students. If they reside in the city of London, they have the right to attend city schools and benefit from extensive city board programs.

Option two creates financial hardships for the Middle-sex board. The loss of tax base and assessment is a serious problem. In addition, some 307 students could be transferred from their current schools to London Board of Education schools. More than 20 teachers and three support staff would be compelled to transfer to the London board. Many questions have yet to be answered regarding the transfer and transportation of students, as well as the salaries and job security of staff.

The third option would require the London board and its tax supporters to help finance about 30 additional schools, 1,100 students, 617 teachers and transportation costs. The London board is extremely reluctant to enter into amalgamation because it will require extensive restructuring at significant cost.

Displaced municipal employees are still experiencing varying levels of duress regarding their job offers from the city of London. In fact, two of those employees have been given titles without any job descriptions. There is real fear regarding their job security.

The regulations for the rural advisory committee to the council of the city of London have yet to be tabled. There has been reference made to the committee that will participate in planning and land use decisions in Bill 75, and that's fine. Unfortunately, what has been forgotten are the daily needs of a rural community. Municipal councils respond to

concerns about fences, drainage, animal control, weed control and dust problems. The rural advisory committee must have the authority to function like a municipal council to meet those needs. If it does not, the people in the annexed areas will indeed be disenfranchised. The city has stated reluctance to provide the committee with any real authority. That is an issue I intend to continue to pursue.

I would like to remind you that these are all dislocations that would have been avoided had the effort been made to pursue the more creative route of a reduced annexation.

Before I close I would like to address one last point. It has to do with the proposed regulations to protect agricultural land, more than 100 working farms that will now be part of the urban centre. These must be very stringent regulations indeed and, even more important, there must be an ongoing political will to enforce these regulations. I'm afraid I have limited faith in that ongoing political will.

I'd also like to talk about what has been happening in the newly annexed areas—for quite some time, in fact; certainly it's been accelerated since the second reading of Bill 75. Speculators have increased their activities in the area. I ask you to consider the long-term effects of such speculations. These investors, as they call themselves, come along with their options to buy and farmers begin to rethink their plans for the future.

Farming requires a long-term commitment to the land, a commitment that spans generations and involves considerable investment of money, time and hard work, often at a very low rate of return. The option to buy casts a shadow on that commitment, and the effects become increasingly apparent. Farm buildings are not maintained, fields are not planted or the soil not properly maintained. The land is compromised and the farm declines. That is a situation that no one can regulate. This is a legacy of which no one can be proud. I'm aware that time is short. In fact, for many in Middlesex it has indeed run out.

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I'd like to finish by saying that in the last year I've desperately searched for the right words, the arguments that would turn aside this decision, that would pave the way to another resolution to this boundary dispute. In the past two years, I've provided information, arguments, suggestions and solutions regarding the London-Middlesex dispute. Quite frankly, what I've said has been discounted. There have been times when I felt utterly powerless in all of this. It's a strange feeling for one who came here with such high hopes and with such a wish to help make the kinds of decisions that would have strengthened and benefited my community.

I've searched for the words, the way to turn aside this annexation, and now I'm desperately searching for a positive side to what has happened. Perhaps there is: Perhaps there's some hope, perhaps there's some good that can come from this, and if there is, it truly rests with the people of Middlesex. Those people, my constituents, have united in a strong network of support and collaboration throughout all levels of the community, and it is this strong network that we must now rely upon to make sure that the city will indeed pay attention to the rural needs, the rural interests,

the rural aspirations that have made Middlesex county a unique, a remarkable and a wonderful place to live.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): I wish to thank the honourable member for Middlesex. Questions and/or comments?

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a few minutes left, but perhaps I should just sit and meditate on this matter and hope that the other members—

No, I commend the speech of the honourable member for Middlesex to the minister, and I hope the minister for municipal affairs—or minister against municipal affairs, whatever the title should be—takes the time to read that. I appreciated very much all the work done on that, a lot of good facts, and I'll certainly back the member's request that the area be changed. I think that's the key to it, and it could be done so easily and it could be done now. I wish more of the members had listened to that speech.

I don't like to be personal. However, the minister has been very personal with me. I well remember, when I started as the first speaker against this bill at second reading, that I had said a few sentences, and in the London paper issued that afternoon was the accusation by the minister that the Liberals were holding up the act and some other things. However, we'll go on.

I was interested in the minister's speech the other day when he was withdrawing the bill on market value assessment for Metropolitan Toronto. He was doing it because he'd listened to the people and it had an effect on him; he responded to the will of the people. It appears to me that he has not listened to the citizens of the city of London, the citizens of the county of Middlesex, its constituent municipalities, and indeed he is not even listening to 28 or 29 of his colleagues. That's most unfortunate.

I agree with the comments of the member for Ottawa East, who said, "It's not really an annexation at all; it's an expropriation," because that really is what it is. Maybe it's a gift. It's more of a gift.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? If not, the honourable member for Middlesex has two minutes in response.

Mrs Mathyssen: I'm sorry, Mr Speaker. I will admit to a certain emotional involvement that sometimes causes me to drift off. I really have nothing to add, other than that I do regret that there hasn't been the possibility for a creative solution.

When the arbitration process began last January, I thought: "Finally, the people have been brought into this process. They will be given a chance to speak and they will be given a chance to provide the kind of wisdom and input that only people who have lived through the turmoil the Middlesex constituents have endured could put things into perspective."

I trusted the arbitrator would hear them and I trusted that the arbitrator would find creative and new ways of settling this boundary dispute, because the old ways don't work. I referred to them in my speech as archaic, thinking of the past. I was looking for something for the 21st century, something that didn't create walls.

For the last while, I've been thinking a great deal about one of my favourite poets, Robert Frost. One of his more famous poems is Mending Wall. In that poem, the line is, "Good fences make good neighbours," but if you read the poem, you discover that fences only create prisons. Good fences only allow us to insulate ourselves and not communicate and respond and react outwardly.

I think that's been the legacy of this bill and this boundary decision.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate on third reading of Bill 75?

Mr Eddy: As I was saying, it's not an annexation by the city of London, because the city of London never applied to annex these lands. It's not an annexation by the village of Belmont, which is in another county, because the village of Belmont council didn't pass a bylaw to annex these lands. And of course it's noted that only Middlesex lands are going; no Elgin county lands are going. It's a mess all around.

So we're back to Bill 75, third reading. I would hope the honourable minister would see fit to make a change, because if he made a change he could have a signing ceremony, he could have the mayor of London and the mayor of Westminster and all of the other officials at a signing ceremony signing the agreement. However, that apparently isn't going to happen.

We're back to Bill 75, the barnyard bill, as I call it. I want to tell you why I call it the barnyard bill. The bill is unilateral, it's dictatorial, it's unfair, it's flawed and it's foul, and it should go to the barnyard and be disposed of in the same manner as other materials in the barnyard are.

We had hearings. Yes, there were hearings by the finance committee and many people appeared, and they opposed the annexation of 64,000 acres. Not everyone opposed it, because there were people there who made presentations who are anxious to get on with the transfer of lands to the city of London. And there are certain environmental problems that need to be faced, and there are servicing problems that need to be corrected as soon as possible. We know that and we should get on with that.

Mention was made of the amendments that were proposed in the committee. There was a considerable number, over 50; believe it or not, two got through. One was to call a by-election for the citizens of the annexed area so they would have the democratic opportunity to elect their representative. I proposed it and, thank heavens, the government members saw fit to be fair and democratic on this occasion and approved it, whereupon the minister phoned the mayor of Westminster that night to announce that I had done that and to apologize because the government members had been fair and democratic. He apologized to him.

The mayor of Westminster said to me: "Ron, I told the minister it was the best thing that could happen, because there is so much controversy in that area that it's far better for me to run in a by-election. If I'm elected, I'll represent the people, and if I'm not, someone else will. It's democratic. I approve it." I said at that time that if the honourable minister would talk to more people, he might find

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more easy solutions. I think he would have and could have. It's awfully important.

There was one other small amendment, but that was one we got through, and it's most unfortunate that some of the others—the main one, of course, being the area. It's the area that needs to be changed. It's the very great land mass—64,000 acres is a very large area in anyone's reasoning—of productive farming; a lot of it is productive. It's a shame and I disagree with it. I think it should be changed now.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Just very quickly, I'd like to congratulate the two members. To the member of the government, it takes a great deal of guts to go against your government, yet it's something I think all of us can learn from, that we, as members of the Legislature, are elected to represent the people of our own communities. If the government got that message, a government of whatever stripe, we'd have far better representation in this province in terms of ensuring that the people who elected us can rely on us to vote our conscience and vote their needs, not in all cases but in many cases, as opposed to always being joined at the hip and feeling that we have to vote the party line of the government to ensure we might have an opportunity for cabinet.

I hope the member of your party who had the guts to speak out for the people in her community will not suddenly be elevated to the back row and have her rights to cabinet denied. I think that she, as has my colleague on this side, has expressed a view that is representative of what the people in this province want us to do as elected members of this Legislature.

Finally, in the spirit of the time, once again, I'd like to wish each and every one of you the compliments of the season. Merry Christmas. We'll see you, hopefully, very early in the new year.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Grandmaître: I'd like to commend my colleague the member for Brant-Haldimand, who has worked very hard on this bill. Clause by clause, you could depend on the MPP to bring up his views, and he knows the area very well. He introduced proper amendments that would have improved the annexation model or program introduced by the minister.

I want to take advantage of the one minute left to commend and congratulate the member for Middlesex. I think she has done an excellent job, not only in committee but in defending the people of London-Middlesex, and by introducing a proposal which was turned down by her colleague the Minister of Municipal Affairs. I think she deserves a lot of credit for standing up for what she believes in, and that's a fair deal, not only for the people of London but the people of the county. I think this annexation will go down in history as the worst annexation—maybe I should take that back—expropriation, as I mentioned a little earlier; I call it "expropriation."

They tried to buy not only votes, but they tried to buy some of the farmers who were really upset because they were losing their farms, and they will not succeed because the people of London-Middlesex will remember the actions of this government.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further questions or comments?

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I too would like to congratulate the member for Brant-Haldimand for an excellent presentation on Bill 75, and I want to say that if anybody in this House knows what he's talking about when it comes to Bill 75, it's the member for Brant-Haldimand.

He worked in that area as a staff member. He worked at the political level. He was involved right from the beginning of negotiations, right now to the final conclusion. That's why I must say that I was deeply offended when the member for Brant-Haldimand, when he was still sitting two seats away from me, got up to speak on second readinghe had just made his introductory remarks and I don't think had even gotten into the first five minutes of his speech—and the London Free Press carried the headline that the Liberals were filibustering Bill 75. Then we read that the accusation was made by the government House leader. This was after, I think, they had passed the legislation limiting our speeches to 30 minutes. If anybody in this House had something concrete to offer, had some in-depth knowledge to give to that bill, it was the member for Brant-Haldimand.

I would like to again congratulate him on giving us his expertise, on giving us some input into the experience he has had in negotiating this deal and in knowing it right from scratch, down to the present, being involved every step of the way. Had the government listened to some of his suggestions more closely, it probably would have avoided some of the negative ramifications that it is experiencing as a result of this bill.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant for questions or comments. Seeing none, the honourable member for Brant-Haldimand has two minutes in response. No response. Further debate?

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): I would like to sincerely thank the members for Ottawa East and Brampton South for introducing me this afternoon, because I will be speaking on behalf of my constituents, which I was elected to do, just as the member for Middlesex has done, and I can appreciate her point of view.

The city of London views annexation as the key issue facing both London and Middlesex. There were municipal elections held about a year ago now and the mayor who was elected was voted in clearly on the issue of annexation.

I should tell you that in the region of southwest Ontario, there is a need for planned urban growth to meet the economic, environmental and social wellbeing of not only the city, but of the London-Middlesex region. Over the period of time, I can tell you that many of us have had to sit back and listen to the concerns of many citizens, mainly from the county of Middlesex, because there were three things that I would have hoped would not have had to happen in the way they did, and I'm going to say them first and then I'm going to talk about why I think they did happen.

I did not expect that the PUC would have been abolished by arbitration. However, there has been an agreement, and all sides seem to be agreeable with the final solution.

I personally did not think for one minute that we would have been facing such a large annexation, and I think it's true that because of the size of this annexation, we're going to rely more than ever before on a very professional, responsible transition. So far I have to tell you that in speaking to the members of the transition team from all sides that they've been very pleased with the negotiations as they took place up until the end of last week.

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Most of the issues to do with employment, to do with the committees that are going to be struck, to do with the fine lines that have to be negotiated around small boundaries that affect individuals, have all been talked about and people are well on their way, I think in a very positive way, to solving the problems that have been raised by the citizens. But I will also say that one of the downsides, again, for me was the need to appoint an arbitrator in the first place.

I moved to London at the end of the 1960s, in 1969, and I moved into an area called Orchard Park that had been annexed in 1962. I very quickly, in 1973, became chairman of the Board of Education for the City of London, and I can tell you that in the 30 years since annexation, London has grown carefully. It has been planned. The school board hasn't been faced with undue costs. They have worked on the schools that were annexed to upgrade them over a 30-year period. Just this year, one of the major secondary schools, Oakridge Secondary School, will in fact be receiving for the first time some major alterations.

So it hasn't been a city that could be accused of a very quick, uncontrolled growth. It has been a city that has been controlled, that boasts its fair tax rates. People like to live there, and I think they will love to live there in the future.

With all due respect, the real issue before us today is the question of urbanization, and that means orderly urban growth. I think that with this annexation, although the disappointments I have mentioned are not going to be easy to overcome, they can only be overcome in the days and weeks and months ahead. That's going to take the elected representatives of both the town of Westminster, through a by-election, and the city council of London working very closely with the members of Middlesex to make sure that everything moves forward in a planned way.

We have never seen an annexation that hasn't been objected to. I was reading the debates in the House for the annexation in 1962. I have to tell you that the member of the day, who was the Minister of Agriculture of the day, Bill Stewart, faced the same challenges that the member for Middlesex, Mrs Mathyssen, faced, and he faced them with the same kind of grace and dignity. I have to say he became a very big part of the process after the annexation and earned the right to be elected again because of his ongoing interest.

I will say that he didn't have to face the issue of the school boards, because the school boundaries were a part of the annexation. There was no discussion as to where they would be. They became the same boundaries as the land that was annexed. I would urge the negotiators, the

local negotiators, if they don't want an arbitrator again, to for heaven's sake get on with it and negotiate locally.

But I would urge, on behalf of employees and parents and school board trustees, that these be open, honest negotiations. London has a precedent for these kinds of negotiations with the Robarts school and again with the provincial school out at the Children's Psychiatric Research Institute, CPRI, so it isn't that London, Middlesex and the London-Middlesex Separate School Board haven't had a great deal of expertise. I hope they will look back to the other negotiations, where they clearly set out the areas of dispute with the employees as well as the trustees for public scrutiny.

There is a wide range of sensitive issues involved in this land use, but I do think that this inclusive bill that actually dictates the committees that are to be struck will solve, I hope, the problems faced when we look at land use, environmental controls, social planning. All of these issues must be addressed, and I think there were amendments made and suggestions made at the public hearings that we had in London in the fall that have been addressed with this legislation.

Some of the amendments to the initial arbitrator's report have to be as a result of those public hearings when the minister did appear in London and listened very carefully. What we were afraid of was a shortsighted, piecemeal solution. It's simply not adequate for London and Middlesex or southwestern Ontario, nor is it adequate for any other jurisdiction.

We firmly stand behind Bill 75 for the city of London, because it does propose what we wanted, which was a one-tier government system responsible for a large urban area, for several reasons, including a reduced cost in delivery of service and duplication often found in two-tier systems. I know that we will be proud to have that kind of government, because other large governments, Metropolitan Toronto and regional governments, have failed. This will not be a regional government; it will be a local government.

Bill 75 accomplishes a broad spectrum of answers to serious concerns that we've been facing over the last decade. It places lands having the greatest potential for industrial development, lands along the Highway 401, 402 and 100 corridors as well as the London airport area under the city's control, thereby improving viability of servicing for these areas and taking full advantage of the city's economic development services and programs. We believe London is in the best position to provide services efficiently and reap the benefit of economies of scale necessary in this competitive marketplace.

In recent months, and I think this is very important for all members of the House to note, the positive impact of Bill 75, the fact that the government said it would move forward with it, has already come to the forefront. Although there are negatives, and I've spoken strongly about them, I think we have to understand that in today's world we are looking for investment in our municipalities and we're looking for jobs for our people.

Dimona Aircraft of Austria has purchased a vacant manufacturing facility and will begin the construction of light aircraft, hopefully within the year. This plant requires municipal water, sewers and services to become operational,

services that only the city has the wherewithal to provide. It was a key element in them choosing to come to Ontario and Canada as opposed to going somewhere else.

Without the boundary adjustment, this facility and the potential for literally hundreds of jobs and millions of dollars in investment would have been lost not only by London but by our entire region and Ontario. It is the confidence of investors like Dimona that built this province. We simply cannot lose sight of that in an economy that is facing unprecedented challenges from a global market.

I think after today we will move on in a positive manner. I know that the member for Middlesex talked about the costs and they are of significant concern. The last numbers that we got from the city of London were 2% to 3% increase maximum, with that going back with no cost over the next decade.

Only with the support of our communities, with the support of Middlesex county, with the support of all the committees and the city council working together can we continue to be a vibrant city. Although many of our people are without jobs and we're suffering the same losses as other areas during this tremendous time of challenge, I would hope that the real reason for this is planned growth and an economic future for yet another part of Ontario that over the last 10 years quite frankly has been stifled.

It is my responsibility to stand here today and voice my opinion on behalf of the citizens I represent. I think I have done that over the years and there would not be a change in that today. However, I do understand some of the objections from some of my rural colleagues. I guess my great hope is that they get as involved as we try to be in our community. I have to say with regard to some of the Liberals who have spoken, they had an opportunity to fix this three years ago, even four years ago, and they didn't do it.

Right now, I would plead with all the municipalities that are looking at annexation processes to get their work done locally with the people who were elected to make decisions.

Thank you for the opportunity to put my remarks on the record this afternoon.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Eddy: I of course listened with interest to the remarks of the member for London North, representing the city of London. It's true that it's a large, single-tier urban government which has many advantages for servicing and indeed I guess that's really the problem. It's a large urban government that is now going to have some 64,000 acres or somewhat less than that that is rural land to govern.

The member stated that it was the only municipality that could provide the services, but I'd like to point out to you that the towns of Strathroy, Westminster and Parkhill, the villages of Lucan, Ailsa Craig and Glencoe all have sanitary sewer systems and municipal water supplies and they're much smaller than the city of London. I'd like to point out that indeed the water that's used by the citizens of the city of London is not city water; it's provided by a provincial pipeline that comes from Lake Huron. Everybody along the way that uses it pays a share of the pipeline the same as the citizens of the city of London.

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Indeed, there are several townships that have municipal water supply. The most northerly township, McGillivray, has almost as many miles of water pipeline in the municipality as it does roads. What does that tell you about a rural municipality and rural government? Rural governments can also face the problems and meet the servicing requirements and do the proper thing and there are many examples in this province. So it is a provincial pipeline. Everybody pays its share and, yes, the city gets it and sometimes areas beyond the city. But most municipalities get it before it ever gets to the city of London, so certainly the city has had a unique opportunity in that regard.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I don't profess to be any expert on this matter of the London annexation, though I have certainly had an opportunity to hear from a number of people in that part of Ontario. I know the member for London North is obviously very familiar with this matter, particularly how it will affect her urban municipality.

In looking at the bill and in listening to a number of the submissions one of the aspects of this whole policy that would certainly attract my attention if I were a taxpayer, a ratepayer, in the city of London is what the downstream consequences in terms of tax increases are going to be, because there is no question this is a very significant annexation. There will be real and growing pressure in the annexed area for city services at city prices.

I can say this, whether from the current New Democratic government or any successor Liberal or Tory government, there is not going to be and no one should expect there to be very much money coming from Queen's Park to assist the city of London in paying for the expansion of high-cost services into the annexed area. If I were a resident of the city of London, if I were on London city council, I would want to know more than I know now about who is going to pay the bill three, five, eight and ten years from now, because I can tell you this, it will not be the provincial government.

We are broke today and it is likely that we are going to be even more broke three and five years from now. So we celebrate a great annexation in Bill 75, but for the tax-payers of the city of London this bill is going to occasion significant tax increases and cost pressures that I don't think we fully understand at this point.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for London North has two minutes in response.

Mrs Cunningham: Just in response to the member for Brant-Haldimand and his remarks about water, if it was water that we were concerned about, I can assure you that we wouldn't be looking at an annexation. But it's planned urban growth with respect for environmental services, education services and social services as well, obviously, as sewers. There's no doubt in my mind that if we were just looking at water, he's quite right, we would not be looking at annexation because that would be the wrong reason to annex a large piece of property.

I was convinced by the member for Renfrew North that he's quite right, he doesn't know very much about this annexation. I appreciate his standing in the House to say that today because not too many people have got that kind of courage. But I will say—

Mr Elston: Oh.

Mrs Cunningham: Well, he's being fair. I'm not being facetious. He's being fair. This is a very difficult issue. But I did take the time last week to take a look at the financial projections on behalf of the joint committee that's looking at this transition, and the best numbers they had was a 2% to 3% increase. These are the same arguments that were made 30 years ago and London enjoys a very fair and modest tax rate for the services that they provide because they have had a very well managed municipality. I see no reason for us not to continue in that regard and quite frankly, because of the remarks from the member for Renfrew North, I think that's a challenge to us to make sure that we don't.

Therefore, all I can say is that these kind of things only work when people work together. Even some of the people who were against it are down there working on side now to make this transition smooth and to make the future management of this enlarged city one that we can be proud of, as we have been in the past.

**The Acting Speaker:** Further debate on third reading, Bill 75.

Mr Dennis Drainville (Victoria-Haliburton): It gives me great pleasure indeed to follow in the footsteps of the honourable member for Middlesex who has, I believe, outlined her point of view so well today and has given us an insight into some of the complexities of this very difficult bill. I rise today to look at three issues and I'm going to do that in about five minutes.

Firstly, in terms of process, one thing that I think is absolutely essential for us as legislators, as we attempt to respond to the needs that are expressed to us on the part of various communities throughout the province, is the importance of government to be listening and responding to people.

I believe that in this Bill 75 the process has not been a good one. In fact I believe I would even go so far as to say philosophically, in terms of legislation and how we prepare legislation, that if there is bad process, it will result in bad legislation, and I think that is an indication that we have in the bill we have before us today.

I read for a moment from the Hansard from the committee that was looking at this particular bill, Bill 75. Michael Troughton, a professor from the department of geography, University of Western Ontario said:

"May I add that I personally believe that the arbitration process came to be a flawed one. I sat through most of the hearings. I heard may of the people who made presentations. In my opinion, the recommendations of the arbitrator, as reflected in Bill 75, in no way reflect the majority opinion which was sought during those hearings. So there is to me a tremendous discrepancy between the stated purpose of the arbitration hearings, to get public opinion and input, and the results that came out at the end."

This is often the case in government, period, but more to the point here in terms of Bill 75, we have, I believe, a bill that is flawed and essentially flawed in many different ways. Not to belabour that point, I move very quickly on to the document that was sent to I think all the members from the county of Middlesex on the impact of the annexation on the county. For instance, and I think this bears reading into the record, "The annexation of the amount of land recommended by John Brant will result in Middlesex county losing 35% of its property tax base and 20% of its population."

We go on to read that:

"Middlesex county will still be expected to deliver quality health services, despite the reduction in the county's tax base. The London-Middlesex health board will also be abolished. Further, Middlesex county will lose 64,000 acres of agricultural land. Middlesex county is consistently one of the top three counties in all of Canada in terms of the value of agricultural assets, \$1.3 billion, and agricultural output, \$350 million."

I would like to just say in that regard, this is precisely the point that so concerns me as a member of a rural riding. I believe that the flaws in this bill are significant flaws, that with all the protestations swept aside for a moment, there is no committee that can be set up which is going to ensure that agricultural land is protected adequately. To put that into the hands of a municipality is like putting a lamb in with a lion. We know, in terms of the holy scriptures, that that is something that may happen at the denouement of the age, but I want to say, it is not something that I would recommend at the present time.

So I want to say that this is a bill which is flawed. It is a bill that I personally will be voting against, and I am sure that the member for Middlesex has persuasively said to the members of this House that we must continue to ensure that if we're going to put forth bills that have a significant effect on agricultural land we need to ensure that those bills reflect to the greatest degree possible the needs and aspirations of the agricultural communities.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? 1750

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I compliment the member and join those who believe in preserving agricultural land in our province. For a number of years I have been one who has been in this Legislature to help protect agricultural land from being encroached upon by development. Here's a good example where we have an opportunity to save some agricultural land, very good, productive agricultural land, and we have, of all governments, an NDP government allowing it to be gobbled up by an urban municipality.

I've sat on the stage with the member for Welland-Thorold on many occasions, the member for St Catharines-Brock, the member for Lincoln, the member for Niagara Falls, even the member for what used to be Erie, Niagara South now, where we've talked about preserving agricultural land. I've always known these people to be strong defenders of that, so I'm anticipating that each one of us from the Niagara Peninsula will likely be voting against

this particular bill which enables a large city to gobble up top-notch agricultural land, class 1 agricultural land.

One of the things I think people were attracted to with the New Democratic Party, even when it didn't win but got a significant portion of the vote, was the stand of the New Democratic Party on preserving agricultural land. I happen to have been attracted by it over the years, not enough to tow me into the party but certainly to pass compliments to them and to work in conjunction with NDP members when in opposition, particularly the former member for Welland-Thorold—and the present member has the same views—in trying to preserve agricultural land. We've had many a discussion in this House on that, which is why I cannot believe that this government would now be entertaining a bill which would allow good agricultural land to be gobbled up. It's a resource that we must preserve for the future. It's a resource that we must preserve not only for ourselves but for people around the world. I implore members to vote against this bill.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? The member for Renfrew North.

Mr Conway: I just want to say a couple of things, because this bill is not one that I'm going to have an opportunity to speak to. There has to be an annexation in London; I don't think there can be any question about that. It's been observed earlier that previous governments struggled with that and didn't come to any conclusion. I know something of the history of that, and I won't bore or embarrass people as to why that was the case, but it's certainly my view that there has to be an annexation.

The member for Victoria-Haliburton is quite right: What we've got here is a very dramatic incursion of the city of London into the county of Middlesex. I defy anybody who knows anything about that county to tell me what kind of viability is left when Bill 75 passes. I mean, in my area, if you know anything about the old county of Carleton, after the urbanization that has developed around Ottawa in the last 25 or 30 years what is left now of the old agricultural county of Carleton is, I suspect, what we will have left in the old county of Middlesex. I can imagine, though I don't live in the area, some alternatives, but I personally do not believe that there will be very much integrity in terms of an organizational unit to the county of Middlesex once the city of London is expanded pursuant to Bill 75.

I just can't believe that there's any thoughtful person inside the Legislature, inside the government, inside the London-Middlesex community who imagines that when you expand the city of London, as we will with this bill, there is going to be much of Middlesex left. I say again, I'm from Missouri: I am very sceptical. I hope the member from London is right. I hope there are very modest and moderate tax increases, but I say again, my guess is that on the basis of past experience the taxpayers in London are in for some very stiff increases down the road.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the member for Victoria-Haliburton has two minutes in response.

Mr Drainville: I have no further comments to make.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr David Winninger (London South): I too would like to commend the member for Middlesex for the fortitude and unflagging determination with which she has represented the interests of her constituents in her riding.

It's no secret that London is one of the fastest-growing areas in Ontario, if not in Canada. I think it's an attractive place for investment, and earlier this year it was found to have the lowest unemployment rate of any municipality in all of Ontario and the third-lowest unemployment rate in all of Canada.

It's a well-managed city. As the member for London North just observed, it was recently found by the Financial Post to be the best-managed city in Canada in terms of delivering services for tax revenues collected.

Growth is certainly required for London's economic prosperity, but at the same time, that economic growth has to be balanced with sound social planning and with environmental and agricultural protection. It has to be managed growth. The official plan must highlight this province's commitment to compact development, to residential intensification and protection for environmentally sensitive areas and valuable farm land by reducing urban sprawl. As one of the presenters noted, Carol Small from Middlesex county, I believe, "A country without farms is a country without a future."

We must have comprehensive planning to prevent piecemeal development we have been all too guilty of in the past, and that not only applies to London but to some extent the surrounding area.

As the city prepares its official plan, due by 1996, for the expanded area, the regulations must spell out mechanisms for mandatory public and provincial participation, providing for meaningful involvement by a wide variety of local area interest groups and consultation with our provincial ministries.

For example, my friend Sandy Levin of the Thames Region Ecological Association and others involved with TREA are working with the transition team, headed by Grant Hopcroft, a member of our board of control, to ensure that environmentally sensitive areas are not only identified and inventoried but are also protected.

Social activists, like my friends Charles McNeil, Susan Eagle and Gina Barber of the London Social Planning Council, are working actively with the transition team to ensure that there are adequate components of social planning in place for the annexed area, and they include affordable housing, social services, child care, health services, fire and police protection, education, including adult education and retraining, transportation, including Paratransit, recreation areas, community meeting centres, arts and cultural programs and multicultural services. These all must be addressed in visionary planning for London's long-term future.

We must work to ensure that no one loses his or her job as a result of the annexation or the change in the public utilities commission. We must protect seniority, pension rights and other benefits. A steering committee is working towards this protection, which can be granted under a minister's order. I was pleased that the hearings that were held last September in London and the public hearings held here at Queen's Park, extended as they were to include many of the deputations that wouldn't have been included had the hearings not been extended, resulted in a commitment to address my concerns and many of the concerns addressed by the presenters at the hearings around social, environmental and agricultural planning, including the establishment of the Rural Issues Advisory Committee.

#### 1800

I would have preferred that a local solution had been arrived at, but the planning needs of London and the surrounding area unfortunately can't wait another 40 years. But the solution must not be without provincial involvement to protect our concerns around planning—which I'm confident will be echoed by the Sewell commission, which reports next year—and not without a strong input from community interest groups.

London deserves not a quick short-term fix but a longterm visionary plan, and I'm confident that in working as a province with the municipality of London and surrounding townships and community groups that we can achieve that vision.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Conway: Boy, my friends in Middlesex should be so happy. It's so wonderful now that the member for London South has come with his beneficence to bring these poor souls out of the dark age or they would never prosper. To hear this submission is to imagine that these people in the county of Middlesex were really in some kind of, as I said earlier, dark age. I just find some of the suggestions in the honourable member's speech a little bit hard to take.

I heard the member for Middlesex make her argument, and she is obviously in a difficult position. I accept that there must be an annexation. I'm not quarrelling about that, but I'm telling you, I just find it a little hard to accept the notion that somehow this is the only measure of progress, that this is the only mechanism for orderly development in that area.

To give any urban municipality substantially more than it asked for is, in my experience, unprecedented. Bill 75 is going to be unprecedented inasmuch as it is going to set a very interesting example that I suspect a lot of other urban municipalities are going to want to copy. They're not going to want to go through the regular channel. Why would they? Why would they, when they can now hope that they will get what London has received in Bill 75?

I simply want to make the point on behalf of the good people of Middlesex that I do not believe they were in as underdeveloped a condition as some of the implication of the honourable member's submission would suggest.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments? Mr Eddy: I was not going to speak further on this matter, but, considering what's been said just a few minutes ago, I think it's necessary.

Planning has been mentioned. It appears that some of the speakers may not think there's any planning in Middlesex county, but every local municipality, every rural township save one, have official plans, have updated their official plans and they're into the planning situation. It's true that there are some severances in rural areas, but around the city there's been a development freeze for some three years with no development and no services.

In addition, the county has an official plan. I just say that the county waited a few years, till the provincial government allowed counties to become designated municipalities, to have an official plan. There are social amenities out there. It's not a wasteland, I assure you. There are multicultural centres, there are museums, there are small art galleries throughout the county in some of the urban areas.

The other thing I must speak to is the point that was made that the city could not wait another 40 years; I think it was 40 years. The city did not need to wait another 40 years. I wanted to point out that the honourable minister had an alternative. Instead of one arbitrator, a city arbitrator who knew very little about country government—in fact, I was asked, "How does the county impose its will on the local municipalities?" which it doesn't—he could have appointed a three-person board of arbitration, one representing the county, one the city, one the province, in the same time frame; or he could have said to the municipal leaders, "I will give you so many weeks to come to a solution, or I will appoint it." There were all kinds of alternatives that could have been used.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments? The member for London South has two minutes in response.

**Mr Winninger:** I won't require two minutes, because I haven't heard any of the members opposite disagree with my observations that community growth has to be balanced with sound planning.

I, unlike the member for Renfrew North, do not have a crystal ball with which to divine the future, but I sincerely hope that other communities across Ontario are more successful in reaching a local solution and an effective solution than my own area has been.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on third reading of Bill 75? Is there no further debate? Seeing none, Mr Cooke has moved third reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting annexations to the City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour, please say "aye." All those opposed, please say "nay." In my opinion, the ayes have it. Call in the members; a 30-minute bell.

Interjection: A 10-minute bell.

The Acting Speaker: Do we have unanimous agreement? Agreed. It will be a 10-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1808 to 1818.

The Acting Speaker: All those in favour of third reading of Bill 75 will please rise one at a time to be recognized by the Clerk.

#### Ayes

Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Cunningham, Dadamo, Duignan, Farnan, Fergu-

son, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Klopp, Lankin, Laughren, Mackenzie, MacKinnon, Malkowski, Mammoliti;

Marchese, Marland, Martel, Martin, Mills, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rae, Rizzo, Runciman, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Tilson, Turnbull, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

The Acting Speaker: All those opposed will please rise one at a time to be recognized by the Clerk.

#### Nays

Arnott, Bradley, Callahan, Caplan, Conway, Cousens, Curling, Drainville, Eddy, Elston, Henderson, Jordan, Mahoney, Mancini, Mathyssen, McClelland, McLean, Murdoch (Grey), O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Ruprecht, Sola, Sorbara, Stockwell, Wilson (Simcoe West).

The Acting Speaker: The ayes are 65, the nays are 27. I declare Bill 75 carried. I resolve that the bill do now pass and be entitled as in the motion.

Mr Elston: On a point of order, sir: It is getting close to the end of this session. I think it ought to be brought to the attention of the Speaker of the House that there is but yet one vacancy by way of retirement from this House. The riding of St George-St David has been vacant since September, and as a result the people of this province are going without representation. The Premier is here in this House and I would ask that he tell us when the by-election is going to be called.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. It is not a point of order.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): I'd like to call the 28th and the 36th order, with unanimous consent, at the same time.

**The Acting Speaker:** We had unanimous consent yesterday to proceed with item 28 and item 36.

#### PAY EQUITY AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'ÉQUITÉ SALARIALE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 102, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'équité salariale.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

# LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la fonction publique

et la Loi sur la négociation collective des employés de la Couronne.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Do we have opening remarks? We are into debate. The honourable member for Oakville South had the floor when the House was closed down. Do we have further debate on item 28 and item 36? Is the House now ready for the question? Agreed. One at a time.

Mr Mackenzie has moved second reading of Bill 102,

An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act.

Is it the pleasure of the House that Mr Mackenzie's second reading of Bill 102 pass? Agreed? No.

All those in favour please say "aye."

All those opposed please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

I declare Mr Mackenzie's motion carried.

Shall the bill be ordered for third reading? Agreed?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker, the standing committee on justice.

The Acting Speaker: The bill will be going to the standing committee on administration of justice.

Mr Silipo has moved second reading of Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act.

Is it the pleasure of the House that Mr Silipo's bill carry?

All those in favour please say "aye."

All those opposed please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it.

Call in the members. A 30-minute bell.

We have a request. Do we have unanimous consent for a 10-minute bell?

We now have a request for a five-minute bell. Do we have unanimous consent? Agreed. A five-minute bell.

The division bells rang from 1827 to 1832.

The Acting Speaker: Could all members please take their seats. Please take your seats. We are now moving to item 36. All those in favour of Mr Silipo's Bill 169 will please rise one at time and be identified by the Clerk.

#### Ayes

Abel, Akande, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Bradley, Buchanan, Caplan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Conway, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Curling, Dadamo, Duignan, Eddy, Elston, Farnan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Henderson, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, MacKinnon, Mackenzie, Mahoney, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Mancini, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mathyssen, Mills,

Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, O'Neil (Quinte), Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Pilkey, Poole, Pouliot, Rae, Rizzo, Ruprecht, Silipo, Sola, Sorbara, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Waters, Wessenger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Frontenac-Addington), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. All those opposed to Mr Silipo's second reading of Bill 169 please rise to be identified by the Clerk.

#### Nays

Arnott, Callahan, Cousens, Cunningham, Eves, Harnick, Jordan, Marland, McLean, Runciman, Sterling, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West).

**The Acting Speaker:** The ayes are 80, the nays are 15. I declare the motion carried.

Shall the bill be ordered for third reading? No.

Hon Mr Cooke: Standing committee on justice.

The Acting Speaker: The bill will be going to the standing committee on administration of justice.

#### CONCURRENCE IN SUPPLY

Resuming the adjourned debate on concurrence in supply for the following ministries:

Ministry of Agriculture and Food

Ministry of Health

Ministry of Education

Ministry of Housing

Ministry of Transportation

Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology

Ministry of Community and Social Services

Ministry of the Environment

Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations

Ministry of Natural Resources.

Ministry of the Solicitor General

Ministry of Tourism and Recreation.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Point of order.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): On a point of order, the honourable member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, in the standing orders there is a provision which deals with decorum in the House. I felt that maybe at this point if I offered the best wishes of the season to the members of the other caucuses from the Liberal caucus's representatives, perhaps that would help the decorum of this House. May I wish to all the best and most prosperous aspects of this holiday season.

The Acting Speaker: As the member for Bruce knows, it was not a point of order, but it's a very timely point of the season.

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): Point of information.

**The Acting Speaker:** To the honourable member for Parry Sound, on a point of information.

Mr Eves: On behalf of our caucus—

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Including Stockwell?

Mr Eves: Even including the member for Etobicoke West. I know you find this hard to believe, Mr Speaker, but everybody in our caucus would like to extend to not only the public but each and every single member of the Legislature nothing but the best of the season and a very happy, healthy new year.

The Acting Speaker: I see the Premier. The Premier is recognized by the Chair.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I represent the spirit of Christmas future. Let me express, on behalf of our caucus—I've had a chance, I think, to say hello to most of the people

tonight—to say how much we want to wish everyone a very happy holiday season, time to spend with your families and time to be able to reflect on the year that has passed, marvellous—mirabilis—as it has been, and also to reflect a bit on the future and say to members of my own group that we still have some work to do tonight and we will see the session through, but to wish the very best and also to say to the member for St Catharines how much I'm looking forward to listening to what he has to say.

The Acting Speaker: Now we move back to the business at hand. The honourable member for Algoma-Manitoulin had the floor when we last debated concurrences. We continue in the rotation.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I'd like to participate in the debate on concurrence in supply for the ministries. Specifically, I'm interested in the Ministry of the Environment and how some of the policies of the Ministry of the Environment are affecting my riding of Dufferin-Peel.

I'd first like to make a few general comments. Many of the comments that I make I'm sure affect all of us in all of our ridings.

The transfer payment issue, of course, has given us all great concern on how it's going to affect us in all of these different ministries that are before us, how it's going to affect the municipalities, the school boards, the hospitals, the colleges and the universities, all of these people.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Order, please. The honourable member for Dufferin-Peel has the floor. Could I ask those members who are presently in the discussion mode to please remove that discussion from the House and respect the honourable member for Dufferin-Peel in his remarks.

Mr Tilson: I've been indicating that the municipalities, the school boards, the hospitals, the colleges and the universities, all of these groups are absolutely incensed, not only in my riding but in all ridings around this province on the government's breach of promise that was made to provide the transfer payment increase of 1%, 2% and 2%. That has been changed, of course, now that there will be 2% next year and minus 2% the next year.

I must say that certainly the three school boards that I have in my riding—the school board for the county of Dufferin, the separate school board for Dufferin-Peel and of course the school board for Peel, all of these municipalities—are no different than many of the municipalities around this province that are trying to plan ahead on fiscal policy. They are gravely concerned as to where they're going on their policies because of this breach of promise.

There's no question that the fallout there will be with respect to property tax hikes, program cuts, longer hospital waiting lists, bed closures and loss of possible hospital jobs are giving people in my riding of Dufferin-Peel grave concern

The government of course has scrapped the \$241-million grants program for college and university students. Tuition for our young people who are attending universities has been hiked by 7%, and this was despite a party policy to

eliminate tuition. We recall their promises during the election to eliminate tuition. Student groups and many students in my riding are simply saying that because of the policy of this government, post-secondary education will simply become too expensive and that education will become something for the rich and that the average person in this province, who is perfectly capable of attending university, is going to have grave concern in attending our universities.

The whole subject of job losses and the fiscal policies of this government, I submit, certainly the issue of the recession and policies of other governments within and without this country, have caused concerns, but there's no doubt that when we look at the various bills that have been put forward in this House there is very little to encourage investment, not only in my riding of Dufferin-Peel but in other ridings throughout this province, specifically because of the pro-union extremist philosophy which is not helping the encouragement of investment and the creation of jobs in this province.

I emphasize that jobs and educational quality are both threatened by this policy. All school boards are saying this and all school boards are concerned. If the Treasurer continues with this process of cutbacks in education funding, then boards will obviously have no choice but to reduce school programs, and that in turn affects the creation of jobs, the loss of jobs and the quality of education in this province, which we've always been proud to boast of around the world, as to the quality of education in this province. It gives the people of Dufferin-Peel grave concerns with that issue.

I must make a brief comment. This appears to be the last day of this House, although I've learned in my short experience never to rule anything out. It appears that we're going to end this session this evening and I must say I have been waiting for a decision on the subject of Sunday shopping.

I know this is very difficult for many members in this House, on all sides, and there appears to be wide-open Sunday shopping in this province, notwithstanding the fact that the bill has never been voted on. The bill that was introduced by the government has never been voted on. We're under the old law, so technically all the businesses that are operating in this province on Sundays are breaching the law, and of course that law is not being enforced. I don't know what the government intends to do with Sunday shopping, whether it intends to just let things go and perhaps deal with it next March or April or May or June or just forget about it, because we in effect have Sunday shopping in this province and have never had an opportunity to properly debate it.

I have grave concerns on the lack of responsibility of this government. Whether you're for or against it, we've never had an opportunity in this House to debate that issue. I think the government has breached its obligation to the people of this province, again whether you're for or against the issue.

I will say that I believe there are probably as many people in my riding who are for Sunday shopping as against Sunday shopping, but the fact of the matter is, that bill is a very important bill to many of the people in this province. That law is a very important law to the people of this province and it's a major departure from where the philosophy of this province has gone.

There are many workers who have approached me in my riding and have said they are being forced to work on Sundays. I know what the government says, "Oh, well, we're going to have a law that's going to protect those people," but the fact of the matter is we're here on the last day of this session and that issue has never been disposed of. I must say it gives me grave concerns, notwithstanding the hundreds and hundreds of petitions that have been filed in this House objecting to the whole philosophy of Sunday shopping. Those have been presented in this House from many ridings and from many members on both sides of this House.

The subject of auto insurance: We're proceeding into public hearings. It appears they're going to start on January 24 or 25—someone could correct me, but I think it's January 24 or 25 and I have grave concerns on that subject. We've spoken on that and I won't spend anything further other than the fact that if any members of the public wish to appear before that committee, they should immediately contact the clerk of the committee and indicate their willingness to appear and make their submissions to the committee.

I have grave concerns about the whole philosophy of this government on gambling casinos, the implementation of the pilot project in Windsor. I can't for the life of me, listening to the philosophy of the New Democratic Party at its conventions, listening to members in this House, reading Hansards on the whole subject of gambling, on the whole subject of how they were opposed to lotteries—and now we're starting a project on casino gambling in the province of Ontario without any impact studies.

#### 1850

I represent a semi-rural agricultural community in Dufferin-Peel. Many of the people in my riding rely on the horse racing business, the agriculture that is required for supporting the horse racing industry, whether it be the feed people or the farms that care for the animals, the tack people and all the various industries that are connected to the horse racing industry. We have a track in Orangeville. I hope my prediction is wrong, but if gambling casinos develop, as it appears this government has indicated that it intends to do, I have grave concerns about what effect it's going to have on the horse racing business in the town of Orangeville and all the industry that surrounds it.

This government appears to be going willy-nilly, without any conceived plan. They've got some sort of project team wandering around Windsor trying to determine which direction they're going to go on gambling casinos. Are they going to get into a Teranet joint venture with some large corporation, from Atlantic City or Las Vegas or one of those people, to develop a casino? We hear of possible casinos across the river in Detroit and whether that will affect the gambling business in Windsor. The whole concept just doesn't make any sense.

The minister herself has stood up and said: "We're going to have this pilot project and we'll see how it goes. We'll put something forward and we'll study it." Well,

there have been no studies to date. This has already cost the province of Ontario the \$2.5 million the Treasurer has put towards this project, and that's before a shovel has even been put in the ground. We have no figures, we don't know what it's going to cost, we don't know the impact it's going to have on charities, we don't know the impact it's going to have on the horse racing industry, on the agricultural industry.

I do hope that between now and next March the government has second thoughts on the implementation of its gambling casino policy. I know that—I shouldn't say I know. I cannot believe that the caucus of the New Democratic Party isn't gravely split on this issue of gambling casinos in the province of Ontario, and I hope that those who are opposed to it continue to work within your caucus and persuade the Treasurer and the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations to change their minds or at least slow down that whole issue until we can see where we're going.

I wish to spend the next 15 minutes, which is all the time I hope to address the House, on the issue of the environment and where the Ministry of the Environment is going with, unbelievably, millions of dollars that are being spent on the issue of disposing of our waste.

Bill 143: We spent a lot of time in this House in debate, which was eventually closed down through closure. We spent much time on hearings, although at that time we didn't know the sites, we didn't know the 50-odd sites spread around this province. I can assure you, with that and the dictatorial powers Bill 143 gives the Minister of the Environment, there would have been much more objection and much more opposition to Bill 143, because now the people of Ontario realize the unbelievable powers the Minister of the Environment has in that subject. They are worried not only for environmental reasons but for all kinds of others reasons.

The minister refuses to look at the whole subject of incineration. I'm not saying whether incineration is good or whether it's bad. I will say that it is inconceivable that this province will not look at that subject. There is an incinerator in Brampton, and the emissions coming from that incinerator are less than the emissions coming from the traffic around that incinerator.

I know that the Minister of the Environment has opposed the whole incineration process since she was a municipal councillor in Etobicoke or wherever she came from. I hear the stories that that's how she got into politics, to fight an incinerator that was being developed in her ward, or her riding, whatever it was at that time.

Incinerators have changed unbelievably since then. I have emphasized in this House that the incinerators that are being put forward in Europe, Japan and the United States appear to be working. Again, I emphasize that the very least we should do is look at that subject.

The northern half of my riding is the county of Dufferin, of which the main municipality is the town of Orangeville. The town of Orangeville does not have a landfill site and hasn't had one since the early 1970s. For a time, it was disposing of its waste in Keele Valley, until I guess Keele Valley suddenly realized we were putting our waste down there and cut us off. Then we've gone to

different places such as Innisfil and places like that. Currently, the town of Orangeville is shipping its garbage to the state of Michigan.

I'm a member of the GTA group that the Minister of the Environment speaks of. I represent the northern half of the region of Peel and I represent the county of Dufferin. Her philosophy is that each area must get rid of its own garbage, the GTA must get rid of its own garbage, yet when you just step over the border from the town of Caledon into the town of Orangeville, which is literally a step, there is a municipality which, under the guidance and direction of the Minister of the Environment, is shipping waste to the state of Michigan. That has been going on for some time, and it appears it will go on, because there's no other place to put the waste. The county of Dufferin is in the process of finding a landfill site. That's a very lengthy process, as well it should be, because we need to be concerned about where we're going to place our waste.

The town of Caledon originally had 15 of the 21 sites that were chosen for the region of Peel. That now has been short-listed in the region of Peel to five landfill sites, two of which are in the town of Caledon. I would like very briefly to refer to those two sites. One site is called C-48. It is between the 3rd Line and the 4th Line on the south side of the 5th Sideroad, which is Healey Road. This area is just north of Bolton, which is at the southern tip of my riding of the town of Caledon.

The other site, which is called C-34b, is on the 5th Line of Albion, just south of King Street. Both of these sites are essentially in the old township of Albion. This Bolton-South Albion community is a closely integrated and highly populated area of approximately 15,000 people. When combined with Toronto Gore to the immediate south, it has over 18,000 people.

If one of these sites is chosen, which the minister has given projections of being chosen possibly in the next number of years, it's estimated that the combined population in this area, before the site opens, will be over 24,000 people. Most of this area, including Bolton, is serviced by wells. Both of these sites are located in or near the middle of the area and the population centres. One of these sites, by itself, essentially covers one half of the land area of Bolton.

#### 1900

It's not wanted, and it's not a NIMBY attitude. We're looking at the whole philosophy of a rural community in this area that has been a agricultural community since the 1800s and perhaps earlier.

Both sites have active farms. People by the name of Piercey own one farm, C-48. C-34 is owned by two people by the names of Jefferson and Wilson.

Both sites are within the flight paths of Pearson International and Bolton heliport, so there's a grave concern with the issue of birds that are attracted to landfill sites and the safety of airplanes flying into Pearson International Airport and the Bolton heliport. I believe the federal Department of Transport, has regulations prohibiting—I shouldn't say "prohibiting"; not regulations, but rules. They're not a violation, but certainly principles have been set forward by the federal ministry suggesting that landfill

sites should not be constructed within a certain radius of a heliport or airport, and both of these sites are within those regulations. It's most inappropriate, certainly as far as the federal regulations are concerned.

C-34 has a permanent stream located on site and is a wetland, has a habitat for wildlife. C-48 is beside the west branch of the Humber River and has much wildlife in the ravine. I would encourage members of this House, particularly those of you who are interested in the environment, to drive through these areas.

Estate lots have been built. There are beautiful homes in this area. Some of them haven't even been finished. I'm talking about substantial, large homes. I don't know where in the world the government is going to get the funds to expropriate these homes. That's not including the beautiful homes that are to the edge of them that won't qualify for expropriation. They're going to be in the path of the 700 trucks a day that are going to be coming from south Peel to the town of Caledon to dispose of their waste in our beautiful community.

It's predicted with respect to C-34 that significant groundwater drainage would be required. C-48 has no sanitary sewer system in the immediate area. I don't know who's going to pay for all of this. I suspect this government will say that the people of the town of Caledon are going to have to pay for it, that the property taxpayers are going to have to pay for it. They'll say, "We don't have any money to do it; you'll have to do it."

And not only that: The provincial government will say that either it or the IWA—which I believe will become the PWA, the permanent waste authority—will retain the tippage fees. Anyone who dreams that the region of Peel is going to get the tippage fees is simply in a dream world, because it's just on the line, and either the province of Ontario or the IWA will be receiving the tippage fees.

Where's the money going to come from, the millions of dollars that have been spent? Do you know that in a search for a dump in Caledon \$8 million had been spent by the taxpayers of the town of Caledon before this terrible group of people got into office? All that money, all that research has simply been thrown away. It's not being used; it's simply being thrown away, \$8 million. It's inconceivable, the hours that have been spent by the staff of the municipality of the town of Caledon, all for naught, all because these people come up with the bright idea of putting garbage dumps in the middle of prime agricultural lands. It's inconceivable.

The haulage costs to the Albion sites over 20 years are going to be substantial. You're taking it to the furthest part of the region of Peel, particularly as all of Brampton's and one third of Mississauga's residential garbage is incinerated, and most of Peel's industrial area is south-central Brampton and south-central Mississauga. I've spoken of the very large number of homes that are on both these sites, and of course C-34 is very close to a prestige industrial area, which will be hard to develop near a major dump.

The whole concept of planning, if you're going to have a landfill policy, if you're going to ignore the issue of incineration, if you're going to ignore the issue of the long rail haul, notwithstanding that there are areas such as Kirkland Lake—and I want to emphasize again: Most members of this House know that I, together with a councillor in the town of Caledon, Mr Frost, attended Kirkland Lake and looked at the Adams mine site and talked to the councils in this area, and they want it, they want the government to at least look at it and do environmental studies to see if it's possible.

You know why? Because they're concerned about the economy in Kirkland Lake. They're concerned that the unemployment in Kirkland Lake, which is now somewhere between 40% and 45%, is going to increase. They want to be certain, of course, that if a landfill site were put in the Adams mine it would be safe. That's all they're asking the ministry to do, to look at it. But this government won't even look at it, notwithstanding the fact that an arrangement had been made with Metro and the Kirkland Lake area to ship the garbage there. They simply canned that deal and said, "Sorry, GTA must get rid of its own garbage," notwithstanding the fact that people in my riding, in the town of Orangeville, are sending their garbage to Michigan. It doesn't make sense.

It is felt by all of the residents in the Albion area that it will certainly destroy the community, a very stable community over the years and an agricultural community. It's a very close-knit area. It's going to affect, I will predict, the water of Bolton. I don't think the people in Bolton have realized that, and I think we're going to have to talk about it more.

The minister says, "Oh, well, the IWA is going to do all kinds of studies." But you know what they did? They took a picture of the area in the wintertime, and that's how they picked the sites initially. They have no idea about the effect these sites are going to have on the agricultural community, on the water and on the ecology of this area.

It is really quite tragic. If you drive through both these areas and look at these sites and listen to the people in these sites, it is tragic, because their lives are absolutely ruined. There are people in these areas who have been living there for 20 to 25 years, or longer, and have moved from the area, but they had wanted to retire in this area. Now they're going to live right next to a superdump. Why would you do that?

Why would you put a superdump in an area that contains agriculture? Why? Particularly when all our governments, whether it be the New Democratic Party, the Liberals or the Conservatives, have always emphasized the importance of agriculture, the food lands policy, to our community. We've all done that. It's as if that's just been thrown out the window.

There's no question that political rather than environmental concerns have taken hold of this government. This is the party that I've always thought was concerned with the environment. I must say, until I came to this place I didn't know the minister. I read her speeches. I listened to her on television and to her criticisms of the Liberal government. It's as if black has become white and white has become black; it's just opposite positions. It's inconceivable, when I hear this minister stand up in question period and answer very simple questions being put, not just for the region of Peel but all areas, on: Why are you choosing

this? Why won't you broaden your thoughts? Why won't you look at everything? Why are your decisions political and not economic?

1910

I'm going to close. I could spend considerable time expressing my concerns. I see the Premier's in the House. I can't resist standing here and reminding him, as he is reminded constantly, of how he stood in Whitevale and said, "There will be no dump in Whitevale."

Hon Mr Rae: Not without an environmental hearing.

Mr Tilson: Well, here we are. The short sites have now been chosen and guess where we now have sites? Guess where? He says, not without an environmental hearing. Well, we are going to have an environmental hearing under Bill 143. God knows what's going to happen there. Who knows what the minister's going to do there, under the powers she has? The Minister of the Environment, Mrs Grier, has set the ground rules for the IWA. She's banned dumps outside of Metro. She's banned incineration. She's banned alternatives such as Metro's plan to haul trash by rail to Kirkland Lake or any other sites. For the Minister of the Environment to call this process fair is like picking all the good chocolates in the box and telling us to pick from the rest any we want.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I appreciate the opportunity this evening, on, unfortunately, the last day of the legislative sitting of the Ontario Legislature, to offer a number of views on a number of different subjects. You won't be surprised to know that the first I will discuss will be those which will be rather parochial, parochial in the sense of my own community, but those which are shared across Ontario.

I'm going to deal initially with the automotive industry and the significance of the automotive industry to our province and our country and, in addition to that, the real need to attack the problems that are out there that are threatening the automotive industry today.

In my  $15\frac{1}{2}$  years in this Legislature, I have spent a good deal of time raising the issue surrounding the automotive industry, indicating to members of the Legislature its importance to our province, not only in terms of the direct jobs that it provides in various communities but also the indirect jobs.

I can look around the Legislature on any given day and see people from various communities who are reliant in one way or another on the good economic health of the automotive industry. If I look across at the members from Hamilton, I know that the steel industry, for instance, supplies a lot of materials that have gone into vehicles over the years; a diminishing amount as vehicles have been forced to be reduced in terms of their weight, but nevertheless there is a significant component that is from the steel industry.

If I look at the people from northern Ontario, where we have the resource extraction industry, we know that people who produce nickel, copper, iron and other products, who extract those from the ground and process them, are dependent to a certain extent on the good health of the automotive industry.

If I look to the people from Sarnia and the people from the Brockville area, where we have the plastics industry, we'd recognize once again that these are people who supply goods to the automotive industry.

There are those who directly supply the plants with gloves, with uniforms for people, with equipment they must use in the construction of automobiles and the development of new technologies, in the production of parts for those automobiles. That's where a lot of the jobs are in this province, in a lot of the smaller plants as well as the larger plants.

So there's been a recognition in this House by people from a variety of communities that the automotive industry has great significance, a great impact economically on the entire province.

For those of us who reside in an auto town such as Oshawa or St Catharines or Windsor or Oakville or, in some cases, London, which has a plant, St Thomas and so on, we recognize the importance to our own community. St Catharines in many ways has been labelled as a GM town or as an automotive town, I think with some significance and some relevance, because we have our major employer being General Motors, which has employed close to 9,000 people from around the Niagara region and some who come from outside of the region.

We have Hayes-Dana in Thorold, adjacent to St Catharines, and TRW, which are both involved in the production of parts in the automotive manufacturing industry, and they are significant employers in our area. We recognize as well as anybody the importance of this industry, and that is why we express a good deal of concern about its future when we see some of the ominous signs which have shown themselves over the last several months.

One of the pluses, I thought, for the automotive industry was the 1965 auto pact which was signed by Prime Minister Lester Pearson and President Lyndon Johnson. It was a controlled free trade, if you will, within one sector, sectoral free trade, which allowed goods, parts and whole vehicles to be transported back and forth across the border without the kind of impediments that were there previously.

The auto pact has been good for Canada. Many people in the United States say it's been good for the North American automotive industry. It's the kind of agreement that I believe is more constructive than I saw in the last free trade agreement between Canada and the United States.

In the autumn of 1991, members will recall, I began to ask a number of pretty direct questions about the future of the automotive industry to the Premier, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and the Treasurer specifically about the future, and I mentioned at the time the engine plant and the foundry specifically in St Catharines.

I think there were a lot of people in the news media and elsewhere focusing on Oshawa, because you have a very large complex there and because it was believed it might be vulnerable to a cutback on the part of General Motors International in terms of its operations. Yet I could see that even our community could be vulnerable, despite the fact that our foundry is one of the most efficient foundries you can find anywhere in the world, despite the fact that our workforce is an excellent, well-trained, well-motivated

workforce that has a lot of pride in the product it produces, despite the fact that we're making profits here in Canada.

Anyone who observes the automotive industry through the pages of various newspapers and other publications or watches documentaries on it, recognizes that it's a very complex industry and it's not always as predictable as all of us would like it to be. But one of the things I think everybody recognized was that there was going to be an overcapacity problem in the early 1990s. Virtually every economist, every person expert in the field, was saying this was going to happen.

Finally, in December 1991, when Robert Stempel, the then top person in General Motors, made the announcement that some 84,000 jobs would be eliminated and a large number of plants would be closed. It naturally brought shivers of fear to people in Ontario, some of them in St Catharines, although I think many people thought they would be less vulnerable, perhaps, than the other operations in this province. I wanted to see the government take certain steps on those occasions to try to prevent this from happening.

Ontario is only one player. The federal government is a player, local governments have a role to play, and certainly international circumstances are very significant in this regard. But when I was suggesting that we could be extremely vulnerable in St Catharines, I was hoping it wouldn't happen. There are some predictions we make that we like to see come true and some prognostications we hope will never come true.

People who sit on all sides of this House, people sitting here today, the three parties who have held the reins of power and been in office over the last 10 years, each of the parties—I always had the feeling that people in the opposition, although they asked direct questions of government, never really wanted to have to capitalize on the hardship that would be confronted by people in a community. We hope we can encourage governments to take the appropriate action, to be a positive factor. I don't think anybody wanted anything bad to happen in these communities.

On February 24, 1992, we got the shocking and bad news—I tend to keep more old newspapers than I should, I'm told; in my constituency office I have a number and at home I have a number and in my office here I have a number. In fact, it is alleged that one needs a map to get around each of those places from retaining these.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): You're the one hurting the recycling industry.

Mr Bradley: I recycle most of them, of course, but there are a number.

The news was not very good. The St Catharines Standard said on Tuesday, February 25, the next day after the announcement: "Decision Final, CAW Told." "Shocked Union Will Seek Alternative to Closing" and "GM Cuts Will Cost Other Jobs." "City Urges Federal-Provincial Assistance." Of course, it's not a very pleasant headline that you notice in our local newspaper. Nevertheless, the news is the news.

#### 1920

Many of us got together, people from all different political parties, people from various levels of government, civil servants, representatives of CAW Local 199 and those who were in support in the trade union movement—that included everybody—and representatives of the company, to determine what we could do to try to turn this decision around. Certainly, the initial message was blunt and bleak, that this was a final decision and that no amount of lobbying on the part of government or anyone else could reverse it, that in effect the problem was capacity, not the efficiency of the foundry and the engine plant—they're both extremely efficient—not the workforce, not the motivation of the workforce, not the training that was there; it was just a business decision.

Many of us could not accept that, because of all the work that had gone into it: the large investment by General Motors and the large investment of time, effort, energy and lifetime, in many cases, of people who had worked in those particular facilities. So we formed a committee under the leadership of CAW Local 199, which was, if you want, the Fight-Back Committee or the Save-the-Foundry Committee, to try to find some alternative uses or to try to determine whether we could encourage General Motors to keep the facility open.

People who know the business and know General Motors well know that where they were moving the business, the efficiency could not be guaranteed. And we recognized the importance of the loss of the foundry for the following reason: If you are making the moulds in your own community, you can control the quality and you can control the timing and you can control the cost. Quality, timing and cost were extremely good in terms of that modernized foundry with an expert workforce.

When we heard that it would be moved elsewhere, that the moulds would have to be brought in from somewhere else, that the foundry work would be done somewhere else where we could not control the quality, where we could not control the timing, where we could not control the efficiency and the costs, I think a lot of people were quite apprehensive.

When we lost one of the lines in the engine plant, there was a feeling that perhaps this was just the beginning of what was happening. But people were determined to fight back on that occasion. They had a demonstration at Plant 2, where a lot of people were out there speaking against the closing and encouraging others to work in favour of keeping the operation open. That particular effort continues.

For those of us who are in our own communities—you know, you watch it on television when it's somebody else's plant. If it's in Kentucky or in Ohio or in South Carolina or in Michigan, one tends to be sympathetic and watches the interviews and understands that those people are going through great stress and dislocation. But when it's your own friends, when it's your own neighbours, when it's your relatives, when it's the people you see every day in your community, it has a different impact. That's what we're talking about in St Catharines, the members from the Niagara Peninsula, St Catharines and the rest of the peninsula, when we see some pretty worried looks on those faces.

For myself, it's people who perhaps are in a service club I'm involved in, the Grantham Optimist club; some of the people there are affected. It could be young people I taught at one time, who are making their way in life, who are married and have a young family and a mortgage and other financial commitments. It can be people I have coached in various sporting organizations, or simply people I've been associated with in my neighbourhood. To see the sadness on their faces, to see the look of apprehension as they see the plant in St Catharines, the operation, being dismantled piece by piece, when they see the bleeding that's taking place on an ongoing basis, it's understandable that they are very frustrated.

A new announcement was made very recently, in December of this year, that the axle plant would be sold. The Premier came down to St Catharines on that day and experienced some of the frustration. I thought it was a difficult time for a Premier to be there, when people feel very strongly about losing their jobs. There's a tendency to strike out at the first person they can see, particularly someone in government. So when the Premier went down, I think it's safe to say—I can't speak for him—he experienced that kind of frustration and worry that was there.

I have a belief that we have to go from here to try to turn those decisions around. I have no doubt that today the government of Ontario, through the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology and other ministries, is working to save the operation in St Catharines, either to find a buyer for the axle plant, another organization that might be prepared to operate it and/or to find someone else to operate the foundry or to get General Motors to maintain that foundry operation.

These are not matters that the Premier or I or any member of the House, the Treasurer or the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, can talk about in as open a fashion as all of us would like. Obviously, governments have to be involved in negotiations with individuals. Obviously, members of government aren't going to give away their game plan. But I do implore the government, and I expect that this is happening, to make every effort to maintain those operations in our community for the sake of our community and for the sake of our province.

In the summer of this year, on July 9, I introduced a resolution in the Legislative Assembly which received unanimous support. I was pleased with that support. I thought, by and large, it was a relatively non-partisan occasion, as private members' hour tends to be. I see there was one speaker who spent a lot of time attacking the government on that occasion—I guess some people will use any occasion to do so—but generally I found that it was a relatively non-partisan occasion.

Mr Elston: It must have been a New Democrat.

Mr Bradley: In this case, it was not.

The resolution read as follows:

"That, in the opinion of this House, since General Motors announced its intention on February 24 of this year to close its St Catharines foundry, eliminating over 2,000 employment positions in addition to 750 women and men who were to be laid off indefinitely as of March 1 and over 100 people who will lose their jobs as a result of the decision to discontinue the 3.1-litre V-6 engine; and

"Since the St Catharines General Motors foundry is a cost-competitive, world-class, high-quality operation with a highly skilled and motivated workforce; and

"Since the loss of these jobs will mean the loss of \$130 million in wages and salaries to the economy of the Niagara region and the province of Ontario; and

"Since the implications for businesses and industries that service and supply the auto sector are extremely negative and serious; and

"Since whenever a production line and a significant part of a plant shuts down, the fixed cost of maintaining the rest of the operation increases and the quality of components from elsewhere cannot be guaranteed;

"The Legislative Assembly of Ontario should urge General Motors to continue the operation of its foundry in St Catharines."

That was supported unanimously. There were some good speeches that afternoon from some of my colleague in the peninsula and others who were supportive of that initiative.

That sends a message to General Motors. I'm not saying that's a message which automatically changes its mind, just as when the Premier speaks to General Motors and the various people in General Motors, even when he speaks to them, as the top person in the province and a person who is obviously going to be concerned, there's no guarantee that we're going to see a change of decision.

I think it's important that all of us in this House unite behind an effort not only for St Catharines, but I notice that Windsor is being hit by some layoffs as well; that we also stand behind the workers, the employees and the people of the community of Windsor. They are experiencing a retooling, which in many ways is good news, because one would hope that would ensure the future of that operation. But it also means that some 1,200 people are going to be out of work for 18 months, and one has to wonder why it takes 18 months to retool, when normally it takes about half that time, I am informed by people who know the industry well. So we worry. We know that when the retooling is finished, there will be fewer workers. This is always a dilemma for a trade union and it's always a dilemma for those who work at a plant, to accept the fact that there's automation.

I've had a chance, as Minister of the Environment, to tour the Hilton steelworks in Hamilton, and the works as well in Nanticoke, and there's a significant difference. Although Hilton is modernized, you go to Nanticoke and you walk through and you ask, "Where are all the people who work here?" They're essentially in a closed-in, glassed-in area operating a lot of equipment down below with automated machinery, computerized.

## 1930

The same when I went to Clara Belle in Sudbury to watch the Inco operation. I thought they were shut down. I walked through the plant and I asked, "Where is everybody at Clara Belle?" because I used to live in Sudbury at one time. I'm informed by the member for Nickel Belt that some 11 people, I believe he says, work in that place at the present time. This is a huge plant and they essentially

operate it from a glassed-in cubicle with all kinds of computers and gadgets that operate the entire mill.

So I think there's a recognition in Windsor that when they come back, there are going to be fewer jobs. They are going to be even more highly skilled jobs, but there will be fewer of them. For the Windsor economy, that doesn't bode well, although we are thankful for small mercies these days.

I thought that some of the material that Local 199 has produced has been very helpful. We had a press conference on Tuesday that I had a chance to attend, and at that time, there was an establishment of the purple ribbon campaign. The P in "purple" stands for plant closures; U for unemployed; R for recession; P for people; L for leadership, and E for employment. "It's about people being unemployed during a recession which is caused by corporate policies resulting in plant closures. The solution requires leadership from all concerned to realize full employment in our communities," says a flyer which is put out.

The purple ribbon is really more than simply the foundry or the engine plant or the axle plant. It's fighting back for jobs in the Niagara-Hamilton area, an area where jobs have been eroded over the years, if I think of Stelpipe in Welland, for instance; Foster Wheeler in St Catharines today announced some layoffs. All of this we see in the midst of a recession, and these people are saying we have to fight back together as a community.

You know, when this happens, there's often almost a feeling of glee in the minds of some people; ill-conceived, in my view, and unfair, in my view. There's almost a glee from people who look and say: "Well, they are people who were well paid over the years. I never made that much money. Why should I be sympathetic?"

Those are people who don't take into account the personal tragedy that is facing each one of those individuals and families when there are layoffs, particularly when they're potentially permanent layoffs that are taking place. And it's shortsighted in that it does not recognized the impact on a community. Ask any retailer in St Catharines, ask any retailer in Windsor, what the impact of the payroll for General Motors or of any of the other companies has on that community. It's a very significant impact.

That's why I think we have to address this problem as a coalition in our community and as a coalition in our province, finding the most positive ways to address it.

One of them that I have suggested—and it's not the only solution and the Treasurer has not accepted it so far, but where there is life, there is hope—is that he will abandon the ill-conceived so-called gas guzzler tax. There are many people who try to advance this as a tax which is to help the environment. I recognize it largely as a revenue producer. I don't want to be provocative this evening; it's the last day of the session, unfortunately, and I don't want to talk about tax grabs, so I'll say it's a revenue producer for the province.

Now, if it indeed achieved what it set out to do or at least what it is stated to set out to do—that is, to significantly improve the environment and fuel efficiency—I might say that I could understand why the government would implement it. But the best way of cleaning the air of

this province would be for everyone to replace the old clunker with a brand-new car. Why is that? First of all, the new vehicles are all more fuel-efficient than the older vehicles. Second, they all have far superior pollution control equipment on them.

If people saw that the government wanted to remove taxes from automobiles, if it lowered the price of those automobiles, they would make new purchases, improve the environment and, of course, as far as GM workers and other automotive workers are concerned, it would spur the need for new vehicles to be produced, and the parts for those vehicles.

So the winner is the environment and the winner is the economy at the same time, and that's what the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy was to be all about: synchronizing the two and indicating that one was not independent of the other.

One of the suggestions I have for the Treasurer in his next budget—perhaps earlier, if he sees fit, in a mini-budget when we return in January, as I assume this House will be returning in January to address the needs of the province—is that the Treasurer withdraw that tax. I will be the first to applaud him as he does so.

He had a partial withdrawal of it. He had a lot of heat from Local 199, St Catharines, from the automotive industry, Bob White and others that put a lot of pressure on him, and he tampered and tinkered with the tax that he brought in previously. But if he were to withdraw it entirely, that would be a very positive move.

Second, I think the province could also temporarily suspend the application of the sales tax to new vehicles being sold in this province. I recognize that the Treasurer needs revenue. I recognize that on a long-term basis the government is going to continue to tax all of those products, but I think it would spur the economy rather significantly if, for a period of six months or a year, the Treasurer were to suspend the provincial sales tax on automobiles.

That's two taxes that could be removed, and it would make those vehicles cheaper and would allow people with more modest incomes to make the purchases of new vehicles and improve the environment and the economy in our province.

In addition to that, others have a role to play, not only the provincial government. I speak of the provincial government because I believe that those of us who are representatives should address issues which are within our own jurisdiction. One of the easiest things to do as a politician is simply to say what somebody else should do. In opposition, that's quite easy; you can say what the government should do. But governments tend to say that politicians tend to sometimes dabble in issues that are not within their jurisdiction, and I don't think that's particularly productive. If I were in the federal House, however, I would be imploring the federal government to take similar action to assist the automotive industry.

When Ste Thérèse in Quebec was considered to be an operation in considerable trouble, the federal government and the provincial government put together a package which made Ste Thérèse an attractive place for GM itself to invest more money, and it saved the future of it.

Governments are going to be naturally reluctant to put a lot of money into private sector operations, but if it's the only game in town, it's the only game in town. I suspect that our government in Ontario has made some offers to General Motors. I don't want the Premier or the Treasurer to have to reveal to anybody in the province how much it was or what actually happened, but I suspect that does take place.

If it's necessary to expand the foundry in St Catharines and it requires an investment of tax dollars, I can assure you that it would be a productive expenditure on the part of the government, because it would mean the saving of an operation, perhaps the expansion of an operation and of course all kinds of tax revenues for this government, for the federal government and for the municipal government. In addition to that, of course, people would have money in their pockets to be able to spend on consumer goods and to be able to invest in other little businesses within the community.

I think it's going to be exceedingly important for the government to take that into consideration. I would not be critical of the provincial government for doing so.

There is a fear, and I think a legitimate fear, that we are seeing the dismantling of the St Catharines operation piece by piece, appendage by appendage falling off. Gabe MacNally, who is the vice-president of CAW Local 199, noted in his initial reaction that we could have about half an operation left, that about half of the 9,000 jobs will be left when we are finished with the latest round of layoffs and cutbacks. And this would not be attractive for St Catharines and it would cause apprehension. When you start taking away certain parts, the question comes, "Well, why do you need any operation in St Catharines?" That's what we're fearful about, and that's why we have to arrest the bleeding, stop the bleeding that's taking place in our community.

The government to a certain extent has implemented this subsequent to the first round of layoffs, the first announcement of the closing of the foundry. I have advocated and continue to advocate a separate, independent department of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology, whose mandate it would be—and Bob White said this in the Local 199 News, April edition: "Ontario should establish an auto department to assess on an ongoing basis the industry's weaknesses and strengths, to keep up with international developments and to monitor and initiate policy."

I would say that's a good suggestion. I think it's very important that the government have an independent department to deal with strictly the automotive industry because of the problems it's experiencing. The initial step has been the employing of Mr Armstrong in the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology to deal with automotive matters. I like the fact that we would have an independent division to come up with a strategy to maintain present operations in our province and to attract new business to our province. I think that would be very wise.

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I've also called upon the Premier on a number of occasions—and he may have his reasons for not doing this or doing it—that the Premier himself go to Detroit to meet with the very top people—I suspect he will be able to do so when the House is shut down—and talk to the very top

people to put forward Ontario's case. He would find that he has a lot of support in the province for that. I would certainly be praising that action on his part, just as I have been critical of his not doing so to this point.

I like to be fair to the Premier on occasion, as many occasions as possible, and I would be delighted to be able to say my Premier—because he is my Premier as well as everyone else's Premier in this province—is going to bat for us in Detroit and is putting forth the best possible case. He'll want to assemble the best material that will tell people why Ontario should be a good place to stay and a good place to come to in the future. We would all want to see that. If he wants to put forward a financial package that may be of assistance, I certainly will not be critical. I would be quite supportive of that.

We recognize that the government's mind cannot be completely open to financing the entire operation. There are limits to what we can do in terms of financial assistance to any corporation, because it becomes very competitive within those corporations.

The press conference I attended on Tuesday, December 7, had some interesting suggestions for people: "We call upon the federal government to join with the provincial and municipal governments and local company and union officials to put together the strongest possible package of incentives to convince General Motors to maintain or expand the St Catharines operations." Those incentives need not be monetary alone, although that should not be excluded, by any means.

"Second, we call upon Premier Bob Rae to form a broadbased task force from business, community and social and labour leaders and any necessary experts from across the Niagara Peninsula and Hamilton to study the cause and effects of the deepening economic and social decline and make recommendations for positive renewal."

Here they're talking not only about the automotive industry but about other industries, because what's misunderstood in many cases is that the Niagara Peninsula is not part of the Golden Horseshoe. If it is, it's the tarnished end. The unemployment rate in the St Catharines-Niagara area—and that's how they classify it—has consistently been among the highest in this province, and even in the country, over a rather lengthy period of time. Even in good times, we have not always enjoyed the lowest rate of unemployment in the province, but in bad times we tend to soar above others. So we will need some special assistance.

There used to be a Department of Regional Economic Expansion federally that declared certain areas eligible for special funds. One of the things, no doubt, that the government will want to consider and is considering is how it can assist our part of the province without setting precedents which are going to tie it down.

I asked the Treasurer a question the other day about this, and he was certainly supportive and positive in his response, but did caution the House that, as a member of a government, he was leery of setting precedents. For instance, it was suggested by our city council that we have a Niagara heritage fund, as opposed to a northern heritage fund. I would like to see us get some assistance. I can understand how the Treasurer would be a bit reluctant,

because he would feel: Would there now be a Windsor heritage fund? Would there be a Chatham heritage fund? But I do believe we should be eligible for some special assistance, the main criterion being that we have experienced chronically high unemployment and a rather bleak future in terms of our economics.

I also make the plea that we not abandon the smoke-stack industries, the traditional industries. There are some people who say, "The only way to go is simply to abandon the old-time industries and go on to something else." That's easy to say if you're representing the Ottawa Valley, where there's some new, high-tech industries. Where you haven't had the automotive or the steel or the resource extraction industries, it's easy to say that. But if you do, as I do and other members of this House, represent communities that have relied upon those traditional and perhaps older industries, certainly you do not want to see those abandoned. We may have to adapt, we may have to change, we may have to modernize, but I don't think we should simply give up on those industries. People who work in them certainly don't want to see that happen.

To go back to the press conference and what the CAW had to say on that occasion: "We join in and support the Fighting for our Working Future Niagara-Hamilton campaign. A symbol of the campaign will be a purple ribbon. We strongly urge all residents of Niagara and Hamilton to wear this ribbon as a symbol of our determination to survive as a growing and prosperous area of Canada." That's why I wear the purple ribbon today, as I have since that meeting, and why others in the peninsula will be doing so.

They go on to suggest: "There will be a future meeting of a broad coalition in the Niagara Peninsula, and a public demonstration will be held this coming Saturday, December 12, at 12 noon on Ontario Street at the GM plant. This event will be a kickoff for this campaign of renewal. We urge all citizens of Hamilton-Niagara to take part in this event."

Saying "all citizens" is important, because it isn't simply those who work in the plant. Those people, as I've mentioned, are relatives of a lot of people, friends and colleagues and neighbours and people they meet on a daily basis. Everyone in the community has a vested interest, everyone in the Niagara region. I discussed this with the member for Welland-Thorold the other day, because he has many people who reside in his riding who work at General Motors, that it's important that our whole community support that particular demonstration on that day.

Our city of St Catharines put forward some suggestions that I won't read into the record; I gave a copy of them to the Treasurer the other day when I asked him the question. I think they're very useful and I may come back to those.

Buzz Hargrove, who is the new president of CAW in Canada, wrote a letter to the Premier which I think had some good suggestions and implored the Premier to take certain actions. He made some rather interesting points. I would like to share this with members of the House. I don't think it's particularly embarrassing; I don't do so to embarrass the Premier or anything like that. It's pretty straightforward. It says:

"Dear Mr Premier: I'm writing to you concerning the latest blow to the workers and community of St Catharines,

the addition of the axle plant to the 3.1 V6 engine and foundry as casualties of GM's restructuring.

"To your credit, you went directly to St Catharines to hear and respond to the pain, frustrations, anger and growing fear that even the closures to date are just steps towards the total closure of the entire GM engine complex in St Catharines, but something more must be done. We must try to reverse this.

"As you well know, these workers want to use their skills to provide socially useful products. They don't understand, and neither do I, the logic of closing facilities, removing tools and equipment and denying workers a chance to produce goods in a world where so many needs go unmet. They also can't see the social logic of economic restructuring in the name of efficiency when it only leads to more people having no jobs and no job opportunities, and therefore representing the greatest waste and inefficient use of human resources.

"They don't understand how Ontario can accept the loss of such a key production centre as St Catharines when auto is repeatedly referred to as one of the few areas where we are alleged to have a competitive advantage. They have been told that the quality of their work and the quality of their products is excellent, but that isn't good enough. They are aware that they have a labour cost advantage of \$9 an hour relative to locations where the jobs will move, but this too isn't good enough. Nine dollars an hour represents \$18,000 annually per worker and \$56 million per year for the 3,100 workers facing announced layoffs.

"The response from GM to all of this is that it's simply a matter of St Catharines not having enough capacity. Well, that raises a very direct solution: Develop the capacity here.

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"I am therefore calling on you to convey to GM that (a) they have a responsibility to this community and must pursue a reasonable alternative to simply closing these facilities; (b) they join us in immediately establishing a committee to carry out a study with federal, provincial, community and union involvement to move towards expanding capacity in St Catharines so the operation can survive and prosper; and (c) the Ontario government is prepared to assist financially and in gaining federal assistance to achieve such an expansion. Such a committee would have to be put together right away. It would have to report very quickly if GM's decision is to be reversed.

"I look forward to a positive response as soon as you possibly can.

"Sincerely yours,

"Basil (Buzz) Hargrove, President, CAW."

It's a very reasonable request that he has made. I think the Premier feels it's a very reasonable request that he has made. It's a cry for assistance from the various levels of government to expand our operations.

Mr Hargrove, Mr White and others who have represented people over the years in the trade union movement have seen the number of jobs shrink in industries for which they've had responsibility, not because of their activities but because of modernization, automation and computerization. They're trying to address this in as positive a way as they possibly can and seek the assistance of

our provincial government in doing so. I certainly would recommend and support that particular suggestion and the other suggestions that have come forward in this regard.

There is much more that could be said of this, and there's much more that will be said. There's a postcard that is sent out to the three levels of government, to Premier Rae, to Prime Minister Mulroney and to John Smith, the president of General Motors, largely from people who are working at General Motors and who want to send a message to each one of these people on what they believe they can do to assist people within their communities.

I implore the government to continue its efforts. I ask that the Premier himself take on the operation. This is not to say that his ministers are lacking in their desire to be of assistance or lacking in competence, simply that the top person often has to deal with the top people. The Treasurer would be interested. The Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology certainly has been. Dr Allen, the Minister of Skills Development and Colleges and Universities, has developed some interesting packages in terms of assisting the automotive industry in terms of retraining. That is a positive direction, in my view. I think most fair-minded people would say this government deserves some credit for that. I'm certainly prepared to say very publicly that it's a positive initiative that's going to be essential for the future. That announcement I greet with applause.

I know our own community is going to look beyond that. The Premier, when he was in St Catharines, made some comments to the effect that the community must look at other avenues of job creation as well as the automotive industry. He suggested that there be an effort to try to diversify and attract other industry, as well as maintaining what operations we can in St Catharines. I think our community has to do that. That's why it's extremely important that we move the Ministry of Transportation to St Catharines at an accelerated rate to that which was contemplated, and the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation to Niagara Falls; that we speed up that movement, that we ensure it's the full announced movement that was contemplated previously.

The government's in some significant financial problems. I know some of the members on the government side are somewhat annoyed that I would suggest that there would be any chance that these ministries would be scaling back their operations or moving at a slower pace. But I happen to know—I've sat in government—what goes through the mind of government when it wants to save money, and that's why a member of the opposition has to put that before the public, has to say it's important that we keep an eye on the ball, so to speak. I know there may well be people within government who don't even like the policy of moving ministries out of Toronto; not everybody is in favour of that.

I do hope the government will accelerate that move to St Catharines. In the material provided last Monday night to members of St Catharines city council, there were many suggestions on how the Premier and his ministers might be able to advance that movement and help to diversify our economy locally.

The Minister of the Environment is here today. I would just like to make a couple of comments to her, because I heard an earlier speech that was somewhat an attack on the Ministry of the Environment around environmentalism, I thought. They were talking about how the Ministry of the Environment had too much power. My view is that that is not the case, that indeed the Minister of the Environment should have more power.

While the Premier is here—he probably has to go to some event this evening, so if he does wander out, I certainly won't feel offended. It's very kind of him to be here to listen to the comments. I will do the Minister of the Environment a favour by saying that I believe the Premier should not allow other ministers to wrest from the Ministry of the Environment the power and jurisdiction it has now.

I am very pleased to see that the previous government moved the responsibility for the Niagara Escarpment Commission to the Ministry of the Environment and that the present minister has, despite a lot of flak she gets from around the province, maintained a desire to protect the Niagara Escarpment.

There's something else you'll have to watch for: that her colleagues don't do her in, because there's a lot of pressure out there on the Premier, the Treasurer, the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology and others to start developing every last inch—I should say centimetre nowadays—of the province of Ontario, including some attractive areas in the Niagara Escarpment.

I hope her colleagues will support as she attempts to protect that, just as the Minister of Agriculture and Food will want to try to protect farm land in this province.

I'm concerned about Project X revisited. I recall, when I was the Minister of the Environment, that there was a large kerfuffle about the possibility of taking away some of the powers in terms of planning from the Ministry of the Environment and giving it to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs or, heaven forbid, turning it back to municipalities.

I warn you, members of government—as the Minister of Municipal Affairs walks in, with a perhaps a bit of a different agenda—that you shouldn't allow that to happen. So while the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Minister of the Environment are here, I implore you not to give more powers to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and taken them away from the Minister of the Environment. That's going to happen. I warn the Minister that there are cells within this government that exist—I say that generically: within this government of Ontario—that have a vested interest in kicking aside the Ministry of the Environment so they can do what they wish.

**Hon Mr Rae:** One of them's now in London, so I think we're all right.

Mr Bradley: Well, they come back into style. Believe it or not, the ministers' faces may change, but the viewpoints of some of those who advise them do not change significantly. So I hope your colleagues will not reintroduce Project X, that they will not turn over to the municipalities all these powers to develop their own communities. Often, that could be very shortsighted.

I want to deal with a number of other issues on briefer basis than I have the automotive industry. One of them is the rule changes in this House. I happen to be opposed to those. I attribute motivations to them once in a while, but I won't do so. I just happen to hope the government will change its mind on some of those rule changes and allow members an opportunity to speak at greater length, as this particular debate allows.

To put more power into the hands of individual members, the person who's in the chair today, Mr Drainville, who represents Victoria-Haliburton, has advanced some ideas on how the House could be more relevant. Those ideas are never popular with government House leaders, I assure him; I say that again generically, as opposed to personally. He will find there is considerable resistance within the cabinet to doing those things, but I think he, by his vote today, for instance, as a matter of conscience against a bill which would, in his view, no doubt not be positive for farm land in that area and for the community surrounding—that has to happen once in a while in this House and more power has to be given to individually elected people.

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I also want to talk about the developmentally handicapped for just a moment. I've often said that those of us who get elected to the House—I can perhaps speak personally more than for everyone in the House, but I suspect it's true of most people—are elected to represent those who cannot represent themselves: the people who are most vulnerable, the people who don't have money, the people who don't have influence and the people who don't have a position of privilege. A lot of those people can look after themselves. It doesn't mean we should ignore their needs and it doesn't mean we should legislate to destroy those people; it simply means there are certain people in our society who require the assistance of individual members of the Legislature.

One of the groups of people I've been concerned about all my life has been the developmentally handicapped people. They've had less attractive names applied to them in years gone by; I'm pleased to see that many are changing those names and those attitudes, and that many of those people who are developmentally handicapped, who have not been able to attend regular schools, so called, are moving into communities at the present time. I think that's quite positive.

I was very concerned when I saw about 3,000 or 4,000 of those people, the people themselves, the people who work with them and their families, demonstrating out front against cutbacks by the government. I know the government is pressed for funds and that people in opposition can often make a case for spending more money, but I do hope that when the government establishes its priorities it never forgets the developmentally handicapped, people who often cannot speak for themselves and require others to assist them.

I certainly will be a champion of the developmentally handicapped for many years to come, as long as I'm in this Legislature, because I think they need our help and assistance to live a dignified life and to live a productive life and to live a life they could never have contemplated, just a dozen or 15 years ago, within institutions.

I must deal with casinos. Again, the gentleman in the chair at the present time has read many petitions in the House on casinos. The member for Windsor-Riverside can have his casino in Windsor-Riverside because—

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs, Chairman of the Management Board of Cabinet and Government House Leader): Actually, it's Windsor-Sandwich.

Mr Bradley: —well, in the city of Windsor—because I don't want one in the Niagara region. That's probably contrary to the viewpoint of a lot of people. When you're down in terms of jobs, people are attracted by casinos and so on, and local municipalities often are. Speaking personally, I do not want a casino in my community. I think casinos draw criminals; I know you're going to try to set it up so it won't, but they attract the criminal element. They are the worst kind of gambling because they're the most attractive kind of gambling, the highest class of gambling. People are addicted to it, and there are many in our society. I know they gamble on other things, but this is the most attractive type of gambling we have in this province.

I urge you to abandon it. I know you've got one, but I hope you will abandon your move towards more and more gambling, which is essentially a tax on the poor and those who are addicted to that particular affliction.

Bob Rae, I'm told by former members of the Legislature I've chatted with, was one of the strongest opponents of casino gambling in years gone by, and I admired that point of view at that time. I hope the government will rethink this policy. When you do rethink it I will say you should sound the bugles of retreat, but I'll be saying so in a positive fashion and a complimentary fashion as opposed to a negative fashion.

I also want to touch on Sunday shopping, only very briefly, to say that I intend to vote against your bill that would permit Sunday shopping simply because I happen to believe that there should be a common day of rest for people to spend with their families, to spend at home, and I believe that the government should maintain its previous commitment to those people.

I also happen to believe, on an economic basis, that it makes very little difference whether or not you're open Sunday, that people simply spend in seven days what they previously spent in six days.

Automobile insurance would take too long for me to deal with this evening, so I'll avoid that particular issue.

The grants to municipalities—I'm going to be specific on this—for sewer projects and water projects: I hear a lot of talk about capital works in terms of roads being paved and so on. I hope you would not exclude, when you're contemplating a capital works program, water and sewer works, which are extremely important. The funding for those has declined rather dramatically, as you have had to face the realities of not many revenues coming in. As a former Minister of the Environment, I think that's a very positive expenditure and that the time to do it is in a time

of recession, so that when you come out of the recession you will be in a position to have those facilities in hand.

I can tell the Minister of Municipal Affairs that the federal government has not given money for a number of years to those kinds of projects in any significant amount. They attract the Minister of the Environment of Ontario to sign these glamorous agreements, and when you look at the fine print you find out there isn't much money.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I have not signed any. You signed a number that I'm still living with.

Mr Bradley: Positive: It brought all that federal money in, as you can see.

Hon Mrs Grier: I have yet to see it.

Mr Bradley: Family and children's services in the Niagara region needs new facilities in Welland and in St Catharines. The people who are working with those people, with their clients, are in abysmal circumstances and buildings. I urge you, when you're establishing your priorities—I'm not asking you to spend more money in the province—to look carefully at the Niagara region and the family and children's services buildings and the potential for the replacement of those so they can serve people better.

Port Weller Dry Docks: I urge you to build another ferry boat at Port Weller Dry Docks, as you did for the Pelee Island situation. I know that Mr Mancini, the member for Essex South, is strongly supportive of that.

As well, potentially the ferry that goes to Wolfe Island around Kingston may need replacing. Port Weller Dry Docks is the exact place it should be. They also need a wall built so they can do some repair work and some new work at the same time, a wonderful investment on the part of the province of Ontario to ensure jobs in the future. I would never criticize the government for this and I would urge it to seriously contemplate that.

The hospitals in our area have a great appetite for more money because they want to service people in a better way. I urge you, when you're looking at your priorities, to provide additional funding.

We have a second CAT scanner in the region now. We have a renal dialysis unit that has been given some approval and that has made me just delighted. It used to try the patience of the Speaker. I have been trying since I've been in opposition to have that second CAT scanner. When we were in government, I think the first CAT scanner came into operation. I was supportive of the first one as well in St Catharines.

By the way, I should say the member for Welland-Thorold was very kind when I was down there for the ribbon-cutting. The member for Welland-Thorold didn't know I was there at the time and spent about a minute and a half talking about the fact that I'd raised this issue in the House a number of times. He's always very fair to the opposition. He was when he was a minister, and he is now, in terms of the role they play. I pay tribute to him for that, and to all ministers who do that. Some ministers do it better than others. I must say that Peter Kormos has always been very fair to me in that regard. No matter where it's

been, he's been more than fair in giving that kind of credit to that kind of role being played.

I must mention that Brock University and Niagara College are always looking to meet their own obligations. Brock University feels it's going to have to start turning students away if it doesn't receive adequate funding from your government. The students who are there are worried that their tuition is going up and are worried that they won't be able to get grants any more, but simply loans that they have to pay back later on. I urge you to address that.

Destreaming, no credits and violence in schools: That would be a half-hour, but I don't have half an hour. I simply urge real caution with your government in proceeding with destreaming. When you have the president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation calling upon an NDP Education minister to resign, you know that you have encountered considerable resistance, because I could never accuse the leadership of the OSSTF, over the years, of being unkind or unfriendly to the New Democratic Party. When Liz Barkley says that the minister should resign, you know the federation is exercised over this. I think your implementation is significantly flawed and you should consult with the teachers on that particular issue.

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Hon Mr Cooke: Do you agree with the principle?

Mr Bradley: Actually, as a teacher, I would find that very difficult. It may work in certain circumstances, which is why I would appreciate and accept pilot projects, to establish whether it does work. Whether it does will be determined by those pilot projects, but I don't think the pendulum should simply swing back and forth all the time. For the life of me, I will never know why you want to abandon credits in grade 9, because that is certainly not the correct direction to go, in my view.

In terms of violence in schools, it's becoming an increasing problem. There are some people out there who say we have a generation out of control because they haven't had to face the kind of discipline that there used to be in schools. Many parents worry about that; some students worry about that. I simply say it's an issue this government is going to have to address. I may in another debate have some suggestions on how you would do it.

One of the issues that has affected my community perhaps more than any other has been the death of certain people by violence. Kristen French is probably the most notable person who has died at the hands of murderers.

I can remember one day being in the House and the Treasurer was bringing down his budget. Everyone in the province was probably concerned about that budget. I turned on the local news media, the radio stations, the television stations and so on. Nobody had the budget as the first story because that was the sad day when Kristen French's body had been discovered. She had in fact been murdered. Her parents had been very strong through this issue. It's been very difficult, and I hope that our police forces will continue to have the resources to fight this kind of crime. I hope we'll be able to address the issues of crime and violence as they affect young people like this, violence against women particularly. I'm against all violence, but to

see a young girl, in her own neighbourhood, going through a church parking lot in the middle of the afternoon being kidnapped and eventually murdered is something that causes apprehension for all of us and certainly sadness in our hearts.

The sales tax on used cars: I would have thought today that the government would have been involved in a retreat, that the Minister of Revenue would have announced that they had finally reached some rational solution to the used car sales tax. Just as the gas guzzler tax is a tax on auto workers, the used car tax is a tax on poor people who can't afford expensive cars. I hope they will make the necessary modifications, because it's just been a bizarre implementation of that tax. There isn't a member here who doesn't know that, and I urge the government to change that.

In terms of patronage, I've dealt with that before. We had a want of confidence or non-confidence motion in the Legislature on the Piper affair and other scandals, and I'm not going to dwell on that tonight. I know that some of my other colleagues may well wish to deal with those matters, but I will not do so.

The Minister of Natural Resources was here a while ago. I hope he continues to buy seedlings and to plant new trees in Ontario, because there are many people who are concerned, in the north particularly, but in other places, that this government is abandoning that program of replanting trees. I think that's been beneficial to the environment and beneficial to the economy, and I urge the government not to abandon that.

In terms of saving agricultural land, as I drive between Toronto and St Catharines, I notice that more and more of the agricultural land is disappearing, that there are warehouses, that there's new construction taking place on the lush agricultural land. Combined with the excellent climatic conditions, that land is disappearing; the agricultural aspect is disappearing. I know the Speaker who sits in the chair now, the member from eastern Ontario, Mr Villeneuve, is concerned about agricultural land and will want to see it saved.

My voice is beginning to give out, which is probably something that will please most people here, but I did want to mention TVOntario. When I was in government, I used to turn on the television set at 11 o'clock at night and watch question period. It was on at 11 o'clock on the French channel, La Chaîne, and at 11:30 on the English channel, TVO. If you want to watch question period, now that the NDP is in power, those ministers are sheltered because one has to stay up till almost 1 o'clock in the morning to watch it.

**Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent):** Auto workers don't have a problem; they work afternoons.

Mr Bradley: For the member for Chatham-Kent who enjoys that kind of entertainment, that might well be fine. I urge the president of TVO—we've not got a new president of TVO—to abandon the policy. He's teaching grammar at 11:30 at night or showing you how to fish, or something like that, when there are important issues of the day being addressed that should be taking place at that time of night because, heaven knows, we can't rely on CBC radio with

their various programs. CBC radio news is fine, but we get Radio Noon—as I call it, NDP Noon, NDP Morning and NDP 4 to 6.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Don't forget the NDP Star.

Mr Bradley: No, no, that's not it. I'm talking about what I pay for with my tax dollars. Now, I exclude CBC television at 6 because they're very fairminded people. Of course, the coverage is fine. What I'm annoyed with—the Minister of the Environment's here—is that I used to have to answer to Christopher Thomas every lunch-hour. He always had someone. It would be a woman with three children who had a disease from a plant and that same plant was moving to Ontario and what was I going to do about it.

He doesn't seem to be calling any more, even though we know the Treasurer, as president of the treasury board, is depriving the Minister of the Environment of the resources to do her job appropriately; even though he's doing so, Christopher Thomas is talking about bird calls. What was on today? There was something else on today. What do you think of Chuck and Di? That was today's. What was your first prom date like? Can you really tell a bird by the noise it makes? These are the hard-hitting subjects on Radio Noon today.

That's why, with the Minister of Culture and Communications here, I hope to see—she can't interfere—TVO put the question period on at 11:30 at night. I'm getting calls every day from people who want to see it and they can't stay up that late at night and they can't afford cable TV. Therefore, I would like to see it even earlier in the evening if I could, right after the CBC national news or whatever it's called now. I'd like to see that happen.

The last thing I'm going to talk about, because some of my colleagues are interested to get on tonight—I see a sign here that says, "Please tell me when you have 10 minutes left."

I would simply like to talk about ethics in government in a very general sense. When I talked to people during the last election campaign they said: "Look, we don't believe the NDP can particularly manage the province well economically; not great managers; nice people; well meaning; not great managers." They've proven to be right. "We don't necessarily agree with all of their policies. Some of them are pretty radical and pretty well off the mainstream, but we're still prepared to vote for them because we think they're ethically superior and morally superior to the other parties."

I invite the viewers watching this and the members of the House to simply review the government's record over the past two years and we will see they have certainly not been that. One of them I talked about was polling. When Premier Rae was in opposition, he was critical of governments that ruled by polls paid for by the taxpayers. I agreed with him. I was a person who said, "I agree with Bob Rae when he says governments shouldn't rule by polls." Now, I find out from order paper questions, this government is buying polls and keeping the information to itself. We have a government simply watching which way the sail is heading and the wind comes along, a puff of wind of public opinion comes along.

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I admired them when they stood on their principles, the kind of principles that Peter Kormos stands for today and that Mel Swart and Bob Carlin and Stanley Knowles and Harold Winch and H.W. Herridge and Arnold Peters, Douglas Fisher, M.J. Coldwell and Jolliffe stood for, all these great icons of the CCF and NDP. They were people I admired very much and I followed their careers well, and if I were to look at this government's policies I would never believe that we have an NDP government. I might still disagree with some of the things they would do, but at least I would say they were standing for principles they believed in and were prepared to fight for. I suspect the member for Chatham-Kent believes that to be the case as well in his heart of hearts.

As I conclude this evening—and I would like to have gone on in much greater detail on some of the problems that were there, but time does get on and, being fairminded, I want to see other members with a chance to speak—I simply want to take the opportunity to convey to all members of the House my own personal very best wishes for a restful holiday, for a happy holiday season, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. I do not ever wish even those who are my political adversaries anything bad. To people who are experiencing health problems, to people who are experiencing other problems in their lives because it's a very stressful occupation, I wish them the very best in the new year, because I want to see us all come back in a healthy and happy state and engage in the kind of productive and useful and acceptable political debate which advances the cause of democracy in our province and in our country.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Further debate in concurrences in supply for the ministries.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): In rising to speak in this debate on concurrence in supply, what it really means, of course, is that we either concur with the expenditures of the ministries or we don't, and frankly, when I look at the ministries that are listed here, I have a lot of difficulty in concurring with the spending of the majority of them. Of course, particularly I have difficulty with the expenditures of the Health ministry in terms of its prioritizing, but I want to go down to the fourth ministry listed here, which is Housing.

Obviously, based on the questions which I raised in the House earlier today, I have a lot of concern with the expenditures of the Ministry of Housing. When we have a system that encourages the establishment of non-profit housing, at the wish of this government and supported by this government, in many areas of this province through many public and private non-profit housing agencies, on the surface it sounds as though it would be an ideal way to provide housing, particularly affordable housing, but the really sad truth, and becoming more and more evident, is the fact that the non-profit housing program under this socialist government is simply not working. It's not working because it is running away with the taxpayers' money. There are simply not enough controls on how the program is administered and in sheer economics it isn't working to

provide the largest number of homes that it could provide for the largest number of people at the same expenditure.

I have stood in this House a number of times in this past year and questioned the Minister of Housing about why, instead of the government owning and operating housing, it will not give direct shelter subsidies to those people who need the help and let those people decide where they want to live.

What we have in Ontario today is something that's ballooning totally out of control under the guise of non-profit housing. We have a situation, unfortunately, which is being exploited by a large number of people. We have a Minister of Housing who stood today in answer to my very serious questions about a particular example that I gave her, which is namely the Woodgreen community housing project on Pape Avenue.

I think what I should do, Mr Speaker, is tell you exactly what I did raise with this minister today so you will know how serious this particular example is. It's an example that is raised today in a publication in Ontario. As far as I know, it's not a partisan publication, so it's not an issue that was raised originally by me, so it can't be perceived that that's a Conservative criticizing the current Bob Rae socialist government.

This is in a magazine called Eye, and it's an article written by Paul Palango, which I have copies of here. It's a very lengthy article; it's about 3,000 words. I think Mr Palango is just touching the tip of the iceberg in this article, but in it he raises many troubling facts about the Woodgreen community housing project on Pape Avenue.

Also, some residents of this neighbourhood have contacted me and shown my office their research, and they found that investment firms flipped properties for large profits by buying them after the project's conception, then selling them to Woodgreen nine months later once Woodgreen had received approval from the provincial government to buy them.

Apparently, according to the information we've received, the principal of one of these investment companies is also president of a real estate firm. A realtor from the same firm acted for Woodgreen by offering to buy another property and sought a 5% commission. It seems that Woodgreen is padding the pockets of this investment realtor. The Woodgreen Settlement Corp, the trust arm of Woodgreen, bought a property for \$300,000 and sold it on the same day to Woodgreen community housing for \$247,500. The trust fund absorbed the loss of the \$52,500 because Woodgreen was overbudget for the project. It's my understanding that the trust fund is made up of moneys from many community sources, not the least of which are contributions by the public.

When I asked the minister if she would investigate the matters I have outlined, especially before an OMB hearing, which resumes on January 25, 1993, an OMB hearing about this project, I want to tell you what the minister's answer was. The minister said she hadn't read Eye magazine today, and with all the staff that this Minister of Housing has, you would think that if there was something as touchy and as critical an issue as these allegations raised in this magazine her staff would have raised those issues with her.

It's our understanding that ministers are usually briefed before question period, but she said she hadn't had the benefit of reading it. She obviously also hadn't had the benefit of being briefed on it either.

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She said, and this is the part that I found really interesting, "I want to point out to her"—meaning myself as the person asking her the question—"that this project is one which was approved before this government came to office. I'd be quite glad to give her whatever follow-up is available through the ministry."

This government has been in office two years and three months and this minister sort of palmed off this answer, that whatever was going on with this project, it was approved before her government came to office. That is totally unacceptable. The current Minister of Housing has to know what's going on in her ministry. She has to know what's going on with non-profit housing programs across this province, because she is responsible for them. The flipping on the sale of these properties that I was questioning her on didn't take place when the Liberals were the government. They in fact took place this year, albeit some of them in 1989, but some of them this year.

This is the same minister who thought it was okay to fund a non-profit housing project in Wawa at the time there was a 23% vacancy rate in Wawa. She actually gave taxpayers' money to build a non-profit apartment building of 40 units when there were two apartment buildings with empty units. That's the kind of lack of responsibility and lack of accountability this government seems to think is okay.

I am standing here saying that this is not okay. It is not acceptable to us and the Progressive Conservative caucus and it certainly is not acceptable to the people of this province, many of whom cannot afford any kind of housing or any other forms of food or shelter for themselves and their families. This government thinks this kind of thing is okay? I'm sorry; it is not.

I also said earlier this afternoon that, as the minister knew, my party had requested, through the freedom of information act, financial data on the non-profit housing program as a whole. We've just received information that there are more than 500 projects which have been approved for construction in the past 14 months funded by the taxpayers of this province when there is an alternative to providing housing for people who need it and who are eligible for subsidized shelter.

The information that we received through the freedom of information act has turned up some incredible facts. We have former ministry and city employees apparently acting as consultants. They expedite non-profit projects for large fees. Apparently one consultant guided 37 projects in Metro Toronto alone through the system in the past year. Our estimate is that this person could possibly have earned in excess of \$2 million in fees. We also have examples of non-profit corporations buying properties for three times what they were recently purchased for.

The list goes on and on. As the Provincial Auditor confirmed, the program is totally out of hand. While I'm commenting on the Provincial Auditor, I think something that is very significant and, I may add, pretty scary, is the

fact that we now have learned that there were comments in a memo to the Minister of Housing from the Provincial Auditor about how bad the operation of the Ministry of Housing is, articles on risky land purchases, comments on acquisition of professional services, comments such as—this is again from the Provincial Auditor—"We found that in 5 of 12 projects reviewed in the central region, the development consultant and architect were the same individual or firm or were otherwise related. While such a relationship can be beneficial, the potential for conflicts of interest is high and could contribute to higher costs.

"In one of these projects, the development consultant had the following involvement:"—Mr Speaker, listen to this—"acted as the real estate agent for the non-profit group in the purchase of the site and received a 5% commission," probably the same example I gave earlier, "was a director for the construction company building the project, held 50% of the voting shares," but apparently was not entitled to share in the profits from the project, "and was the property manager for the building as well as for several other projects completed by that non-profit group."

These comments go on and on, but what is really significant is that those comments I've just read into the record were omitted in the auditor's final report. Now that's the scariest part of all.

I think that the Minister of Housing has some answering to do and I would suggest that perhaps the Provincial Auditor would like the opportunity to explain why these comments were in a letter to the Minister of Housing, and yet not in the final auditor's report.

The auditor did, however, confirm in his public report that the non-profit housing program is out of hand. There are many people feeding at the trough, making a profit at the expense of Ontario's taxpayers and the people who need affordable housing.

Speaking of apparent conflicts of interest, a staffer in the minister's office is married to a key member of the Cooperative Housing Association of Ontario, which receives provincial subsidy dollars and loans.

Because of all this totally unacceptable mess in the non-profit housing program under this Minister of Housing, I asked the minister this afternoon if she would hold a public inquiry into the non-profit housing program, and if would she also conduct a thorough review of this program and remove those players who are in conflict of interest and lay charges where necessary.

Her answer was really very disappointing. She suggested that these questions I was asking were: "This is indeed a florid attack on the non-profit housing program." You bet your shoes it is, because those of us who are paying for the non-profit housing program in this province do not agree with this kind of situation existing. If this minister wants to think this is a flerid attack, she hasn't seen anything yet.

She said in her answer this afternoon, and I thought this was really interesting, "I'd like the member to remember that the information which she requested under the freedom of information act, and received, is quite different in nature from that reviewed by the auditor." 2040

Now, one has to say, why is it different? Isn't it interesting that the minister herself doesn't know anything about the article in Eye magazine that's criticizing the Woodgreen community project, but she happens to know in detail what the information is that I've requested under freedom of information. I think that is very interesting.

She has also said, and this is one of the best answers from the minister, where I asked about the conflict of the person who is on her ministry staff who's married to the key member of the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario: "I would also like to make it very clear that the member of my office who has a marital relationship with a man who works in the co-op housing field has had her situation and any element of possibility of conflict of interest checked very thoroughly, and has declared any potential interest. There is none. That's a very unfair and ungrounded kind of thing for her to be saying."

If it is so unfair and is so ungrounded, then why would they have had it checked? Simple question: Why would they have had it checked, and "having declared any potential interest," and, "There is none?" It's pretty messy, muddy stuff.

If this Minister of Housing thinks this is a joke, I want to assure her that the taxpayers of this province do not think this is a joke. The taxpayers of this province think it's a scandal that we are spending \$2 billion a year operating these non-profit housing programs, that the government is the landlord. The government is in the housing business instead of letting these people choose where they want to live and letting the private sector make the investment in building those units.

It is absurd that the money out of the taxpayers' pockets is building these apartment buildings and these other types of units and continuing to pay the subsidy and the operation on those buildings. It simply doesn't make sense and we know, not from me but from the Provincial Auditor, that the program is out of control.

If this minister sits here smiling and laughing, as she is this evening, then she has to deal with the taxpayers at the next election. In the meantime, I would suggest she has to be accountable to the Provincial Auditor. If this minister thinks that's acceptable to their socialist government, that's up to them. It is not acceptable to us.

All the years we've had criticism about the old Ontario housing development. That's what we're back to under this socialist government. This socialist government is now developing, building, owning and managing the same kind of thing we used to have in the old Ontario housing.

Non-profit housing programs are not the way to go. If people need to have assistance with their housing, as we have said, it is far fairer, if they are eligible for that assistance, to give them a direct shelter subsidy allowance and let them take the cheque and choose where they want to live.

They don't want to live in buildings that are labelled, they don't want to be in an identifiable project that's owned and operated by the government and, most of all, the Ontario taxpayers don't want the added expense when for the same money we can look after four times the number of people.

This Minister of Housing thinks it's okay to subsidize bachelor apartments in Toronto to the tune of \$2,100. At the same time, on the same day that project was approved, there was a high vacancy rate of bachelor apartments, an 11% vacancy rate, in Toronto. There were bachelor apartments available for \$420 a month. If they're really bent on spending this much money, they could look after four occupants for the price of one \$2,100 subsidy.

The other area that is really of concern, especially to the city of Mississauga, is the fact that it wants to manage its own affairs. The city of Mississauga has written to the Premier, as of October 20, 1992, and asked for a meeting with both the Premier and the Minister of Housing, because the city of Mississauga wants to decide for its municipality where the allocation of non-profit housing units in the region of Peel will go. Therefore, they passed this resolution requesting a meeting with the Minister of Housing and the Premier of Ontario.

Whether that meeting will ever take place is probably questionable, because it's like everything else that the city of Mississauga has been trying to do on behalf of its constituents. They sometimes, in the past year, have never received a reply from a minister. I think frankly that when a mayor represents 500,000 people, the very least these ministers could do is respond to Mayor Hazel McCallion. They do not respond. They do not choose to answer her letters.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): That is just not the case.

Mrs Marland: I have. If you want to see examples, I have a letter here that went to the Minister of Housing six months ago. Six months ago, I wrote to the Minister of Housing because of a policy that her ministry has about the kinds of windows that go into its non-profit buildings. This is really interesting. First of all, the minister chooses not to even acknowledge my letter, let alone respond to my question, in six months.

One thing I will give the Premier's office full marks for is that if we write to the Premier's office, we get an answer in a month. It took us 10 months to get an answer from the Minister of Education, Mr Silipo. I must mention that the Minister of Culture and Communications has a policy of getting back within a month to six or seven weeks. But not so with the Minister of Housing. Six months later she has not answered this question, and this was a question that was raised to me—

Mr Elston: What's she hiding, Margaret?

Mrs Marland: What is she hiding? Only she really knows the answer to that question.

I have a letter from Mr Pollard of Pollard Windows in Burlington, and I suspect he's probably a constituent of the member for Burlington South. Mr Pollard points out that he has not been able to bid on the windows for any provincial government non-profit housing projects because the specifications are very narrow. Get this: For instance, the window frames have to be black, bright red or royal blue. He points out that such windows are primarily produced outside the province. Therefore, the government is missing the chance to create employment opportunities for

Ontarians. This is the government that does this big fanfare of announcements of Jobs Ontario, and it's not even allowing an Ontario firm to bid on windows for its non-profit housing projects.

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Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): You should send that to the minister.

Mrs Marland: I sent it to the minister six months ago.

Mr Phillips: What did she say?

Mrs Marland: I haven't had a response. This is the kind of accountability—total lack of it—we're talking about here.

In case you think I'm only picking on the Minister of Housing in terms of her response, I'd like to refer to the Solicitor General. I notice his concurrences are on the agenda tonight in this debate, and I don't concur with the Solicitor General's operation either. In his case, I wrote to him six months ago.

**Mr Phillips:** What did he say?

Mrs Marland: Of course I still haven't had either a reply or an acknowledgement. In this case it was a letter to him following a board meeting of the Regional Municipality of Peel Police Services Board on May 15. The Peel police services board simply called on the provincial government "to establish a more equitable funding formula that recognizes population growth as an integral factor in determining transfer payments to municipalities for providing police services and that recognizes additional funding must accompany additional responsibilities demanded by provincial legislation and regulation."

Mr Phillips: What did the Solicitor General say?

Mrs Marland: There has been no response to this request from the Peel police services board. There is no acknowledgement by this government that a high-growth area like the region of Peel needs any different funding formula, let alone the funding formula in a vacuum that currently faces these organizations.

Another letter I wrote to the Solicitor General is five months old. I still don't have an answer to this, and guess what? This letter is about casinos—interesting. This was a resolution passed by the city of Mississauga on May 25 wherein the resolution by the city of Mississauga reads as follows:

"Whereas the provincial government has indicated a strong interest in legalizing casino gambling in Ontario;

"And whereas the introduction of casino gambling could result in increased costs for local agencies which would be responsible for the monitoring and policing of such establishments;

"And whereas casino gambling could result in an increase in criminal activity,

"Now therefore be it resolved that prior to any decision to legalize casino gambling in Ontario that the provincial government enter into full consultation with police agencies and local governments to ensure that such a decision does not result in a potential increase in criminal activities or a substantial increase in cost to local agencies which would be responsible for monitoring or policing such gambling activities."

That is a very significant resolution passed by the city of Mississauga on May 25. I referred this resolution to the Solicitor General five months ago. In none of those weeks and months since then have I received either an acknowledgement or a reply.

This government is so far out to lunch it can't even manage its correspondence. Those are very serious, very significant questions that are asked in that resolution by the city of Mississauga. They want to know. They want to be consulted. If we're going to have casino gambling in this province, they want to be sure that for any increased costs associated with those operations, like police costs particularly, there would be money forthcoming from the province to help with the added burden on the local municipality. But of course this government doesn't really care about that.

I have to mention that I find it very disturbing that I asked the Minister of Housing a number of questions in the Housing estimates in August and I still have not received the answers to those questions. If this minister is going to operate her ministry responsibly and gives me the assurance in estimates that I would get answers to my questions and then doesn't have staff who ensure that those answers are forthcoming, then I think it's an insult to the whole process. I think we might as well stop holding the estimates committee hearings. The total system becomes a farce.

If we ask questions on behalf of our constituents, agencies and different levels of government around this province to these ministers and they choose to ignore those letters—they ignore our letters; they ignore the letters of our mayors of municipalities as large as Mississauga, as I said, with half a million people—then this government is just operating in a vacuum. They don't really care to hear from anybody. They have their own ideological agenda. They have got their ship set in one direction and everybody else has to fall behind in the wake of their voyage—their voyage to destruction of this province. Thank goodness we are at least halfway through this trip of trepidation for the socialist government in Ontario.

I have a concern and I have asked this question a number of times in a number of different forums and I still haven't had answers to this question either, and that is about the fact that we have so many children on waiting lists at our mental health centres. We have, in fact, a confirmed number of 6,847 children on waiting lists for service; 6,847 children on waiting lists for mental health service.

Those children have all kinds of unbelievable difficulty in coping on a day-to-day basis. Many of them are victims of child abuse and other terrible situations in their family life and we can't get them help through mental health services because this government doesn't make it a priority.

The other area of concern to me is that we have in my riding a home for the aged called Sheridan Villa. I have written to the Minister of Community and Social Services and so has Emil Kolb, the chairman of the regional municipality of Peel, to ask for money for the renovations to Sheridan Villa—acknowledge that we have money coming

from the government, which was started by the Liberal government, to renovate Peel Manor, the other home for the aged operated by the region of Peel.

In the summer, especially in the heat, the situation in Sheridan Villa is grim and totally uncomfortable for the people who work there—and I would have thought this government would have been interested in the people who work there because they are, for the most part, members of different unions—and particularly also very uncomfortable for the residents who live there 24 hours a day.

As Emil Kolb said to Ms Boyd, the minister, in a letter on July 30, 1992: "I must also remind you of our joint pledge to provide a safe and caring environment to our seniors. Sheridan Villa has legitimate renovation needs that will require addressing and, while I appreciate the fact that you may not be in a position to commit for 1993, I also look to you for some leadership in setting in place a process for planning and prioritizing capital projects that will allow us to plan for such future renovations in Peel and elsewhere in Ontario."

That letter is over the signature of Emil Kolb, regional chairman and chief executive officer, July 30, 1992, but again, no response from the Minister of Community and Social Services.

I think any government which cannot set priorities in terms of human need is a government totally without heart.

Are you leaving, Mr Premier? The Premier is giving me the sign to shut down, and I'm not at all clear whether it is that he can't bear to hear the truth about his government or his government members are anxious to leave. I think this evening all of us would rather be somewhere else than in this House, but these issues that I am placing on the record are issues of major concern to the taxpayers who live in this province, who work in this province and whose children also are trying to cope on a daily basis with many different challenges.

I have spoken a lot in the past two weeks about developmentally challenged children and adults. I've mentioned the fact that we had the big rally here on the front lawns of Queen's Park three weeks ago today, as a matter of fact.

One other facility that I have not talked about before except in passing is the last one whose story I want to leave with this House tonight. When we do not have enough money to do everything, we have to help those people who need help the most. I have said so many times—

Interjections.

Mrs Marland: Mr Speaker, it's very hard to talk about a subject as serious as this in this atmosphere of laughter and visiting.

The Acting Speaker: Could I call everyone to order, please. I know everyone is milling around and chatting, and it is late at night, but the honourable member for Mississauga South does have the floor and is making her point on concurrence.

Mrs Marland: I can understand that the government members don't want to listen to me, but I really think that if they don't wish to listen, they could adjourn their celebrations and their visiting to somewhere else in this building than in this chamber at this time.

I feel very strongly about a facility in Mississauga known as Erinoak. Erinoak is also known to some of these members who represent Halton. I think that these backbenchers in the government should be doing exactly what I'm doing, which is trying to point out to the government, namely the cabinet, that we have to spend in terms of priority of human need. These children who are dependent on Erinoak will not survive without this help. We have thousands of children facing all kinds of difficulties in this province and, to varying degrees, some of them will cope; some of them will survive.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. There is a great deal of noise. The Speaker is having difficulty hearing. Please allow the member for Mississauga South the opportunity to participate in the debate.

Mrs Marland: When we talk about young people with physical disabilities, we talk about the most challenged individuals there are. The fact that they have physical and developmental disabilities as children means that they will have that situation for the rest of their lives. It is even worse than adults with the same challenges and problems.

Erinoak is classified as a group K public hospital, providing coordinated, integrated habilitation, rehabilitation and support services to children and young adults with physical disabilities. Erinoak's government funding sources are the Ministry of Health, the principal source, and the Ministry of Community and Social Services. Their service capacity is enriched by the United Way of Peel region, active fund-raising and volunteer recruitment activities. Erinoak is a specialized regional resource, and there are no other similar agencies in Peel and Halton.

Erinoak is currently serving 1,158 children and their families. It is a remarkable facility. Their challenge is to assist all children and young adults with physical disabilities in Peel and Halton to participate to the fullest in society through the provision of adequate and equitable levels of necessary services.

The problems that face Erinoak are the following: On the basis of information received to date about the 1993-94 and 1994-95 Ministry of Health funding, they believe they are facing the prospect of having to reduce their clinical staff complement and, as a consequence, having to reduce planned service levels. In addition, they understand that massive funding cuts by the Ministry of Community and Social Services are imminent.

The continued viability of their services, even without the anticipated reduction, is a very serious concern for the following reasons: Case load growth is steadily increasing, currently at the rate of 200 clients per year. Erinoak does not have the option of referring children and families to other service providers. There are no other agencies providing specialized paediatric rehabilitation services in Peel and Halton regions. Service levels for clients are being steadily eroded.

Erinoak has one of the highest ratios of children with complex conditions—for example, cerebral palsy—on its

case load. Erinoak has the lowest percentage of children receiving active, once a week or more, physiotherapy, occupational therapy and speech therapy. In other words, children are receiving less treatment in terms of attendance days than any other serviced area in the province. Erinoak has one of the highest ratios of cases per therapist, whether it's physiotherapy, occupational therapy or social work.

The number of children requiring acute-level rehabilitation, which would be perhaps head injury or post-surgery, has increased dramatically in the last few years due to earlier discharge from hospitals. We all understand that; we all hear about the earlier discharges from hospitals. The only way earlier discharges from hospitals can work, just as the only way this goal of bringing everybody home and out of our institutions can work, is if the community resources are there. Erinoak is an example of one of those community resources.

Erinoak has diligently pursued strategies for coping with increasing client-staff ratios. Productivity levels, using weighted units as the indicator, have been steadily improved over the years, currently higher than provincial averages for all disciplines. They lead the province's centres in obtaining service leveraged through the Ministry of Community and Social Services' special services at home program and community funding adapted to sports-leisure programs.

The mediator training service model is used wherever practical. Steps towards developing equity and growth funding formulae for health services provided by children's treatment centres have been initiated by the Ministry of Health. They also understand that similar action for social services is planned by the Ministry of Community and Social Services. While these initiatives are encouraging, they have serious concerns about the time frame required for implementation.

### 2110

If this government cannot look after these children, then I wonder what the priorities of this government are. Of all the areas I have touched on very quickly tonight in terms of the concurrences of the ministries that are before us in this debate, for me, and I think for most of us, there is no priority greater than our children and adults with special needs. This government will never hear any criticism from us, if it will only prioritize on that basis. We can't pretend we're caring if we're not. You can't be a government that pretends to have compassion and meets with the officers of the Ontario Association for Community Living and pretends it understands the concerns and then demonstrates it by making cuts to their budgets. You can't do that. You cannot pretend to be one thing when you are something else.

This government seems to have some kind of licence on charades. This government, in opposition, put itself in a position where it was the ambassador for everybody who had a need. They were the spokesperson for every person with special requirements, for every person in difficulty. Now, in the grey light of dawn, the reality has hit them that you can't be all things to all people; especially you cannot be that in a recession.

We understand that, and we're not asking this government to spend more money, Premier. I'm impressed that you've sat here all evening. We're not asking you to spend more money. We're simply asking you to stand on the public platforms around this province and announce funding in terms of priority of human need. We will stand there with you if you will make those decisions that you will look after the people who in no way will ever be able to look after themselves, if you will look after those people first. The taxpayers of this province have no difficulty with that, but they have a lot of difficulty with some of the examples of wastage which I have given you tonight in terms of the non-profit housing program.

And there are other ministries with other programs we can all live without. We can all manage with some of the other cutbacks. There are many areas in the world where people have far, far less than we do in this province. We are still a "wealthy" government. We still have revenues coming in here. But our challenge to you is how those revenues are spent. Frankly, I don't see those revenues, the income of this government, being spent on a priority basis. When I see grant moneys being allocated to unions to write their little union songs, that's just one little example.

Hon Mr Rae: Through the Ontario Arts Council.

Mrs Marland: Yes, albeit through the arts council. But how do you think that single mother feels who has no money this year to buy anything to go under the tree and no tree to put anything under for her children, when we know there is money being wasted and being misspent? Other colleagues in our caucus have certainly given you examples in the past six months of where money has not been spent.

It's not a priority to move ministries out of the greater Toronto area to other locations in this province in a recession year. It's not a priority to spend millions of dollars moving, for example, the Ministry of Transportation to St Catharines. The irony is that when these ministries move, it's always in the guise that it's going to provide jobs in the local area. I'd like somebody to explain to me how that happens, because the ministry staff either move with the ministry or give up their jobs. Who is going to give up his job rather than move with the ministry, so how does that create extra jobs in the area they move to?

Most importantly, there's a time to make those kinds of decisions, there's a time to make those kinds of expenditures. I respectfully suggest that that time is not now, it is not in the recession of 1992. But the time is now to look after these children and frail, fragile, vulnerable adults I have addressed and not waste money that exists in the treasury today.

In the interest of time, I will end my comments now in this debate on concurrences. I am not happy with the expenditure, as I said earlier, of most of those ministries with which I am familiar, and I hope the Premier will pay heed to the concerns of the people who need the most help first and forget about the frills and trying to be the fairy godfather who goes around the province dropping pennies here and there to try to please everybody, because in real-

ity it will all come back to haunt him. It will certainly come home to roost when the taxpayers of this province look at how their money has been spent at the time of the next provincial election.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on concurrences?

**Mr Elston:** I won't be very long, although I had understood that there would be one more speaker from the third party.

Mrs Marland: No.

**Mr Elston:** Oh, that has changed. I won't be that long, although there are a couple of things I'd like to put on the record of why we're going through supply.

These are very interesting times for the people of Ontario and no less interesting for the people in Bruce county. We have an interesting economy in our area, one that is dominated, it's fair to say, by the nuclear industry, with the Bruce nuclear power generating stations, both A and B, and heavy water plant located between Kincardine and Port Elgin being the focal point of a lot of economic activity. The men and women who work there are highly skilled and trained and well-paid members of our communities, and in fact stretch into the ridings of Huron and Grey and into other areas as well as they perform their jobs at the Point, so-called, producing electrical energy to be consumed around the province.

It is with great concern that we have been hearing about the postponements of the rehabilitation and maintenance activities around Bruce A because it has caused us a great deal of concern about the future of the jobs that are in our community. Our community, while dominated by Hydro, is made up of an interesting mix of economic players. The next largest, I suspect, is probably government or neargovernment activities; I include in that hospitals and schools in municipal, provincial and federal government undertakings. And then probably we get into agriculture and tourism, all the types of activities that the Speaker will be well aware of in his riding, which used to be called Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, before the traditional name was changed by the current member.

Things aren't going that well for us, and things didn't need to be made that much worse to cause a tremendous difficulty for the men and women who own retail outlets in the riding of Bruce. We just heard what I thought was probably one of the best speeches that has been delivered in the House, for content, by the member for St Catharines as he displayed a very deep knowledge—

Mrs Marland: Oh, I thought he was going to say the member for Mississauga South.

Mr Elston: Actually, I thought the member for Mississauga South's speech was not quite equally as good but was actually full of some very interesting points. She was very good, but the speech by the member for St Catharines I thought presented an extremely balanced, detailed presentation of the problems that are confronting his community and in fact the whole of the Niagara Peninsula as it deals with the difficulties in GM.

It was one of the best speeches I have heard for some time, not because it was made up of a whole lot of

light-hearted gibes or any of that stuff. It was all presented with a sort of classic touch of interest, dispassionate in some ways but full of passion and emotion with respect to supporting the men and women who are going to be thrown out on to the streets as a result of some decisions to be made by a corporate entity.

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In the riding of Bruce we are equally in extremis because of the probability of decisions to be taken by another corporate entity, but this corporate entity, rather than being in the private sector, rather than being sort of out of reach of government or out of any kind of influence of government, is the government's own corporate agency that produces electrical energy in the province of Ontario, and this moves it just that much closer to the Premier and to the Minister of Energy and to the men and women who serve on the government benches as they start to look at the problems associated with throwing women and men out of work at a plant that has traditionally provided a lot of economic activity for the people of Bruce county.

It's an interesting problem for us in Bruce county, because while we have those electrical workers, or the people who work at the electrical site—not all are electrical workers; some are maintenance, some are security, some are labourers—those people all provide electrical energy at a price to the other men and women who live in my riding and around the province who own businesses, both small business manufacturing and other types of retail outlets and larger businesses that are producing in our area some of the key elements for the production of other manufactured goods around the province and indeed even outside our province, and also the electrical energy at a price to the men and women who are involved in farming activities or who are involved in tourist activities.

So we have an interesting problem. We need electrical energy at a reasonable price in this province so that we can remain competitive, and everybody knows the problems associated right now with the economy, the depressed state of our consumer confidence, the depressed nature of the prices that affect almost all of the agricultural sector—the Minister of Agriculture and Food is here and has been here most of the night, I must say—with perhaps the exception of milk and some of the other supply-managed commodities. But all of those people are confronted by increasing costs of hydro.

It's interesting that the men and women who are working at the plant are not asking for special deals or special consideration with respect to their operations at the Bruce A generating station, but they are asking for a very positive and public display that the considerations of Bruce A and the future of the rehabilitation and maintenance at that place will be done in a fair and thorough way.

Right now the biggest concern is that there is an agenda which is attached to a political party that now governs this province that reflects a totally anti-nuclear bias.

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): But it's a good government, eh?

Mr Elston: Well, the member from Kapuskasing has had his scare with respect to a total plant shutdown in Kapuskasing, and I congratulate the government for helping the

folks in Kapuskasing come to grips with a possible plan shutdown. But for him, it seems to me, he is able now to relax in a way the member from St Catharines is not able to relax, or he is able to relax in a way I am not able to relax, because there is an anticipation of the loss not only of economic activity around our part of Ontario but because we have the possibility of a whole series of other problems associated with loss of activity at the plant. I can't relax.

Just as the member for Cochrane North would expect a fair hand and an openly public fair hand to be displayed by the Premier and by the ministers who are interested in the population in Kapuskasing, I in Bruce am looking for a public and open display of fairness from the Premier, from the Minister of Energy and from the new chair at Hydro when it comes to assessing the future viability of my workers at the plant.

It is extremely important for us if we have that demonstration, because the headlines today, as a result of the interviews of Maurice Strong in the agencies committee yesterday, were such that it has caused considerable pain for the people at home, considerable dislocation for the men and women who had just recently moved to the Bruce and who have purchased houses.

You see, the people who work at the plant are relatively well paid, in fact very well paid, by comparison to a lot of other workers in the province. But they're just like everybody else. They have families to feed, they have houses to pay for, they have education to look out for. And now, when it seemed that everything was falling into place for a large number of those women and men there, they have the anticipation that their cheques will be cut off.

Indeed, for some of them it may not mean the loss of a job, but it will mean that they will have to sell their houses in our area to move to the places where the jobs are available, because the contracts that employ them allow them to bump others around the province. While the jobs will be lost, perhaps, at the Bruce plant as a result of some decisions to be taken, all the fallout will not occur in Bruce county or Grey or Huron. The bumped positions will be lost in other centres—maybe in Pickering, maybe in Darlington, maybe in Sarnia, maybe in Nanticoke; I don't know.

But the pain will be felt most severely in Bruce, Grey and Huron counties, because that's where the value of the real estate will be affected; that's where the value of the retail outlets on the main streets and in the malls of my part of the country will be affected; that's where the consumer confidence has been dampened. And that already is the place where in fact there have been cancellations of construction projects, which has produced unemployment for men and women in the contracting businesses.

You will bear with me for just a couple of moments if I put those facts on the record. I join my colleague the member for St Catharines, who so vividly put the case for all of us, I think, when he said, "When we suffer a problem locally, then surely we must suffer for all of the folks in Ontario." The result of the loss of one more job in this province is devastating, in my view, to a tremendous extent on all of us, the costs associated with it: the loss of economic activity, the loss of the ability for people to earn

and generate their own income for their own families. If we rest easy because we settle our one plant problem, then it seems to me we betray the position we have been elected to as members: to represent all the people of the province of Ontario.

While some of us in opposition can't, perhaps, do as much as others can—some days we can do more than some backbenchers on the government side; I've had some experience in dealing in things like that—all of us have an obligation, it seems to me, to work towards ending the prospect of unemployment in this province. I have a big problem right now, and I want, more than anything else, I guess, to have something said which will provide some public assurance just prior to Christmas for the people who are at the plant.

Before I go any further, Mr Speaker, and I won't go much longer, I would like to say a word about the agricultural sector in Bruce county. I know that you, as the critic for your party, sir, when you're not in that chair, will agree with me, as probably the minister does, that this is the worst time that you've probably seen—it is certainly for me the worst time I've seen—for agriculture in terms of weather. I've seen bits and pieces of problems where you have some weeks of bad weather, but never whole summers. It just has not been very good at all. We are in a crisis situation.

I was pleased when the Minister of Agriculture and Food said today that they were looking at ways of being extremely flexible with crop insurance in helping people to pay some of the added expenses of salvage operations for the meagre yields which await the farming communities as they go out into their cornfields. While we're being attacked tonight by snow, which is not a very good result for those of us who live in the snow belt and in other areas where the corn is at risk already, I congratulate him for being flexible. I congratulate him for pursuing all possible ways, which I'm sure he will, with the Treasurer and the Premier to provide some cash flow for our farming community—not only in Bruce, although that's my interest area; it is needed right around the province of Ontario if we expect to have an agricultural economy that is going to help us move slowly but surely out of recession.

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So while I commend him, I would ask him, since we're going to be away from here for maybe two or three months—although I notice the member for St Catharines had invited the Premier to call us back in January to look after the various difficulties which are pressing, I suspect it'll be two or three months before we get back here, and I know that although we won't be here, there will be letters and there will be meetings that will require some work to help our agricultural sector.

Just one other point: There is such a short time. I'm always impressed with the fact that right now we are besieged by so many complaints about so many parts of the operations not only of our economy but of the elements that come together to produce what has traditionally been known as a very vibrant economy in Ontario—our education system, our health system, our social support system, all of those. But it seems to me that one of the places

where we get most of the complaints—I don't want to minimize the calls that I have received from other areas of concern—is our education system.

Our education system right now is besieged in a way which I have never seen it being besieged. So many concerns have been built up, and I know that while the Minister of Education is here, he agrees that money is always an issue that is focusing the attention of his bureaucrats and others, particularly as they run up into a new budget year. I think the thing that has got to be addressed in our minds is what we intend to accomplish in our education system.

Perhaps our institutions now that provide education for our children, which extend even into post-secondary, but when I say "education," primarily elementary and secondary level education, have the sense that our schools are being asked to do every job in our society in a way which is so complete that they cannot ever accomplish them. It doesn't just teach reading and writing and arithmetic, like we used to think of them in the old days, even, I dare say, in the days when I attended SS No 7, Morris township. "Stone school," it was called. It isn't even that.

Now there are so many other items which have to be dealt with. There are issues of parenting, there are issues of counselling, there are issues of providing a sense of socializing, I guess, in the schools. There is an athletic component, there are components that require our teachers to do almost everything, integration of pupils into the system who hadn't previously been in the system.

I only raise this as an issue because if we are ever to understand what it is that our education system is to provide our young girls and boys, from whom we are expecting so much as older people—they're going to have to carry us when we're out of here—if we are ever to figure out what our schools are going to do for those people in training them to become better citizens and better prepared to deal with the new pressures, then in my view we are going to have to fundamentally rethink all of the tasks that are associated with our schools, both elementary and secondary.

While money is always at issue and while the professionals are always concerned about curricula, it seems to me that those concerns cannot nearly come to a positive conclusion for the students if we are unsure of what that end result is to be that we expect the institutions to deliver. Is it just reading, writing and arithmetic? At this point, it isn't just that, although there are variations of those curricula and expansions of those curricula right around the province.

So I want some time to be taken, not only by the government but by the people generally. Goodness only knows, as a parent I have concerns about the education system, but when people think about those concerns, I want them not just to be critical without trying to understand what it is we're asking of our elementary and secondary systems.

I know that may come as a bit of a surprise to the Minister of Education, but I'm not going to complain about the lack of money or needing more buildings here or there; heaven knows, we need them in Bruce as well. I want people to really focus their attention, for maybe the first time in this last decade, to the real task at hand for those institutions. I will say no more there.

Finally, what I need to tell the people is that there is probably hope for our economy. As politicians, we tend to hear almost all the bad stories, and we hear tremendous amounts of dislocation associated with our economy right now. I find myself going out to speak at various events struggling to make sure that my remarks are not just a recitation of all of the bad things happening in this province. And there are a number of them, a tremendous number of those dislocations, but from time to time, as politicians, I think we must point out some of the good things that are happening.

While there is good, there is inevitably a bit of a bad side. Mr Bradley, the member for St Catharines, again spoke about the retooling down in Windsor that was perhaps in the long run going to help the auto industry in

Windsor, for which we're quite grateful.

Taking a look at my own community of Walkerton, Ontario, people will probably be surprised to know that Walkerton, with a population of about 4,700 people, is the home of a nationally recognized producer of batteries. Everybody recognizes the name Energizer, and we have the Eveready plant in Walkerton. While they have been going through some tremendous difficulties there in meeting the pressures of all the trade issues that affect all the other manufacturers, Eveready has been toiling to try and maintain the home of production for eastern Canada, the Energizer, in the town of Walkerton. They have a wonderful plant, they have a very productive work force.

I guess it is a job of a local member to become parochial for just a moment. I suggest that when you go out to purchase a few of those battery-operated toys you're going to give away at Christmas, or when you're giving away the new toys to the charitable organizations in your own home towns, make sure you buy some Energizer batteries to go along with them. I heartily recommend them, and not only do I recommend them but they're produced and made by men and women who live and work not only in Walkerton and surrounding area but in Ontario.

If we can do anything that helps our local economies and if the member can do anything that helps the local economy to advertise how good the products are that are made at home, I think perhaps that would be a boost to a lot of the local economies right around the province. There are some interesting ads appearing on TV, or on the radio; I don't see a lot of television. I'm not sure by whom they are being sponsored, but they talk about shopping in your own home town. While I resist telling people to shop only Canadian, I certainly am a hearty endorser of shopping for everything we make here in Canada, but more particularly in Ontario, because I know of the quality associated with that production. I know it has a very positive effect on our economy.

I commend that as a trademark, I hope, of the members of this Legislature, that we'll buy Ontario products where possible and will buy them in a way which will assist our economy to get going, to assist the men and women who need the confidence those purchases will provide.

So when I mention that Eveready is manufactured in Walkerton and is a big part of the community, a very positive corporate citizen of our town, involved in various activities, sponsoring various organizations, and is composed in workforce terms of men and women from right around the area, I only put in a pitch to say that while they are good and worthy members of our society, they need your help as people in Ontario to buy what is a very top quality product. I fully endorse the Energizer to your consideration at this time of the year.

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Finally, in regard to the Health ministry, I have to say that I was a Health minister at one time. When people go through their time as minister, they certainly become aware of a fact that, once a minister, they never really lose; that is, the connection to the ministry. The member for Carleton was closely associated with freedom of information for years and years. He knows and has become one of the resident experts here because he worked so closely in putting some of the foundations in place with respect to freedom of information here.

With respect to health care, more than anything else while I spoke about education and rethinking, or at least thinking about the fundamentals, the foundations of our education system—I think we really must be careful about doing things that either give the perception or actually undermine the confidence of the people in our own health system. I understand how much we're under pressure economically, but my view has been and will continue to be that if we have an educated and a healthy population, we start at so much a greater advantage than any other of the economies around this world.

I tell the Minister of Health, I tell the Treasurer and I tell the Premier that from my point of view, if you have to do anything with respect to cuts-and I understand you don't want to be unfair to any of your ministers or your ministries or their worthwhile or worthy projects—I urge you to take every caution against dismantling the system that has been, by and large, the hallmark of our society and the envy of the people around the world when it comes to providing care for our people.

I am concerned and really taken aback a little bit by some of the growing trends which I fear may augur poorly for the health system. I notice that some medications have been taken off the list; there may be a way of justifying that those medications fall off. I note that people are being given less money to be out of the province in the hospitals, and that may be okay. But when you apply with a very broad brush a policy that affects everybody, you invariably hurt some people in some parts of our province.

I take for an example the people up in Rainy River, up in Fort Frances. When it was discovered that there was no more drug and alcohol abuse treatment being paid for out of the States, that community lost its primary, almost its sole access for the men and women who found themselves dependent on various substances, to receive treatment. I really express a concern to the leaders of the government to make sure they don't undo a lot of the good things that our health system has provided.

At this juncture I also want to mention one thing, and this is the end of it-

Hon Mr Laughren: Are you sure?

Mr Elston: Well, very close to it. This was something I was not going to mention, but I feel very strongly about this, because I note that people generally think of us as politicians and that we're somehow immune to a whole series of difficulties that other people feel and suffer from.

Actually, there are two or three people who are ill, but one of our colleagues here is quite ill. I have been watching the member for Don Mills, and I am very much impressed with the type of person I have watched as she struggles with her difficulties. It is the single most important signal, in my view, to all the people in this province that we as members display the type of humanity that takes into consideration the suffering of those among us. The degree of tenacity with which they carry on, in a way which is most difficult but which has offered a bearing and an example to all of us, is worth sitting back and digesting. I really pay tribute to that member.

I pay tribute to the people around the province who are likewise suffering under those sorts of disabilities. I wish to finish by saying that, this Christmas season, all of us should think of people like that and the great example it sets for those who suffer from other problems.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): The time allowed for these concurrences has now expired. The first question is, concurrence in supply for the ministry—

Mr Elston: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I ask unanimous consent to have all the concurrences passed with one vote and to consider the concurrences moved with one motion.

# The Deputy Speaker: Agreed? Agreed.

So the question will be concurrence in supply for the ministries of Agriculture and Food; Health; Education; Housing; Transportation; Industry, Trade and Technology; Community and Social Services; Environment; Consumer and Commercial Relations; Natural Resources; Solicitor General; Tourism and Recreation. Agreed? Agreed.

Mrs Marland: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: One intention I had when I was on my feet earlier was to thank our unseen support staff, namely the people who put up with all of our speeches and questions and deliberations in this House. I'm speaking of our electronic Hansard people, who follow us through these black boxes on all sides of this chamber. I think it would be great if, instead of applauding, we might all wave and express our appreciation and good wishes of the season to all of our people in the camera booths. Thank you for all your help.

The Deputy Speaker: We're always on camera, and I hope that members of Parliament realize we're always facing the camera. Over 400,000 people every day watch television. Of course we communicate a message. The work performed by all the people, from Hansard and from the table, will have to be congratulated.

# SUPPLY ACT, 1992 LOI DE CRÉDITS DE 1992

On motion by Mr Laughren, the following bill was given first reading:

Bill 117, An Act to authorize the payment of certain amounts for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending

on the 31st day of March, 1993 / Loi autorisant le paiement de certaines sommes destinées à la fonction publique pour l'exercice se terminant le 31 mars 1993.

Mr Laughren moved second reading of the bill.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Shall the motion carry?

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Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Mr Speaker, I don't want to frighten the House by saying that I'm going to speak very long, but I have been here all evening and I did ask my House leader for a few minutes to say a few things.

I could talk to you about the fair share for Peel and the question of how Peel does not receive its fair share, in terms of population, of grants in all areas, be it education, health and so on. I have a very brief period of time—I'm glad to see the Premier is here—and I want to raise an issue which I think is of some importance in terms of what is going on in our society, and that very issue is the question of justice.

Very little concern is given to justice. We are seeing a society today that is very much more angry, very much more difficult, very much more about death, assaults and so on that are occurring in our society.

I want to put an oar in the water for justice because justice happens to be not a terribly sexy political issue. It's one of the areas for which people like my good friend the Attorney General in your government, the Attorney General in our government and I'm sure the Attorney General in the Conservative government found it very difficult to pry any bucks out of the usually parsimonious treasurers who have existed. I caution you that this is a very dangerous precedent.

We have emerged from a Toronto where you could walk the streets at night. We have emerged from many communities around this province where you could walk safely at night. We no longer have that privilege. We are now facing situations where people are subject to being raped, assaulted or murdered.

I suggest that it becomes very important, in order to preserve and maintain the integrity and the safety of our communities, that we give a significant concern to the question of justice. Justice can no longer be the poor boy or girl on the block. It has to be a matter that is going to be funded in relation to the importance that each and every one of us puts on the safety of ourselves, our children and our loved ones.

I recognize that it doesn't win a lot of votes. It's not a terribly sexy political issue. It's one that attorney generals have to struggle for. It's one that ministers of corrections and solicitor generals have to struggle for. But I will tell you, and I've said it many times in this House, that we are going to face continuing serious crime in the midst of our communities that will affect not just the adults but will affect the children of our communities. Unless we're prepared to put the dollars there, even though it's not a sexy political issue, we are going to find that it's going to become ever increasingly more difficult to overcome the problems we've got.

I guess I could have started off, "Twas the night before Christmas," since this is the last sitting of this Legislature till perhaps March or April, but I think it's very important that we take that message away with us and remember that it's fine to look after all these sexy political issues and that it's fine—I notice we have a new member of the press gallery—to deal with all those things that you think get you votes, but in the final analysis, if you want to be safe in your beds, if you want to be safe in leaving your door open, if you want to be safe in letting your daughter or son go down to the store, then we have to put a real priority on the question of funding of justice.

We've already seen how our courts are being just penny-pinched. We're not looking after the question of bringing people out of the correctional system with some degree of remedy to their problems. We're just doing a revolving door syndrome. I hate to sound like—I'm trying to think of the guy who made predictions—but if you don't do something about it, if you don't address the question of drug abuse and alcohol abuse, and that's part of the justice system, if you don't address the adequacy of judges, courtrooms, policemen and all the rest of it, then everything we do in this Legislature will become totally of no use whatsoever because we will become prisoners in our own Legislature. It will not be safe to leave here unless we go in groups, and you just have to look at New York, Chicago and the major cities—this is exactly what happened.

I urge you to think about it over the intersession and decide that that's going to become an important issue because if you don't, I can tell you, I will predict that five years from today, you'll have a similar session ending and you people will not leave this building alone. You will leave it en masse. You will leave it probably under guard. You can say that I'm predicting something that's foolish, but I'm telling you it's going to come. We're bringing all sorts of things in here that are going to make it worse: casino gambling and so on.

Interjection.

Mr Callahan: I know; I got you.

I leave you with that message, that for our children's sake, for our spouses' sake, for the safety of this community, the Treasurer, the Premier and all those decision-makers in this government and any other government that follows better start putting a lot more concern into the question of how we look after law and order and the safety of the citizens of our province.

Having said that, I wish every one of you compliments of the season and a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, and I do that to all of my constituents.

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): I think it's important for the public of Ontario to understand what we are doing at this moment in our history, An Act to authorize the payment of certain amounts for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending on the 31st day of March, 1993. We are tonight authorizing the payment of \$36,971,884,500 to be paid out of the consolidated revenue fund by this government.

The way we have seen this government manage the bank account of the province of Ontario will lead this party

to oppose the payment of that amount of money out of the consolidated revenue fund. We would normally pass this kind of legislation on a reasonable nod. Our concern is that much of this \$36,971,884,500 has been wasted by this Treasurer and this Premier over the past nine months and we have no prospect of it being spent in a more prudent manner over the next three months.

Mr Laughren has moved second reading of An Act to authorize the payment of certain amounts for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending on the 31st day of March, 1993. Shall the motion carry? Carried.

Mr Laughren moved third reading of the bill.

The Deputy Speaker: Shall the motion carry? All those in favour of the motion will please "aye." All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion, the ayes have it. I declare the motion carried.

Be it resolved that the bill be entitled as in the motion and be carried.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker, if I might, I have three motions to move.

#### STATUS OF BUSINESS

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): I move that, notwithstanding the prorogation of the House,

- (i) all government bills except Bill 20, An Act to amend the Education Act, Bill 81, An Act to revise the Condominium Act, Bill 168, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act, Bill 171, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands;
- (ii) all government orders with respect to committee reports;
- (iii) the following private members' bills ordered for second reading: Bill 5, An Act to provide for Vehicle and Pedestrian Safety, Bill 13, An Act to provide for the Protection of Financial Consumers, Bill 33, An Act to amend the Representation Act, Bill 36, An Act to amend the Highway Traffic Act and the Education Act respecting School Bus Monitors, Bill 62. An Act to amend the Environmental Protection Act in respect of the Niagara Escarpment, Bill 67, An Act to require the Minister of the Environment to direct an Investigation into the deleterious human health effects of exposure to Radon in indoor air, Bill 69, an Act to require the Minister of the Environment to direct an Investigation into the deleterious human health effects of exposure to Abrin, Bill 70, an Act to require the Minister of the Environment to direct an Investigation into the deleterious human health effects of exposure to Benzoapyrene, Bill 83, An Act to amend the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act respecting Fees Charged for Access to Records;
- (iv) the following private members' bill referred to the standing committee on resources development, Bill 82, an Act to amend the Employment Standards Act and the Workers' Compensation Act;

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(v) the following private members' bills referred to committee of the whole House or pending third reading:

Bill 9, An Act to amend the Representation Act, Bill 35, An Act proclaiming Agnes Macphail Day, Bill 98, An Act to provide a Consumer and Business Practices Code for Ontario, Bill 155, An Act proclaiming Earth Day, Bill 22, An Act to provide for Certain Rights for Deaf Persons, Bill 87, An Act to amend the Highway Traffic Act with respect to Volunteer Fire Fighters, Bill 124, An Act to amend the Highway Traffic Act, Bill 154, An Act to prohibit the Charging of Fees for the Cashing of Government Cheques;

(vi) all private bills referred to standing committee on

regulations and private bills;

(vii) all other matters referred to or designated in any standing committees;

remaining on the Orders and Notices paper at the prorogation of the second session of this Parliament be continued and placed on the Orders and Notices paper of the second sessional day of the third session of the 35th Parliament at the same stage of business for the House and its committees as at prorogation.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): I hope you'll excuse the Chair. Sometimes we're given certain words that are really tongue twisters, and it's very difficult, unless you refer to your book, to remember them all. But the act did pass.

Interjection: Dispense.

**The Deputy Speaker:** Dispense? For the following I'm about to read, it is dispense?

Interjections: Dispense.

The Deputy Speaker: Therefore, it is dispensed. Shall the motion carry? Carried.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I'd like to comment on the motion at some considerable length.

Before I get into that, my plane was cancelled on the runway. We were all pulled off the aircraft, the plane to North Bay. I'd like to say hello to my wife, Janet, and family, who are expecting me home tonight. The next flight out is actually tomorrow morning at 7 am.

Before I get into some debate on the motion, which I do wish to talk about, as I said, at some length, I would like to wish everybody a Merry Christmas, all of those who I know will be with us even tonight, who watch the Legislature and watch the proceedings.

Let me hope and really pray that 1993 is a little more prosperous than 1992 was for the hungry children who have been going to school in the absence of a school nutrition program. Let me hope that we can do better for you in 1993, and for the homeless, for the single mothers, for those who didn't get any increase in welfare payments this year.

It's ironic that so many of the higher-income groups that the government is responsible for got 1% or 2%, but those on welfare, the most vulnerable in our society, found out today for the first time in the 11½ years since I've been elected that they'll get zero per cent next year. That really is a disgrace. For a government to be so anxious to get out of here a week early and leave those most vulnerable in our society with absolutely nothing when the new chairman of Hydro just went from \$260,000 to \$425,000, when many in our civil service at the high end are going up the

merit pay increases, the bumps along, and yet those on welfare are getting nothing—

I hope 1993 is a much better year, particularly for the most vulnerable in our society. Many have lost hope, and I say to them that there is hope, there is opportunity, this is still a great province, and if we can get a change in direction from this government, I am very confident that we can get Ontarians back to work. If we could get, for example, Bill 40 scrapped, some of the very onerous and punitive legislation, we could then get investment coming back into this province, which right now is going to Frank McKenna's province, a very progressive Premier in New Brunswick. It's going to Alberta, it's going to British Columbia. So I do wish all a happy Christmas and I hope a more prosperous 1993 than we've had in 1992.

Now I very much would like to discuss the motion that has been put forward by the government House leader. We just heard bill after bill after bill after bill being carried over to the next session. We heard for the first two years that it was an obstructionist opposition; that's why they couldn't get everything done. So then they jam down our throats rule changes that allowed them to do virtually anything they wanted in the shortest possible time of any Parliament anywhere in Canada; and now, in this session, with these new rule changes, we have even less accomplished by the government. We have less legislation passed; we have less dealt with.

Because of all these bills that are being carried over, we are now left with the only conclusion: that the government not only is incompetent running the province, incompetent running Hydro, incompetent running virtually every ministry; it is incompetent in running this Legislature, so we are now left to debate a motion asking us, "We want to prorogue."

We know why they want to prorogue: to try to draw a line and get out of here as soon as they can, have as long a period as they can to regroup, and then they want to bring all these bills back.

These are bills that should be dealt with now. There's absolutely no reason why we shouldn't be sitting next week, as we always have. This will be the first year we have not sat the last week before Christmas in the history of this Legislature. I find that abominable, when you consider perhaps a few more days were required to come up with some kind of modest increase for those on welfare, who are facing a very, very bleak 1993.

I understand the Premier. He runs away from the media. He runs away from this Legislature. I understand why he's running away now. I understand why the Premier ran away to Asia. I understand him running away from all the problems, because he doesn't know what to do. He either is so incompetent or those around him have absolutely no ability to manage the affairs of this House, they have no ability to manage their various ministries, to run this province, that they run away from the problems.

I was taught by my mother and my father and by the values I learned as I grew up that you don't run away from problems. You don't run away from them. You meet them head on. You deal with them. You seek and search and consult wide and far to find solutions.

I understand the Minister of Agriculture and Food leaving, running way, because he completely blew an opportunity for us to have stable funding for our farmers, a bill that is now dead, and the poor farmers of this province lost an opportunity to have stable funding. Again, total incompetence: He introduced a bill and then asked us all to vote against it because he didn't like the bill the very same day it was introduced.

I think it speaks reams to the incompetence of this government, with the rule changes it got, that they're now asking us to carry over all this legislation so they can run home to Christmas a week early, leaving all this unfinished business, leaving those on welfare, leaving the most vulnerable in our society, on their own, and for many of them it is a bleak Christmas.

#### 2210

So I wanted to get those few thoughts on to the record. I suggest to the members of the government, when they go home over this Christmas holiday, that they reflect on the most vulnerable in our society and the back of the hand that they have received from this government in 1992. I ask them to reflect on that as they regroup and want to come back for 1993. I ask them to reflect on a new agenda to give hope and opportunity and put Ontarians back to work, because of the nine things that you've tried, out of 10 possibilities, none has worked.

There is still a solution. There is still the New Directions series that I and my caucus have put out that points the way to recovery of this province. I ask you to think about that on Christmas Eve.

I ask you to think about that over the holidays while you are enjoying that time. Many of you who perhaps are heading south even as I speak, think about those who don't have enough money to pay the hydro bills. Think about those who don't have enough money to eat. Think about the most vulnerable, as I say, in our province, and let's hope that you can come back in 1993 with a totally different agenda. If you would like help with that, I am available next week, because I plan to be working myself next week. If you would like some advice on the agenda that should be brought forward in 1993, I would be pleased to offer any of the solutions that I possibly can.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Nipissing, the leader of the third party, for his contribution and invite further debate.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I find it passing strange. I'm up here speaking about justice, which I think is the most important issue in this province. I'm having my chain pulled by one of his members to shut up, and the leader of the third party comes in here and goes on at great length. I have a few more things to say, if that's the case. I understand that His Honour is perhaps a little delayed, so I'd like to talk about some of the important issues in this province.

I'd like to talk about the fact that we have sat here tonight and we have passed untold numbers of bills. We have demonstrated that when we all want to get out of here the legislation seems to pass like that. "Everybody's here, let's go home and let's get all those bills through."

The people of this province expect us to be doing our job every day in this Legislature, expect us to be talking about meaningful things, expect us to be looking after the needs of the people of this province, and in fact what's happening is, it's not happening.

So it becomes passing strange that we as legislators, who are well paid for our jobs, while there are people out there who are on food banks, who are being thrown out of their homes, who do not have enough money to feed their children and do not have enough money to perhaps even go out and look for a job—I know people in my riding who can't find the car fare to get down to find a job. I know people who are disabled who perhaps have been cut off in terms of the funding they get.

It's all very nice for us to go home to our nice Christmas and our fat turkey. It's almost like Scrooge telling his young clerk he can't throw another coal on the fire. I think that's marvellous. I think it's nice to go home to my warm home, my warm bed, while there are people in this province who are looking to us as legislators, looking to us as the people they elected to look after our responsibilities and to make certain that we are looking after their responsibilities.

I look forward to the next sitting of this Legislature in terms of it being productive and that there will be issues brought forward before this House that will in fact address the immediate, emerging and important concerns of this province instead of just selecting things out of the drawer of some political guy or woman who thinks it's sexy in dealing with it. I think everybody over on the government side, the people in the New Democratic Party who fought while they were in opposition to make certain that these issues would be addressed, are prepared to go along with the nature of, "Well, if it's politically sexy, let's do it; but if it's important for the people of the province of Ontario, it might be risky to do it, so let's not do it."

I see the Treasurer there, who is a man having grave difficulty. I feel very sorry for you, Mr Treasurer. You are going through a period as Treasurer that no one would want to go through. But the fact is that we have to use our dollars in a very much more imaginative way. We can no longer afford to have services that perhaps are not serving the people of this province.

So I urge you as legislators—and I say this every time I get a chance to speak in this House. God knows how much longer I'm going to speak in this House, because quite frankly it becomes a terribly frustrating experience. It becomes an experience where you've got the numbers; we haven't. You pass what you like—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): You were there.

Mr Callahan: I realize that, Mr Treasurer. The Treasurer says I was there, and I was. I have to say to you, it was a very frustrating experience. I was elected by the people in my riding to serve their interests, not to serve my own interests. I think that's the responsibility of every member of this Legislature. As we go home to our Christmas turkey, our warm house, our warm bed and all of the luxuries we have, I think we have to recognize that fact. We cannot come back here in the next session just simply "business

as usual." There has to be a reform of this place. It's totally an anachronism and makes no sense. Anybody out there who knew anything of how this place works would be down here trying to throw us out of office, trying to take away whatever we're entitled to as members.

I found it passing strange that the leader of the third party said, "Why don't we sit next week?" Nobody wants to sit next week. Are you kidding? That's such a crock, it's incredible. Yet he comes in here because he says his plane has stalled on the runway and he wants to sit next week. What a crock. We know for a fact he didn't want to sit next week.

So I find it's time to start talking to the people of this province in spades; none of this garbage that gets knocked around in this place, all of this so-called trained seal nonsense. Let's get down to business. Let's start looking after the business of this province.

We all know in each of our individual communities that there are people who are hurting, and I think we owe a responsibility to them. If we don't fulfil that responsibility, we don't deserve to be here. I suggest that at some stage of the game, all of these cushy seats we've got here are going to be gone. Many of us will be gone. We'll be gone because we're not looking after the needs of our community, and the needs are growing ever more every day. If someone will tell me when His Honour is coming, I will take my seat, but he's not here, so I'm going to take this opportunity—

Hon Mr Laughren: He's on the roof.

**Mr Callahan:** The Treasurer says he's on the roof. I think you might be called to order for that.

When I look at the province of Ontario today, I say to myself, what has happened to my Toronto, my Ontario, my Canada? We're talking about casino gambling. This is the new way of funding the province of Ontario. We are going to turn people into gambling addicts. We are going to take people and we are going to have them cash their cheques—

Interjections.

Mr Callahan: You know my friend Mr Gilles Morin? You know that guy, the guy who occupies the chair from time to time, a most honest guy, a most down-to-earth guy. He tried to get a bill through this Legislature to close those cheque cashing outlets that are going to be open 24 hours a day with the flashing lights, "We cash cheques." Have you ever been to Las Vegas? That's exactly how employees are able to lose their wages on the way home from work. They go in and cash the cheque; they spend it in the casino. I tell the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations—Madam Casino, Madam Bingo, whatever you want to call her—that is exactly what the people in our province are going to do.

You're opening up a whole new era, a whole new thing. We're talking about other areas that are new to this province that are totally innocuous. We're talking about Sunday shopping. We're going to take our people away from their children on Sundays. You people haven't had the guts to pass the legislation yet, yet you're out there prosecuting Paul Magder and trying to take his entire business away from him. At the same time, you haven't got the guts to

bring the bill forward, to stand before the people of the province of Ontario and say, "This is our bill; this is what we stand for." What you're doing is to allow these people to operate in the badlands with no law, nothing in existence at all.

2220

What have you done to the province? You've got schizophrenic people under a Mental Health Act that you people destroyed, and you tell people, loved ones of families, that they don't have to take their medication. They're wandering the streets of Toronto, they're wandering the streets of this entire province, and their loved ones are at home worrying about them. What are you doing about it? Where are the amendments to the Mental Health Act to ensure that these people take the medication that will keep them at least at a degree of sanity so they can stay at home and be dealt with by their parents? Why don't you deal with the issues that are important? I don't think you are.

I think it should make every one of you uncomfortable. I tell you, you have to become uncomfortable right now, because the longer you sit over there the more comfortable you will become in your pew and the more comfortable you will become in terms of receiving your emolument and doing zippo for it.

Your conscience starts to lose its ability to feel empathy for these people, because you figure: "They're out in the streets of Toronto and I'm here in this plush, magnificent Legislature of Ontario and nobody can call me back. I have the right to be here until 1995." There's no right of recall. Nobody can pull your chain and tell you to come back or you can't be a member of the Legislature. Some of you have had your first opportunity, and probably your last opportunity, to sit in this august chamber. For God's sake, while you're here do something so that when you leave here, when you're defeated in the next election, you can at least say, "During the time I was here, I served the people in my riding who voted for me.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Brampton South for his contribution. I invite further debate.

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): I want to talk a little bit about this motion tonight. I want to talk a little about some of the events that have taken place in this Legislature. While we wait for the Lieutenant Governor to arrive—I understand he's tied up in traffic because of the snowstorm which is occurring outside our walls—I thought it might be important to mention my concern over a piece of legislation which we passed in this Legislature I believe in 1987, but it was talked about for a dozen years. I'm talking about the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

When I was appointed to the cabinet as a minister without portfolio in 1981, I was given the task of trying to bring forward freedom of information and privacy legislation to this province. My concern at that time was that it was somewhat new to this province, and I was also concerned about political responsibility for ministers, ministerial responsibility for saying no to someone who might

want to seek information about what a government might or might not have done.

I studied the topic very much. I read a great deal about freedom of information and privacy legislation. It's interesting to go back in history. Freedom of information and privacy legislation started in the European countries in the late 1960s. The genesis of freedom of information legislation started in Sweden, and it wasn't to provide information to the public; the original intent of freedom of information legislation or legislation dealing with giving information of the government to the public was to revamp its confidentiality system. In fact, the first law which was brought forward in Sweden was called the secrecy law.

When that law, the secrecy law embodied in the legislation in Europe, was transferred over into American politics, when it was brought across the ocean to the United States of America, I guess in their unusual and entrepreneurial fashion the Americans took that notion of law and transformed what we would know as secrecy law into freedom of information law; in other words, instead of saying the government has legislation which says, "No, you cannot have this information," they turned it around and said, "You can have this type of information."

As I got into the legislation and studied it in depth and brought forward a bill in May 1984, I thought the public would accept a bill which said to the public, "You have a right to demand the information," and that if a minister turned the information down, then he would be responsible to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario for turning that information down. I didn't get my way. That bill never saw the light of day. The government changed shortly after I introduced that legislation in May 1984; in fact, the government changed in June 1985.

Mr Ian Scott, the former member for Rosedale, or St George-St David, who resigned this past summer—and we continue to wait for an election to be called so we can elect a Progressive Conservative to that riding—brought forward a bill in this Legislature in 1987 which in my mind had a lot of problems associated with it. It had a different concept with regard to seeking information. I was very much aware that civil servants, bureaucrats, agencies, bureaus, all really didn't want to give up information, so it required a very strong minister to say, "You must, in fact, give up this information."

We have seen a number of examples in which the government has started to use a law, which is now only four or five years old, much more as a shield than an opportunity to give information out to the public, which was its original intent.

The first example where government used the freedom of information and privacy law to shield itself from the public, really knowing what was going on, was with regard to the Polaris system in terms of our registry offices across this province. The former Liberal government gave to a private concern the right to have a monopoly in the information relating to titles surrounding different pieces of land in our province. Our party has tried to seek the names of the people who were involved in that endeavour, what the deal was that the government of Ontario made with

those people, in order to protect the public and that in fact a competent deal was made.

Most recently, we have seen the Premier use the freedom of information act as a shield to prevent the opposition and the public from knowing what happened with regard to Carl Masters.

I think the freedom of information act has become a farce. I don't think the title "freedom of information act" any longer reflects what that act was originally intended to do. The freedom of information act was originally intended to provide the people of Ontario with access to information to call the government to account. Now we see a government which is throwing up the freedom of information act to prevent the opposition parties, which are elected to seek information from the Premier of this province about what has happened with regard to contracts etc, from finding out information about them. I'm very much concerned that what was a concept to deal with freedom of information has now turned into a secrecy act.

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We've gone full cycle. In the late 1960s, Sweden introduced a secrecy act that was brought across the ocean to the United States of America and was called freedom of information. Canada and Ontario adopted parts of that act and called it a freedom of information act. We now have a government which has changed the whole focus with regard to those laws. We have come full cycle, from secrecy act to secrecy act. Therefore, I'm very much concerned that we now have a piece of legislation which appears to have placed our province in the position of having passed a law—

Interjection.

Mr Sterling: The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations wants me to adjourn the debate. I'm very tempted to adjourn the debate so I might have the opportunity to finish this with some degree of ability and attention of the Legislature.

I want to indicate that I believe the interpretation the Premier of Ontario is putting on the freedom of information act is attacking that act and its original intent. In fact, what has happened is that I have now come to the conclusion that as an opposition politician I would be better off without a freedom of information act than I am with one.

**The Speaker:** I thank the honourable member for Carleton and invite further debate. Is it the pleasure of the House that Mr Cooke's motion pass? Agreed.

Hon Mr Cooke: I move that the following committees be continued and authorized to meet during the recess between the second and third sessions of the 35th Parliament, in accordance with the schedule of meeting dates agreed to by the three party whips and tabled with the Clerk of the Assembly, to examine and inquire into the following matters:

The standing committee on administration of justice to consider Bill 102, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act, and Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act;

The standing committee on finance and economic affairs to consider Bill 164, An Act to amend the Insurance

Act and certain other Acts in respect of Automobile Insurance and other Insurance Matters and matters related to pre-budget consultation;

The standing committee on general government to consider Bill 61, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands;

The standing committee on government agencies to consider operations of certain agencies, boards and commissions of the government of Ontario and to review intended appointments in the public sector;

The standing committee on the Legislative Assembly to consider the development of a policy with respect to the recognition of religious holidays in the legislative calendar;

The standing committee on the Ombudsman to write a report to the House;

The standing committee on public accounts to consider the reports of the Provincial Auditor;

The standing committee on resources development to consider Bill 96, An Act to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board;

The standing committee on social development to consider Bill 101, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Long Term Care.

**The Speaker:** Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

Hon Mr Cooke: I move that committees be authorized to release their reports during the recess between the second and third sessions of this Parliament by depositing a copy of any report with the Clerk of the Assembly, and on the second sessional day of the third session of the 35th Parliament, the chairs of such committees shall bring any such reports before the House in accordance with the standing orders.

The Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? Carried.

**Hon Mr Cooke:** Mr Speaker, the Lieutenant Governor awaits.

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario entered the chamber of the Legislative Assembly and took his seat upon the throne.

# ROYAL ASSENT SANCTION ROYALE

**Hon Henry N.R. Jackman (Lieutenant Governor):** Pray be seated.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): May it please Your Honour, the Legislative Assembly of the Province has, at its present meetings thereof, passed certain bills to which, in the name and on behalf of the said Legislative Assembly, I respectfully request Your Honour's assent.

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals (Mr Alex D. McFedries): The following are the titles of the bills to which Your Honour's assent is prayed:

Bill 26, An Act to provide for the Regulation of Gaming Services / Loi prévoyant la réglementation des services relatifs au jeu

Bill 31, An Act to amend the Income Tax Act and to provide an Income Tax Credit to Seniors and to phase out

grants under the Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur le revenu, prévoyant des crédits d'impôt sur le revenu pour les personnes âgées et visant à éliminer progressivement les subventions prévues par la Loi sur l'allégement de l'impôt foncier des retraités de l'Ontario

Bill 74, An Act respecting the Provision of Advocacy Services to Vulnerable Persons / Loi concernant la prestation de services d'intervention en faveur des personnes vulnérables

Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexations to the City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex / Loi concernant les annexions faites à la cité de London et à certaines municipalités du comté de Middlesex

Bill 85, An Act to amend the Tobacco Tax Act and the Liquor Control Act to provide for the Payment of Tax and Mark-ups by Returning Residents of Ontario / Loi modifiant la Loi de la taxe sur le tabac et la Loi sur les alcools de façon à prévoir le paiement de la taxe et des marges bénéficiaires par les résidents de retour en Ontario

Bill 92, An Act to amend the Ontario Lottery Corporation Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la Société des loteries de l'Ontario

Bill 108, An Act to provide for the making of Decisions on behalf of Adults concerning the Management of their Property and concerning their Personal Care / Loi prévoyant la prise de décisions au nom d'adultes en ce qui concerne la gestion de leurs biens et le soin de leur personne

Bill 109, An Act respecting Consent to Treatment / Loi concernant le consentement au traitement

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Bill 110, An Act to amend certain Statutes of Ontario consequent upon the enactment of the Advocacy Act, 1992, the Consent to Treatment Act, 1992 and the Substitute Decisions Act, 1992 / Loi modifiant certaines lois de l'Ontario par suite de l'adoption de la Loi de 1992 sur l'intervention, de la Loi de 1992 sur le consentement au traitement et de la Loi de 1992 sur la prise de décisions au nom d'autrui

Bill Pr3, An respecting the City of Burlington
Bill Pr19, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa
Bill Pr21, An Act respecting Kitchener-Waterloo Hospital
Bill Pr35, An Act to revive P.J. Construction Limited
Bill Pr40, An Act respecting the Ontario Building

Officials Association

Bill Pr44, An Act to revive Pinecrest Community

Association

Bill Pr45, An Act to incorporate the Toronto Atmospheric

Fund and the Toronto Atmospheric Fund Foundation

Bill Pr49, An Act to revive Eilpro Holdings Inc.

Bill Pr52, An Act to revive Grand River Home Improvements Building Products, Supplies & Services Ltd.

Bill Pr58, An respecting the Town of Lincoln

Bill Pr59, An Act to revive Peterborough Social Planning Council

Bill Pr61, An Act respecting the City of Toronto Bill Pr62, An Act to revive Fefferlaw Developments Limited

Bill 63, An Act to revive Modern Optical Ltd.

Bill Pr64, An Act respecting the Institute for Christian Studies

Bill Pr65, An Act respecting the City of London

Bill Pr67, An Act to revive Lambda Chi Alpha Alumni Association of Toronto (Incorporated)

Bill Pr68, An Act to revive Rainbow Halfway House Bill Pr70, An Act respecting Nipissing University

Bill Pr71, An Act to revive Women in Crisis (Northumberland County)

Bill Pr73, An Act respecting the City of York

Bill Pr75, An Act respecting The Canadian Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company

Bill Pr78, An Act respecting the City of Toronto

Bill Pr79, An Act to revive Duclos Point Property Owners Inc.

Bill Pr83, An Act to revive Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East.

Clerk of the House (Mr Claude L. DesRosiers): In Her Majesty's name, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor doth assent to these bills.

Au nom de Sa Majesté, Son Honneur le lieutenantgouverneur sanctionne ces projets de loi.

The Speaker: May it please Your Honour, we, Her Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Ontario, in session assembled, approach Your Honour with sentiments of unfeigned devotion and loyalty to Her Majesty's person and government, and humbly beg to present for Your Honour's acceptance a bill entitled An Act to authorize the payment of certain amounts for the Public Service for the fiscal year ending on the 31st day of March, 1993.

Clerk of the House: His Honour the Lieutenant Governor doth thank Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, accept their benevolence and assent to this bill in Her Majesty's name.

Son Honneur le lieutenant-gouverneur remercie les bons et loyaux sujets de Sa Majesté, accepte leur bienveillance et sanctionne ce projet de loi au nom de Sa Majesté.

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to deliver the following speech.

Hon Mr Jackman: Mr Speaker, members of the Legislative Assembly, ladies and gentlemen:

The second session of the 35th Parliament has been productive, albeit in difficult times.

The people of Ontario and the government have dealt with the most severe recession since the 1930s. We are not alone; economic activity has slowed throughout the industrial world. Global pressures have dramatically affected the structure of Ontario's economy. Although there are now signs of improvement, economic recovery will be gradual.

Le gouvernement a réagi en s'attaquant à la récession, en créant et en protégeant des emplois, en investissant directement dans l'économie et en encourageant le secteur privé à faire de même, en intensifiant son engagement en matière de formation professionnelle et en préservant les services à caractère social, tout en contrôlant le déficit de la province.

The government's 1992 budget continued this approach. The budget focused on creating and supporting

jobs, maintaining public services for people and controlling the deficit. Focusing on jobs, services and controlling the deficit reflects the concerns that Ontarians have made clear and also responds responsibly to the government's tough financial situation.

The length and depth of the current recession have cut government revenues at the same time as people are in greater need for services such as social assistance. Part of the government's response to this financial squeeze has been aggressive internal cost-cutting measures, and it's working. For every \$1 of new revenue the province raises this year, we have found \$4 of cost reductions inside government.

Health care is the most dramatic example. Over the last 10 years annual spending growth in the health field averaged more than 11%. Last year the government brought that down to less than 2% at the same time as we have maintained these essential services to Ontarians.

The overall rate of growth in total spending in the 1992 budget, 4.9%, is the lowest in 39 years. Excluding public debt interest, operating spending will grow by only 2.8% this year.

The April 1992 budget also announced the Jobs Ontario funds. The \$1.1-billion Jobs Ontario Training fund will support job creation and training for 100,000 Ontarians who are receiving social assistance or have exhausted unemployment insurance eligibility and training for 80.000 others.

In addition, 20,000 new subsidized child care spaces will be created to meet the needs of participants, many of whom are single mothers.

Contrary to recent media reports which were based on results for the first three months alone, the fund is moving aggressively. The government expects that more than 10,000 person-years of employment will be created by March 1993.

The Jobs Ontario Capital fund will invest \$2.3 billion over five years on capital investments like public transit, environmental projects and roads to support Ontario's transition to a more productive economy. Over \$370 million is already committed this year.

The Jobs Ontario Homes fund will generate more than \$2 billion of work in the construction industry by supporting 20,000 more non-profit housing units. These are in addition to the 10,000 new units provided by the 1991 budget. The government's housing policies created 27,000 construction jobs in 1991.

This past summer, Jobs Ontario Youth invested \$20 million and created 8,800 new summer jobs for young people. Five thousand of these jobs were promoted heavily to black youth. Total spending for summer youth employment programs was \$45 million this year, an increase of 73% from last year.

In addition, \$3.4 billion in regular capital investment means 67,000 jobs as a result of construction and renovation of infrastructure like roads, sewers and public buildings.

The 1992 budget announced a number of tax assistance measures to foster private sector investment and help create

jobs. These include tax cuts and incentives benefiting manufacturing and processing industries and small business.

The budget also eliminated or reduced Ontario income tax for an additional 120,000 low-income Ontarians and enriched support for low-income seniors. As a result, benefits were increased for over 350,000 senior households with an average increase in benefits of \$135 for seniors with household income of \$23,000 or less.

Legislation to establish the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, OTAB, is now before the Legislature. OTAB is one part of a comprehensive reform of Ontario's training and adjustment programs. Its central objective is making the design and management of training and adjustment a partnership among labour, business, training providers, educators and community-based groups.

OTAB, the Canada-Ontario labour force development agreement and other initiatives add up to training expenditures of \$930 million this fiscal year, an increase of 24% over last year, and the most ever spent by an Ontario government on training and adjustment for workers.

The government released an industrial policy framework. Unique among recent efforts in this field, the framework rejects the winning sectors/losing sectors approach. Instead, it identifies six "competitive fundamentals," that are key to business success and greater competitiveness. My government will work in a variety of ways to support these fundamentals and orient the economy towards higher-value-added activities. The most important of the initiatives announced in the framework paper is the sector partnership fund, a three-year, \$150-million fund to enhance competitiveness and higher-value-added activity at the sector level. This is the principle supporting the work of almost two dozen sector strategies now being developed in various ministries.

In addition to \$35.5 million in emergency financial assistance for farmers in 1991, my government has announced a five-year, \$120-million agricultural investment strategy which will work towards long-term stability for farmers and rural communities. The first of its kind in Canada, the agricultural investment strategy includes:

- the commodity loan guarantee program to provide financing early in the season, as well as security from crop failure;
- the rural loan/agricultural mortgage pool program to encourage investment in agricultural projects and provide farmers with alternative low-interest credit;
- the private mortgage guarantee program to attract investment to agriculture;
- the farmer apprentice program to give new farmers experience and the opportunity to build equity for the eventual purchase of a farm;
- the agricultural expertise and education program to give credit unions a greater role in farm financing and help farmers resolve financial problems.

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Mon gouvernement est parmi ceux qui assurent aux travailleurs et travailleuses la meilleure protection qui soit en Amérique du Nord, démontrant ainsi qu'emplois et justice ne sont pas des éléments contradictoires ; ce sont des objectifs qui, avec le temps, se renforcent l'un l'autre.

After a lengthy period of public discussion, which included four months of consultation on the contents of a discussion paper and five weeks of legislative committee hearings across the province, amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act were passed and will take effect January 1, 1993. The new act will: allow employees to organize who are currently prevented; limit the use of replacement workers during strikes and lockouts; make it easier for workers to organize—especially women, new Canadians and part-time workers, many of whom work in the service sector; and speed up labour board processes, including the arbitration of first-contract disputes.

A further set of amendments to the Labour Relations Act (Bill 80) is now before the Legislature. Bill 80 will promote greater democracy and local control in the relationships between internationally based parent construction unions and their Ontario locals. Ontario-based construction locals have long expressed a desire for greater control over their own affairs.

The worker investment and ownership program received royal assent in July 1992 and is retroactive to October 1991. It establishes tax incentives for investment by workers in Ontario businesses. One part of the program complements existing federal legislation and provides tax credits to workers who invest in labour-sponsored investment funds; another part provides enhanced tax credits to workers acquiring control of their employer's corporation through direct investment. By enabling worker investment in Ontario companies, the program keeps jobs and investment in Ontario, especially in small- and medium-sized businesses. The worker ownership part of the program has already been used by workers in Kapuskasing, when they acquired control of the Spruce Falls mill.

Following the release of a public discussion paper on employment equity in late 1991, my government introduced legislation that will increase fairness in the workplace for women, aboriginal people, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities. My government remains fully committed to legislated employment equity and will be proceeding with the legislation as soon as the drafting of the regulations that give effect to many of the bill's provisions is complete.

Legislation to extend pay equity to cover an additional 420,000 women is now before the Legislature. Its enactment will mean fairer wages for women who work in jobs that, until now, did not qualify for pay equity increases. This will be accomplished by adding proxy and proportional value comparisons to the original job-to-job comparator method of calculating pay equity contained in the original 1987 law.

The government is active in pursuit of environmental and justice objectives as well.

The draft environmental bill of rights, released for public review, reflects a consensus of business and environmental groups. It aims to give people new powers to protect the environment. The Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy report sets out a strategy for sustainable development in Ontario that my government is eager to follow. The government has renewed the mandate of the round table.

The Waste Management Act has been proclaimed. This statute provides greater authority for initiatives to reduce, reuse and recycle materials.

The government has concluded an historic statement of political relationship with aboriginal people. We are pursuing self-government, land claims and quality-of-life issues with Ontario first nations on a government-to-government basis.

To empower and offer protection to vulnerable persons, a system of non-legal social advocacy will be established under the Advocacy Act.

Legislation has been introduced that aims at eliminating sexual abuse in health care and removing limitation periods for civil lawsuits by many sexual assault victims.

Rent control legislation was proclaimed. This ends high rent increases for tenants and ensures better maintenance and repair of rental buildings.

Amendments to the Planning Act and Municipal Act were introduced to allow home owners to create an apartment in their house.

The government maintains its commitment to protecting essential public services and managing the difficult fiscal challenges in prudent ways.

By reforming the health care system, we are ensuring we can enjoy its benefits at an affordable cost in future years. The Ontario Medical Association and the government have committed themselves to mutual efforts to control costs while maintaining quality services. The government has improved the management of the Ontario drug benefit program to help reduce the spending growth rate of this program.

The government introduced the Long-Term Care Statute Law Amendment Act as part of a comprehensive reform. This initiative will integrate and improve the services supporting elderly persons and their care givers, adults with physical disabilities and those who need health services at home.

Honourable members, I commend your achievements this session. In closing, may I take this opportunity to wish you a joyous and happy holiday season.

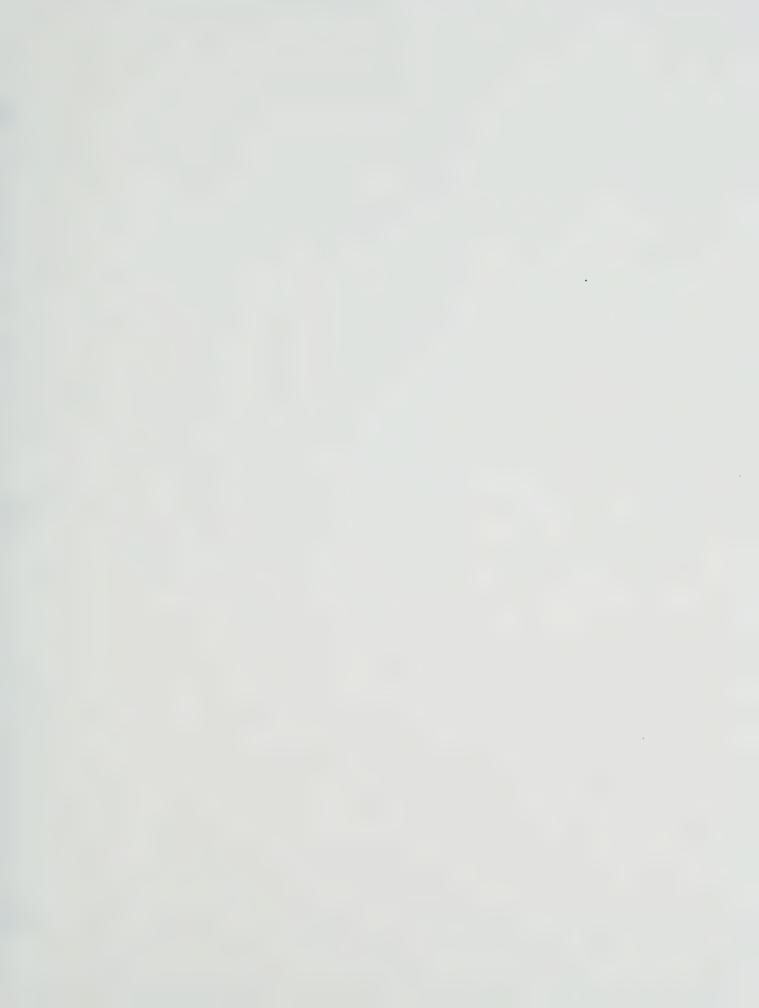
Au nom de notre souveraine, je vous remercie. In our sovereign's name, I thank you.

Je déclare cette session prorogée. I now declare the session prorogued.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Mr Speaker and honourable members of the Legislative Assembly, it is the will and the pleasure of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor that this Legislative Assembly be prorogued and the Legislative Assembly is accordingly prorogued.

His Honour was then pleased to retire.

The House prorogued at 2258.







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